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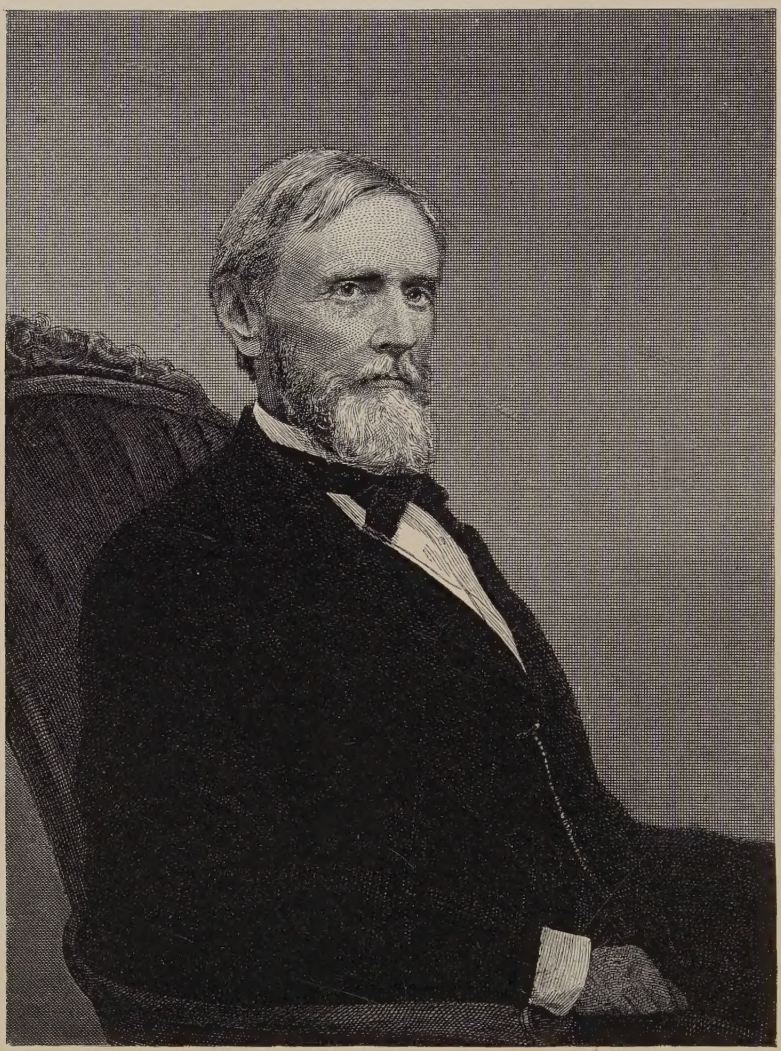

Jefferson Davis

AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY YEARS

JEFFERSON DAVIS

CONSTITUTIONALIST

HIS LETTERS, PAPERS AND SPEECHES

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

DUNBAR ROWLAND, LL.D.

DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, SECRETARY
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CONTENTS OF VOLUME VIII

LETTERS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS TO:

PAGE

Dr. E. L. Drake 27
W. T. Walthall 32, 33
J. F. H. Claiborne 34
Crafts J. Wright 35, 38
W. T. Walthall 40
Crafts J. Wright 53, 57
W. T. Walthall 59
R. H. Chilton 59
Mrs. E. V. D. Miller 62
W. T. Walthall 63, 67
G. W. C. Lee 65
Crafts J. Wright 68
W. T. Walthall 70, 75
G. W. C. Lee 76
Crafts J. Wright 77
W. T. Walthall 115, 116, 119, 120
Manly Tello 121
Rev. J. William Jones, Secretary Southern Historical Society, with statements and correspondence 123
Crafts J. Wright 141
P. K. Mayers 154
Memorial Association of Mississippi, April 17, 1878 164
W. T. Walthall 166
G. W. C. Lee 174
Crafts J. Wright 175
G. T. Beauregard 185
L. B. Northrop 187
Maj. W. T. Walthall 193
L. B. Northrop 193
W. T. Walthall 196
J. R. Chalmers 197
W. T. Walthall 220, 223, 225
Marcus J. Wright 238
Wm. H. McCardle 241
James Lyons 257
J. B. Gordon 267
W. T. Walthall 277, 281
J. F. H. Claiborne 280

PAGE

Bishop W. M. Green 282
J. C. Derby 283
W. T. Walthall 284, 287
C. G. Memminger 288
W. T. Walthall 293, 294
E. Barksdale 297
W. T. Walthall 307
L. B. Northrop 337
W. T. Walthall 354, 358
J. C. Derby 362
L. Q. C. Lamar 366
W. T. Walthall 367
L. B. Northrop 368
L. B. Northrop 374, 380, 383, 391
W. T. Walthall 398, 403
Fred S. Ferguson 400
L. B. Northrop 415, 423
W. T. Walthall 419
W. M. Polk 423
W. T. Walthall 430, 431
L. B. Northrop 431, 438, 441, 443
J. F. Gilmer 449
Marcus J. Wright 464, 477, 481
John H. Savage 478
L. B. Northrop 482, 491
Marcus J. Wright 493, 502, 506, 513
S. A. Jackson 527
C. W. Frazer 529
S. A. Jackson 586
L. B. Northrop 586
Marcus J. Wright 598
W. T. Walthall 599
Mrs. C. E. Davol 605
Findley S. Collins 606
Master R. F. D. Davol 607

LETTERS TO JEFFERSON DAVIS FROM:

J. A. Early, with narrative of military operations in Virginia . 1, 2
C. G. Memminger 25
Saml. P. Johnson 36
Wm. Preston Johnston 37, 41
Dabney H. Maury 39
C. G. Memminger, with copy of reply to General Joe Johnston and circular of Treasury Dept., C. S. A. 42
Alfred H. Colquitt, Governor of Georgia 51
J. G. Barnard 55
J. Wm. Jones, Secretary of Southern Historical Society . . . 56

PAGE
Wm. P. Johnston 56
J. A. Early 61
Lewis Cruger 63
Frank Huger 66
Wm. P. Johnston 70
D. H. Maury 71
R. H. Chilton 72
J. A. Early 73
Bishop W. M. Green 74
John H. Reagan 78
Wm. P. Johnston 80
Geo. Davis 80
J. A. Early, with narrative of military operations in Virginia . 81
Lewis Cruger 105
Crafts J. Wright 109
John H. Reagan 113
M. C. Butler 117
Luke P. Blackburn 118
Lewis Cruger 119
F. R. Lubbock 122
J. A. Early 137
Wm. Preston Johnston 144
L. B. Northrop 145
G. G. Dibrell 149
G. C. Chandler 167
Basil W. Duke 167
W. G. Henderson 170
G. G. Dibrell 172
P. K. Mayers 178
Wm. P. Johnston 179
L. B. Northrop 179
J. R. Chalmers 196
Lewis Cruger 198
L. B. Northrop 200
O. R. Singleton 201
C. R. Breckenridge 203
S. D. Lee 204
F. Stringfellow 206
Lewis Cruger 208
J. R. Chalmers 210
E. Barksdale 217, 218
E. B. Thompson 219
L. B. Northrop 220
L. Q. C. Lamar 222
James Lingan 223
Wm. H. McCardle 224
S. D. Lee 237

PAGE

Thos. C. Reynolds 544
L. Q. C. Lamar 544
James O'Meara 546
M. F. Govan 548
W. N. Pendleton, with military reports and lists 548, 549
L. B. Northrop 580, 590
E. Barksdale 588
L. W. Wise 588
Poultney Bigelow 591
W. T. Walthall 592, 599
Minor Meriwether 595
Horace Edwin Haydn 596
Napoleon Hill 596
Isaac N. Brown 597
William M. Browne 600
Robert Ould 601
C. E. Pickett 602
Dabney H. Maury 604
A. W. Cowper 604

OTHER CORRESPONDENCE:

James D. Porter to Mrs. Jefferson Davis 29
A. S. Colyar to R. M. T. Hunter 30
Mrs. S. A. Dorsey to W. T. Walthall 32, 39
Mrs. Varina Davis to W. T. Walthall 61
Mrs. S. A. Dorsey to W. T. Walthall 69
H. D. Money to W. T. Walthall 116
Crafts J. Wright to W. T. Walthall 142
G. G. Dibrell to W. T. Walthall 147
W. C. P. Breckenridge to W. T. Walthall 151
J. C. Pemberton to W. T. Walthall 156
Basil W. Duke to W. T. Walthall 156
G. G. Dibrell to Wm. Preston Johnston 160
Basil W. Duke to W. T. Walthall 170
T. L. Snead to W. T. Walthall 173
W. C. P. Breckenridge to W. T. Walthall 187
J. C. Pemberton to W. T. Walthall 195
Robert Ould to W. T. Walthall 207
James Lyons to W. T. Walthall 210
E. C. Walthall to W. T. Walthall 226
E. Barksdale to W. T. Walthall 246
S. W. Ferguson to W. T. Walthall 250
James Lyons to W. T. Walthall 252
John B. Gordon to W. T. Walthall 258
F. E. Richardson to W. T. Walthall 263
Robert Lowry to Colonel Claiborne 267
Benj. G. Humphreys to Andrew Johnson 272

PAGE

Mrs. Varina Davis to W. T. Walthall 275
E. D. Townsend to Chas. E. Hooker 295
W. L. Trenholm to Dr. J. D. Bruns 302
W. L. Trenholm to P. G. T. Beauregard 302
J. C. Pemberton to W. T. Walthall 338
Eugene Davis to L. B. Northrop 341
W. T. Walthall to G. W. C. Lee 343
Wm. Preston Johnston to W. T. Walthall 344
J. C. Pemberton to W. T. Walthall 346
James A. Seddon to W. T. Walthall 349
Wm. P. Johnston to W. T. Walthall 359
Robert A. Ransom to W. T. Walthall 370
James Lyons to W. T. Walthall 372
A. R. Lawton to L. B. Northrop 385
G. W. C. Lee to W. T. Walthall 399
Robert Ould to W. T. Walthall 405
Alex. M. Clayton to W. T. Walthall 405, 407
James L. Pugh to W. T. Walthall 460

ADDRESS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS:

Mississippi City, July 10, 1878, on presentation of Army of Tennessee Badge and Certificate of Membership 227

MEMOIR:

F. M. Gilmer: Concerning organization of Confederate Government, election of President Davis, etc., etc. 461

JEFFERSON DAVIS, CONSTITUTIONALIST
HIS LETTERS, PAPERS AND SPEECHES

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Alleghany Springs, Virginia,
Sept. 11th, 1877

My Dear Sir,

Yours of the 28th ulto. has been forwarded to me here. As soon as I return to Lynchburg, which will be by the 16th, I will copy the narrative referred to by General Johnston and send it to you. You will find that it is very far from maintaining General Johnston in his statement, and I cannot think that he intended the reference in the sense it would seem to imply.

I do not exactly understand what you intend by the passage in your letter in which you speak of referring to me for facts in regard to the organization of the Army of Northern Virginia.

If you mean reference to any publication by me, of course you would have a right to do that without consulting my inclination. If your purpose is to call on me for statements of facts coming officially within my knowledge, and to use my statement, then I will take great pleasure in furnishing you with any information I can.

I do not think that any of us are absolved from the obligations to sustain our cause and the truth in reference thereto by the unfortunate termination of the struggle. I certainly acknowledge my duty to be a continuous one.

If you will be at Mississippi City during the coming winter, I will try and make you a visit when I go to New Orleans in December.

With the assurance of my highest esteem, I am
Very sincerely and truly,

J. A. Early.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.
endorsed: J. A. Early.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Va., Sept. 22d, 1877.

My Dear Sir:

I arrived here on the 16th and have copied, as soon as I could, the narrative for which you asked in your last letter to me, which I received at the Alleghany Springs.

While in Canada in 1867 and '68, I wrote out very fully my recollections of the War as they came within my knowledge or observation. What I now send is from the manuscript so written.

When General Johnston was engaged in writing his book he requested me to furnish him with a narrative fixing the dates &c. of the movement back from Manassas, and from the Peninsula. After some delay I copied and sent him my narrative of events within the period covering the two evacuations. That I now send you is the same, except that I begin the copy for you a little further back than that sent General Johnston, and I have, in copying, made some changes in a few instances so as to improve and correct the phraseology, but without changing the facts or the sense. I left out what I had said about the presence of officers' wives in camp, in the copy sent Genl. J., as that was not important for the use he wished to make of the narrative, and might be construed as a reflection on him for having his own wife in camp occasionally.

The statements in regard to the stores, supplies, &c. lost at Manassas and Yorktown, are in the exact words contained in the copy sent him; for I have that now before me.

You will see that I have expressed myself very freely in regard to the wisdom of the movements back from Manassas and Yorktown, and so far as the movements themselves are concerned my narrative will sustain General Johnston.

The fact is, that as soon as we heard of the movement in Kentucky and Tennessee, by which Forts Henry and Donaldson were captured and the position at Bowling Green turned, I began to reflect on our position on the line running from Aquia Creek up the Potomac, and Bull Run, and by Leesburg in (one word illegible) to the Valley, and it was very evident to me that the same operation of flanking us out of position, by the way of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, could be performed under greater advantages for the enemy in Virginia, than had attended the movement in Kentucky and Tennessee, and I came

to the conclusion that we must fall back before General Johnston gave us any intimation of his purposes. So strong was my conviction on this point, that I assembled the colonels of my own brigade and told them I was satisfied such must be the result, and advised them to have all their surplus baggage sent to the rear. I, in fact, anticipated the movement by having the baggage of myself and staff sent to the rear before General Johnston opened his mouth on the subject to me.

As soon as I arrived on the Peninsula, where I was shown, at Magruder's head-quarters, the map of the Peninsula, containing on it the sketch of the line of Yorktown and Warwick River. I told Genl. McLaws, who asked my opinion as to what I thought of the line, that we could not hold it; that it must be inevitably broken, sooner or later, and in that event our whole force there gobbled up. I pointed out to him the narrowness of the Peninsula at Williamsburg, and the character of the country north of the York River, where the movement of a column up the river could turn our position, and I then expressed the opinion that we should move back the line of the Chickahominy, so as to cover Richmond and have room to maneuvre in.

I subsequently wrote a private letter to General Randolph, then Secretary of War, urging the same views, and suggesting to him to send some officer high in rank down to view the situation. I think I suggested either General Lee or Genl. Johnston. When General Johnston came down on his tour of observation, I met with him riding out of Yorktown, and I endeavored to give the same views to him, but he did not seem disposed to discuss the matter, and I desisted. My views, therefore, on these questions, did not result from afterthought.

I have stated the facts in regard to the loss of supplies at both places without undertaking to fix the responsibility for their loss. I believe that all might have been carried off from Manassas if the rail-roads had been energetically operated. The rolling stock, of the Orange and Alexandria, Manassas Gap, and Virginia Central roads, ought to have been sufficient for the purpose of removing anything in the two weeks allowed, if properly used.

I know that General Johnston sent General Trimble, an old rail-road man, to Manassas Junction to superintend the transportation of the stores &c to the rear, and there was some complaint that he took care to send all the baggage of his own brigade to the rear, while valuable public stores were lost. Genl Johnston's chief Quarter Master, Major Bonham, was not energetic or efficient.

Two or three steamers of reasonable capacity ought to have carried off the most valuable of the stores, &c., lost at Yorktown.

Perhaps the narrative I have given is more voluminous than you desired, but I thought it better to send it as I have done, in order that you might see the connexion in which I have made my statements; and perhaps I may give you the facts in regard to the two evacuations more fully than you have before seen them.

The personal issues that have been made since the war have been painful to me; and I have read General Johnston's Narrative with great regret that he ever wrote it. I think it has done his cause no good.

I trust you will not think me impertinent if I remind you that you are the representative of our cause, and caution you against the danger of entering into a mere personal controversy with General Johnston about the questions he has raised, and the issues he has made with you, and other officials holding positions under you. I know that your provocation is great, but a calm and lucid statement of facts, with a dignified comment on the difficulties attending all the questions you were called upon to deal with, will have far greater weight with the enlightened world, than bitter or sharp strictures on the querulousness of a subordinate who always seemed to think more of his own rank and position than of the public cause. You can afford to be liberal and generous to the infirmities of temper and disposition which always gave a personal aspect to all the questions upon which there was a difference of opinion between their possession and those above him.

I trust you understand well enough the personal regard and respect I have for you, and the deep interest I feel in our cause though we failed, to know that these suggestions result solely from my anxiety that your presentation of the history of our struggle and the part you bore in it, in your private and official capacity, shall be such as to command the respect of all enlightened men, and defy the carpings of your enemies and revilers.

Pardon the liberty I have taken, and believe me

Most Sincerely and truly, Your friend,

J. A. Early.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

endorsed: Genl. Early; letter accompanying his Narrative of retreats from Centreville and Yorktown.

Extract from
Narrative by General J. A. Early.
(written in Canada.)

Evacuation of the line of Bull Run and operations on the Peninsula.

On the 30th of January (1862), General Beauregard took leave of the "Army of the Potomac," he having been ordered to Kentucky, and after this time there was no distinction of corps in the Army of the Potomac, but all division commanders reported directly to General Johnston. About the first of February General Bonham relinquished the command of Van Dorn's old division, having resigned his commission to take his seat in Congress, and I succeeded to the command of the division as next in rank—Colonel Kershaw, who was appointed a Brigadier General, succeeding Bonham in the command of his Brigade.*

My brigade had gone into temporary winter quarters, at the point to which it had moved when we fell back from the line of Fairfax C.H., for the purpose of continuing the construction of the works on our right, which were rendered necessary by the change in the line before mentioned, and it was engaged in building new winter quarters south of Bull Run and completing the earth works covering McLean's ford, when the line of Bull Run was abandoned.

(Here the narrative for Johnston begins.)

About two weeks before the evacuation took place, division commanders were confidentially informed of the probability of that event, and ordered to prepare their commands for it in a quiet way. Up to that time there had been no apparent preparation for such a movement, but an immense amount of stores of all kinds and private baggage of officers and men had been permitted to accumulate. Preparations, however, were commenced at once for sending the stores and baggage to the rear.

[1] The Army was then known as the "Army of the Potomac," and that part of it occupying the line of Bull Run was composed of four divisions, G. W. Smith's, Longstreet's, E. K. Smith's, (subsequently Ewell's), and Van Dorn's,—the latter being commanded first by Bonham and then by me, after Van Dorn was sent West. It was composed of Bonham's, Early's, and Rode's brigades.

(X) Owing to the fact that our army had remained stationary so long, and the inexperience in campaigning of our troops, there had been a vast accumulation of private baggage by both officers and men, and when it became necessary to change a camp it was the work of two or three days. I had endeavored to inculcate proper ideas on this subject into the minds of the officers of my own immediate command, but with very indifferent success, and it was very provoking to see with what tenacity young Lieutenants held on to baggage enough to answer all their purposes at a fashionable watering place in time of peace. After the confidential instructions for the evacuation were given, I tried to persuade my officers to send all their baggage not capable of being easily transported, and for which they did not have immediate necessary use, over the rail-road to some place in the rear out of all danger, but the most that I could accomplish was to get them to send it to Manassas Junction. This was generally the case with the whole army, and the consequence was that a vast amount of trunks and other private baggage was accumulated at the Junction at the last moment, for which it was impossible to find any transportation. This evil, however, was finally and completely remedied by the burning which took place when the Junction itself was evacuated, and we had never any great reason subsequently to complain of a plethoric condition of the baggage.

Besides this trouble in regard to private baggage there was another which incommoded us to some extent, and that resulted from the presence of the wives of a number of officers in and near Camp. These would listen to no mild appeals or gentle remonstrance, but held on with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause, and I was myself compelled, as a final resort, to issue a peremptory order for some of them to leave my camp. I was always of the opinion that Saratoga trunks and officers' wives were not necessary appendages to an army on an active campaign, and if I had had my way neither should have had a place with ours.(X)

The order was finally given for the commencement of our movement to the rear on the morning of the 8th of March, and early on that morning I broke up my camps and moved with my own brigade and that of Kershaw's towards the Junction. We were delayed, however, waiting for the movement of the other troops, and did not arrive at the Junction until in the afternoon. A portion of Ewell's division was to move in front of us along the rail-road, while the remainder of it followed by

(x) From here to next cross mark left out in copy sent Genl. Johnston.

Rode's brigade was to move on a road East of the rail-road. Our wagon trains had been previously sent forward on the roads west of the rail-road. We waited at the Junction until the troops that were to preceed us had passed on, and the last of the trains of cars could be gotten off. Finally at a late hour of the night, after the last available train of cars had left, we moved along the railroad past Bristow station and bivouacked for the night, my own brigade bringing up the rear of our infantry on that route.

A very large amount of stores and provisions had been abandoned for want of transportation, and among the stores was a very large quantity of clothing, blankets &c. which had been provided by the States south of Virginia for their own troops. The pile of trunks along the rail-road was appalling to behold. All these,—stores, clothing, trunks, &c., were consigned to the flames by a portion of our cavalry left to carry out the work of their destruction. The loss of stores at this point and at White Plains on the Manassas Gap rail-road, where a large amount of meat had been salted and stored, was a very serious one to us, and embarrassed us for the remainder of the war, as it put us at once on a running stock.

The movement back from the line of Bull Run was in itself a very wise one in a strategic point of view, if it was not one of absolute necessity, but the loss of stores was very much to be regretted. I do not pretend to attach censure to any one of our officials for this loss, especially to General Johnston. I know that he was exceedingly anxious to get off all the stores, and made extraordinary exertions to accomplish that object. My own opinion was that the failure to carry them off was mainly owing to inefficient management by the rail-road officials, as I always found their movements slow and little to be depended on, beginning with the transportation of the troops sent by me from Lynchburg in May and June 1861.

McClellan, in his report, assumes that the evacuation of the line of Bull Run was in consequence of his projected movement to the Peninsula having become known to the Confederate commander, but such was not the fact. Our withdrawal from that line was owing to the fact that our force was too small to enable us to hold so long a line as that was, against the immense force which it was known had been concentrated at and near Washington. McClellan's statement of his own force shows that his troops, including those in Delaware and Maryland, numbered, on the 1st day of January 1862,—191, 840 for duty, on the 1st of February, 190, 806 for duty, and on the 1st of March, 193, 142

for duty. Of this force he carried into the field in his campaign in the Peninsula considerably over 100,000 men, after having left over 40,000 men to protect Washington. He could have thrown against General Johnston's army at and near Manassas a force of more than four times the strength of that army. I have before stated that Johnston's army was composed of four divisions of infantry, besides the cavalry and artillery. The division commanded by me was fully an average one, and that division including three batteries of artillery and a company of cavalry attached to it, as shown by my field returns now before me, numbered, on the 1st of February 1862,—6965 effective total present, and an aggregate present of 8703, and on the 1st of March, 1862,—5775 effective total present, and an aggregate present of 7154. At both periods a very large number present were on the sick list. The aggregate present and absent, on the 1st of March, amounted to 10,008, there being at that time 24 officers and 962 enlisted men absent sick, and 61 officers and 1442 enlisted men absent on furlough,—the rest of the absentees being on detached service and absent without leave.

This will give a very good idea of General Johnston's entire strength, and will show the immense superiority of the enemy's force to his.[1]

The evacuation of Manassas and the line of Bull Run was therefore a movement rendered absolutely necessary by the inability of our army to cope with the enemy's so near to his base, and had been delayed fully as long as it was prudent to do so.

Moving back over the routes designated, Ewell's division and mine crossed the Rappahannock on the 10th of March and took position on the south bank. We remained there several days, when my division was moved to the Rapidan and crossed over to the south bank, Ewell being left to guard the crossing of the Rappahannock. G. W. Smith's and Longstreet's divisions had moved by the roads west of the rail-road and were concentrated near Orange Court House.

I remained near the Rapidan until the 4th of April, when I received orders to move up to Orange C.H. to take the cars for Richmond and report to General Lee, who was then entrusted with the general direction of military operations under the President. (I had moved up to the Court House a few days before under similar orders but was sent back for want of trans-

[1] An abstract from the Confederate returns on file in the Archives office at Washington, made by Mr. Swinton, shows the entire strength in the Department of Northern Virginia (including the troops under Jackson in the Valley and Holmes in Aquia District) on the 28th of Feby. 1862, was 47,617 present for duty, total present 56,396.

portation.) I marched to the Court House next day, but found difficulty in getting cars enough to transport my division. Rodes was first sent off, then Kershaw, and my own brigade was finally put on board, on the 7th. Going with the rear of this last brigade, I reached Richmond on the morning of the 8th, after much delay on the road,[1] and found that Rodes and Kershaw had been sent to General Magruder on the Peninsula, to which point I was also ordered with my own brigade, part going by the way of York River, and the rest by the way of James River in vessels towed by tugs. My trains and artillery moved by land from Orange C.H.

Operations on the Peninsula.

I landed and reported to General Magruder on the morning of the 9th of April; Rodes and Kershaw having already reported.

After the abandonment of the line of Bull Run by our troops, McClellan had moved the greater part of his army to the Peninsula, and by the 4th of April had landed about 100,000 men at or near Fortress Monroe. Magruder at that time occupied the lower Peninsula with a force which did not exceed in effective men 7,000 or 8,000. Upon this force McClellan advanced with his immense army, when Magruder fell back to the line of Warwick River, extending from Yorktown on York River across to James River, and checked the enemy's advance. McClellan then sat down before the fortifications at Yorktown and along Warwick River and began a siege by regular approaches.

When I arrived at Magruder's head-quarters, I was informed by him that his force, before the arrival of mine, amounted to 12,000, he having been re-inforced, since the enemy's advance, by some troops from the south side of James River, and Wilcox' brigade of Smith's, (now Jones') division, the said brigade having been previously detached from the army under Johnston. The division carried by me now numbered about 8,000 officers and men for duty, it having been increased to that amount by the return of those on furlough and some recruits, so that Magruder's force now amounted to 20,000 officers and men for duty.

McClellan, in a telegram to President Lincoln, dated the 7th of April, says: "Your telegram of yesterday received. In reply I have to state that my entire force for duty amounts to

[1] For want of wood and water to run the trains with.

only about (85,000) eighty five thousand men."[1] At that time, except Wilcox's brigade, not a soldier from General Johnston's army had arrived, and my division constituted the next re-inforcement from that army received by Magruder.

Yorktown had been previously strongly fortified, and some preparations had been made to strengthen the other part of the line, which however had not been completed. Warwick River runs diagonally across the Peninsula from the vicinity of Yorktown, and its course for the greater part of the way is through a low marshy country. Though at its head it is quite a small stream, it had been dammed up to within about a mile from Yorktown, by dams thrown across at several points, so as to be impassable without bridging at any other points than where the dams were, which latter were defended by earth-works. Between Warwick River and Yorktown were two redoubts, called respectively Redoubt No. 4 and Redoubt No. 5, which were connected by a curtain, with wings or lateral breast-works extending to Warwick River on the one side, and the head of a deep ravine between Redoubt No. 4 and Yorktown on the other. Redoubt No. 4, which was the one nearest Yorktown, was sometimes called Fort Magruder. Gloucester Point, across York River from Yorktown, was occupied by a small infantry force with some heavy batteries. The whole line was near fifteen miles in length. The assuming and maintaining this line by Magruder, with his small force in the face of such overwhelming odds, was one of the boldest exploits ever performed by a military commander, and he had so maneuvred his troops, by displaying them rapidly at different points, as to produce the impression on his opponent that he had a large army. His men and a considerable body of negro laborers had been and were still employed in strengthening the works, by working night and day, so that their energies were taxed to the utmost limit.

Before my arrival Kershaw's brigade had been ordered to the right of the line and assigned to that part of it under the command of Brig. General McLaws, and Rode's brigade had been posted at the works between the defences of Yorktown and the head of the obstructions on Warwick River. On my arrival I was ordered to move my own brigade near the point occupied by Rodes, and I was assigned to the command of that part of

[1] In a telegram of same date to Stanton, he said: "All the prisoners state that General J. E. Johnston arrived at Yorktown yesterday with strong reinforcements. It seems clear that I shall have the whole force of the enemy on my hands,—probably not less than one hundred thousand men, and probably more." Our boys when captured wouldn't divulge anything to our detriment, but would make our numbers as large as possible.

the line extending from the ravine south of Yorktown to the right of Wynne's Mill, as far as the mouth of the branch leading into the pond made by dam No. 1, which was the first dam below that of Wynne's Mill. There were two dams on the part of the line thus assigned me,—that at Wynne's Mill and a new dam above it called the upper dam of Wynne's Mill, and the troops defending it consisted of Rode's brigade, my own now under the command of Col. D. K. McCrae of the 5th N.C. Regt., the 2nd Florida Regiment, Col. Ward, the 2nd Mississippi Battalion, Lieut. Col. Taylor, Brig. Genl. Wilcox's brigade, and two regiments temporarily attached to his command under Colonel Winston of Alabama, and the 19th Mississippi Regiment, Colonel Mott. The latter regiment was however transferred to another part of the line in a few days. The 14th Louisiana Regt. was also in this part of the line for a few days. The only portions of my line exposed to the view of the enemy were redoubts No. 4 & 5 and the works attached to them, the works at Wynne's Mill, and part of a small work at the upper dam of Wynne's Mill,—the works at Wynne's Mill and the upper dam, with the intervening space being occupied by Wilcox's command. Between the works designated, including the dam No. 1, the swamps on both sides of Warwick River were thickly wooded and it would have been impossible to cross them without cutting away the dams, which could not have been done without first driving away our troops. This was also the case below dam No. 1 to a greater or less extent. Redoubts No. 4 & 5, with the curtain and lateral works, had been, from necessity, constructed on ground sloping towards the enemy, and the interior and rear of them were, therefore, much exposed to his fire. This was also the case at Wynne's Mill, and at both points it had been necessary to cut zigzag trenches or bayous to enable the men to pass into and from the works with as little exposure as possible. Our side of the Warwick River, between the exposed points, was occupied by thin picket lines. Besides the infantry mentioned there were several batteries of field artillery in the works, and in Redoubt No. 4 there were two heavy guns and a large howitzer.

Brig. Genl. Rains had charge of the immediate defences of Yorktown and Gloucester Point.

When I took command I found the enemy busily engaged in constructing trenches and earth-works in front of redoubts No. 4 & 5 and of Wynne's Mill. In front of Redoubt No. 5 was a dwelling house, Palmentary's, with several outhouses and a large peach orchard extending to within a few hundred yards of

our works, under cover of which the enemy pushed forward some sharpshooters, with long range rifles, and established a line of rifle pits within range of our works, which annoyed us very much for several days, as nearly our whole armanent for the infantry consisted of smooth bore muskets, and our artillery ammunition was too scarce to permit its use in a contest with sharpshooters.

On the 11th of April General Magruder ordered sorties to be made by small parties from all the main points of the line, for the purpose of feeling the enemy. Wilcox sent out a party from Wynne's Mill which encountered the skirmishers the enemy had advanced towards his front, and drove them back to the main line. Later in the day Col. Ward, with his own regiment and the 2nd Mississippi Battalion, was thrown to the front on the right and left of Redoubt No. 5, driving the enemy's sharpshooters from their rifle pits, advancing through the peach orchard to the main road beyond from Warwick C.H. and Fortress Monroe, so as to compel a battery, which the enemy had posted at an earth-work on our left of said road, to retire precipitately.

Colonel Ward, however, retired to our works on the approach of a large force of the enemy's infantry, after having set fire to the house above mentioned, and performed the duty assigned him in a very gallant and dashing manner, without loss to his command. These affairs developed the fact that the enemy was in strong force both in front of Wynne's Mill and redoubts No. 4 & 5. On the night following Ward's sortie, the 24th Va. Regiment (of my brigade) under Colonel Terry moved to the front, and cut down the peach orchard and burned the rest of the houses which had afforded the enemy shelter; and on the next night Colonel McCrae with the 5th N. C. Regiment moved further to the front and cut down some cedars along the main road above mentioned, which partially screened the enemy's movements from our observation. Both of which feats were accomplished without difficulty or loss; and after this we were not again annoyed by the enemy's sharpshooters.

About this time Major General D. H. Hill arrived at Yorktown with two brigades from General Johnston's army (composed of troops that had been at Leesburg and some regiments from Manassas that had been unattached), and was assigned to the command of the left wing, embracing Rain's command and mine. No change, however, was made in the extent of my command, but I was merely made subordinate to General Hill.

The enemy continued to work very busily on his approaches, and each day some new work was developed. He occasionally fired with artillery on our works, and the working parties engaged in strengthening them and made traverses and epaulments in the rear, but we rarely replied to him as our supply of ammunition was very limited.

During the month of April there was much cold rainy weather, and our troops suffered greatly, as they were without tents or other shelter. Their duties were very severe and exhausting, as when they were not on the front line in the trenches they were employed in constructing heavy traverses and epaulments in the rear of the main line, so as to conceal and protect the approaches to it. In addition to all this, their rations were very limited, and consisted of the plainest and roughest food; coffee was out of the question, as were vegetables and fresh meat. All this told terribly on the health of the men, and there were little or no hospital accommodations in the rear.

In a day or two after General Hill's arrival, Colston's brigade reported to me and occupied a position between the upper dam of Wynne's Mill and redoubt No. 5.

On the 16th the enemy made a dash at dam No. 1 on my right, and succeeded in crossing the dam and entering the work covering it, but was soon repulsed and driven across the river with some loss. This was not within the limits of my command, but a portion of my troops were moved in the direction attacked, without, however, being needed.

By the 18th, the residue of General Johnston's troops east of the Blue Ridge, except Ewell's division and a portion of the cavalry which had been left on the Rappahannock, and a small force left at Fredericksburg, had reached the vicinity of Yorktown, and on that day General Johnston, having assumed the command, issued an order assigning Magruder to the command of the right wing beginning at dam No. 1 and extending to James River, D. H. Hill to the command of the left wing including Yorktown and redoubts No. 4 & 5, and their appurtennant defences, Longstreet to the command of the centre, which extended from dam No. 1 to the right of the lateral defences of Redoubt No. 5, and G. W. Smith to the command of the reserve. This order, as a necessary consequence, contracted my command, which was now confined to redoubts No. 4 & 5 and the works adjacent thereto, and they were defended by Rode's and my brigades, and the 2nd Florida Regiment, 2nd Mississippi Battalion, and 49th Va. Regiment,—the latter regiment having

lately been assigned to me for the defence of the head of the ravine south of Yorktown.

Shortly afterwards, General Hill made a new arrangement of the command, by which Rode's brigade was separated from mine, and General Rodes was assigned to the charge of redoubt No. 5 and the defences on its right, while I was assigned to the charge of redoubt No. 4 and the defences on the right and left of it, including the curtain connecting the two redoubts.[1]

The enemy continued to advance his works, and it was while we were thus confronting him and in constant expectation of an assault, that the re-organization of the greater part of the regiments of our army, under the Conscript Act recently passed by Congress, took place. Congress had been tampering for some time with the question of re-organizing the army and supplying the place of the twelve months volunteers, who composed much the greater part of our army,[2] and several schemes had been started and adopted, with little or no success and much damage to the army itself, until finally it was found necessary to adopt a general conscription. If this scheme had been adopted in the beginning, it would have been readily acquiesced in, but when it was adopted much dissatisfaction was created by the fact that it necessarily violated promises and engagements made with those who had re-enlisted under some of the former schemes. The re-organization which took place resulted in a very great change in the officers, especially among the field officers, all of whom were appointed by election, and as may be well supposed this state of things added nothing to the efficiency of the army, or its morale. Under the discretion allowed by the act, I refused to permit the reorganization in the 12 months regiments in my own brigade until they had been in a fight. That reorganization took place very shortly after the Battle of Williamsburg, and the consequence was all the best field officers and many of the best company officers were retained.

In the meantime the enemy's army had been greatly augmented by re-inforcements, and by the last of April his approaches on our front had assumed very formidable appearances.

McClellan, in his report, states the strength of his army as follows: Present for duty, April 30th 1862, 4,725 officers, and 104,610 men, making 109,335 aggregate present for duty, and

[1] This was the final disruption of the division commanded by me, which was the first organized in the army in Virginia, and I believe in the entire Confederacy.

[2] Fully three-fourths, and I think probably a larger proportion.

115,350 aggregate present.[1] This was exclusive of Wool's troops at Fortress Monroe.

General Johnston's whole force, including Magruder's in it, could not have exceeded 50,000 officers and men for duty, if it reached that number, and my own impression, from data within my knowledge, is that it was considerably below that figure.[2]

After dark on the night of Thursday, the 1st of May, General Hill informed his subordinate commanders that the line of Warwick River and Yorktown was to be abandoned, according to a determination that day made or communicated upon consultation of the principal officers at General Johnston's headquarters; and we were ordered to get ready to evacuate immediately after dark on the following night, after having previously sent off all the trains.

This measure was one of absolute necessity, and the only wonder to me was that it had not been previously resorted to. The line occupied by us was so long and our troops had to be so much scattered to occupy the whole of it, that no point could be sufficiently defended against a regular siege or a vigorous assault. The obstacles that had been interposed to obstruct the enemy, likewise rendered it impossible for us to move out and attack him, after he had established his works in front of us; and we would have had to await the result of a regular siege, with the danger, imminent at any time, of the enemy's gunboats and monitors running by our works on York and James rivers, and thus destroying our communications by water.[3]

About 12 miles in rear of Yorktown, near Williamsburg, the Peninsula is only about three or four miles wide, and there are creeks and marshes jutting into it on both sides, at this point, in such a way that the routes for the escape of our army would have been confined to a very narrow slip, if our line had been broken.

The most assailable point on our whole line was that occupied

[1] A statement from the Adjutant General's office at Washington compiled from the reports of McClellan's army of that date, in the Report on the Conduct of the War, Part I, page 323, gives the aggregate present for duty at the same time 112,392.

[2] General Johnston says, (page 117 of his Narrative): "The arrival of Smith's and Longstreet's divisions increased the army on the Peninsula to about fifty three thousand men, including three thousand sick." He speaks as if the time he assumed command, and afterwards the number of sick greatly increased.

[3] Our position could also have been easily turned by the movement of a column up the north bank of York River, and Franklin's command were kept aboard the transports with that view.

by Rodes and myself, and when the enemy could have got his heavy batteries ready, our works on this part of the line would have soon been rendered untenable. Owing to the fact that the ground on which these works were located rose towards the enemy's position, so as to expose to a direct fire their interior and rear, it would have been very easy for him to have shelled us out of them; and when this part of the line had been carried, the enemy could have pushed to our rear on the direct road to Williamsburg, and secured all the routes over which it would have been possible for us to retreat, thus rendering the capture or dispersion of our entire army certain. Nothing but the extreme boldness of Magruder and the excessive caution of McClellan had arrested the march of the latter across this part of the line in the first place, as it was then greatly weaker than we subsequently made it.

During the night of the 1st of May, after orders had been given for the evacuation, we commenced a cannonade upon the enemy with all of our heavy guns in the works at Yorktown and in Redoubt No. 4. The object of this was to dispose of as much of the fixed ammunition as possible, and produce the impression that we were preparing for an attack on the enemy's trenches. This cannonading was continued during the next day, and, on our part of the line, we were ready to have commenced the evacuation at the time designated, but a little before night on that day (Friday the 2nd) the execution of the order was postponed until the next night because, as was alleged, Longstreet's troops were not ready to move. The cannonading was, therefore, continued on Friday night and during Saturday. Immediately after dark on the latter day, the evacuation began and was conducted successfully.

Stuart's cavalry, dismounted, replacing our pickets on the front line, and the men attached to the heavy artillery remaining behind to continue the cannonading until daylight next morning, so as to keep the enemy in ignorance of our withdrawal as long as possible.

There was a loss of some stores and very considerable public property which had been recently brought down, and for which there was no transportation, as the steamboats expected for that purpose did not arrive.

A very valuable part of the property so lost and which we afterwards stood much in need of, consisted of a very large number of picks and spades, many of them entirely new. All of our heavy guns including some recently arrived and not

mounted, together with a good deal of ammunition piled up on the wharf, had to be left behind.[1]

Hill's command, to which I was attached, moved on the direct road to Williamsburg, but our progress was very slow, as the roads were in a terrible condition, by reason of the heavy rains which had recently fallen.

My command passed through Williamsburg after sunrise on the morning of Sunday the 4th, and bivouacked about two miles west of that place.

The day before the evacuation took place the 20th Georgia Regiment had been transfered from my brigade, and its place had been supplied by the 38th Virginia Regiment under Lieut. Colonel Whittle. The 2nd Florida Regiment and 2nd Mississippi Battalion continued to be attached to my command.

No supplies of provisions had been accumulated at Williamsburg, and the rations brought from Yorktown were now nearly exhausted, owing to the delay of a day in the evacuation, and the fact that our transportation was very limited.

Magruder's force had scarcely any transportation, and I had to furnish transportation to the 2nd Florida Regt. and 2nd Mississippi Battl. from that belonging to my own brigade.

We rested on Sunday, but received orders to be ready to resume the march at 3 o'clock A.M. on the next day, the 5th. My command was under arms promptly at the time designated, but it had been raining during the night, and it was very difficult for our trains and artillery to make any headway. My command therefore had to remain under arms until about noon, before the time arrived for it to take its place in the column to follow the troops and trains which were to preceed it, and was just about to move off when I received an order from General Hill to halt for a time. I soon received another order to move back to Williamsburg, and report to General Longstreet, who had been entrusted with the duty of protecting our rear.[2]

[1] (This note was not attached to the copy sent Genl. Johnston, but the above statement is a verbatim copy of his.)

I went to the wharf on Friday to see delivered a considerable number of picks and spades which my men had been using, and were directed to be returned for the purpose of transportation up the river, and I then saw piled up on the wharf an immense amount of entirely new picks and spades, a great number of new cutting boxes for cutting long forage, a large number of ammunition boxes of all kinds that had been unopened, and very many large boxes containing public property of other kinds. No steamer came down after this and of course all of that plunder was lost.

[2] Here narrative sent Johnston ends, and a copy of following report with notes was sent in a separate paper at same time.

The following is a copy of my report of the operations of my brigade at the battle of Williamsburg.

Lynchburg, June 9th, 1862.

Major,

I have the honor to make the following report of the operations of my brigade on Monday the 5th day of May last, near Williamsburg.

In accordance with orders received the evening before, my brigade was in readiness to take up the line of march, from its camp west of Williamsburg, towards Richmond, at 3 o'clock A. M. on the 5th ultimo, but having been detained by the difficulty with which the brigades, with their trains, that had preceeded it moved off, about or a little before noon, just as my regiments were formed for the purpose of commencing the march, I was directed by Major General D. H. Hill not to move my infantry; and in a short time I was ordered by him to march back and report with my regiments to Major General Longstreet at Williamsburg, which I did, having with me my brigade proper, consisting of the 5th N. Carolina Regiment, commanded by Col. D. K. McRae, the 23rd N. Carolina Regiment, commanded by Col. I. F. Hoke, the 24th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Wm. R. Terry, and the 38th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. Powhatan Whittle, to which were attached the 2nd Florida Regiment, commanded by Col. George T. Ward, and the 2nd Mississippi Battalion, commanded by Lieut. Col. I. G. Taylor.

After reporting to Major General Longstreet, my command, by his orders, was halted in the open space in rear of the college buildings, where it remained until sometime between 3 and 4 o'clock P.M., when I was ordered by General Longstreet, to move to the support of Brig. General Anderson of his division, at or near Fort Magruder,[1] and to send a messenger to let him know that I was coming. I immediately put my command in motion, moving as rapidly as the condition of the streets would permit, and sent forward my Aide, Lieut. S. H. Early, to inform General Anderson of the fact. Before reaching Fort Magruder I was met by Lieut. Early, who informed me that General Anderson was not at the Fort, but some where to the right where his troops were engaged with the enemy, and that Brig. General

[1] Fort Magruder was the central and main one of a line of redoubts previously constructed about a mile east of Williamsburg, the left of which was near a mill dam on a creek or small stream that runs into York River or one of its tributaries.

Stuart, who was in charge at Fort Magruder, requested that I should send four regiments to the right and two to the left of the Fort. Before this movement could be executed, General Longstreet, himself, overtook me, and directed me to carry the whole of my command to a position designated by him, to the left and rear of the Fort, and await further orders. I proceeded in that direction, General Longstreet, himself, going to the right in the direction of a heavy musketry and artillery firing which was going on. In a few moments, and before my command had proceeded far towards its destination, I received an order from General Longstreet, through one of his staff-officers, to send him two regiments, which I obeyed by sending him the 2nd Florida Regiment and the 2nd Mississippi Battalion (equal to a regiment), under the command of Col. Ward of the 2nd Florida Regiment.

With the remainder of my command, being my brigade proper, I proceeded as near as practicable to the position designated by General Longstreet, on the left and rear of Fort Magruder, and formed my regiments on the crest of a ridge in a wheat field, and near a barn and some houses, with a woods some two or three hundred yards in our front; in which position we were not in view of any body of the enemy, though we were soon informed, by the firing from a battery, in or beyond the woods, towards Fort Magruder, that a portion of the enemy were in our front.

In a short time Major General Hill arrived, and having ascertained that the enemy had a battery in front of us, he informed me that he wished me to attack and capture the battery with my brigade, but before doing so he must see General Longstreet on the subject.[1]

General Hill and myself, with my Aide, Lieut. Early, then rode to the front to see if what appeared to be a small stream at the edge of the woods, would offer any obstacle to the advance of my brigade, and, having ascertained that it would not, General Hill went to the right to see General Longstreet, and I proceeded to inform my regiment that they would, upon the return of General Hill, advance to the attack of the enemy's

[1] I had in fact called General Hill's attention to the battery, the position of which was indicated to us by the sound of its guns and the bursting of its shells near Fort Magruder, and requested of him permission to attempt to capture it, and he assented to my proposition, with the proviso that it should receive General Longstreet's sanction before it was carried into execution. I did not deem it necessary to state this fact in a report intended for him.

battery and troops in front, and to give them directions as to their conduct.

In a short time General Raine's brigade came up and took its position just in rear and close to my brigade, and some pieces of Artillery also came up which I was proceeding to place in position, but General Hill returned and, after informing me that the attack was to be made, himself posted the Artillery so as to cover the retreat of my brigade if it should be compelled to fall back. As soon as General Hill had completed his dispositions, he gave the order to the two regiments on the right to move, which I presume was intended for the whole brigade, but the order was not heard by me or the regiments on the left;[1] but seeing the regiments on the right moving and General Hill with them, I ordered the other two regiments also to move forward, and the whole brigade was thus put in motion,—the 5th N. C. Regt. being on the right, next to it the 23rd N. C., then the 38th Va., the 24th Va. being on the left.

General Hill being on the right and accompanying the brigade, I placed myself on the left with the 24th Va. Regt., for the purpose of directing its movements, as I was satisfied, from the sound of the enemy's guns, that this regiment would come directly on the battery. The brigade advanced through the wheat field and then through a thick woods, about half a mile in all, when it came upon a open field, in view of Fort Magruder, at the end of which farthest from the Fort the enemy had taken position with a battery of six pieces, since ascertained to be Wheeler's New York Battery, and some two or three pieces from another battery called Kenneday's, which were supported by a brigade of infantry under the command of Brig. General Hancock.

In this field were two or three redoubts, previously built by our troops, of at least one of which the enemy had possession, his artillery being posted in front of it near some farm houses and supported by a body of infantry, the balance of the infantry being in the redoubt and in the edge of the woods close by.

The 24th Va. Regiment, as I had anticipated, came directly upon the battery, emerging from the woods over a fence into the field within musket range of the farm houses at which the battery was posted. This regiment, without pausing or wavering, charged upon the enemy under a heavy fire, and drove back

[1] I was on the extreme left with the 24th Va., (my old regiment) addressing some remarks to the men, to stimulate their pride and induce them to make a bold dash for the battery, on which I felt sure the proposed route of advance would carry them.

his guns and the infantry supporting them to the cover of the redoubt mentioned and the woods and a fence close by, and continued to advance upon him in a most gallant manner. I looked to the right to see if the other regiments were coming up to the support of the 24th, but not observing them doing so I sent orders for them to advance. These orders were anticipated by Col. McRae of the 5th N. C. Regiment, who was on the extreme right of my brigade and marched down with his regiment, as soon as it was possible for him to do so, to the support of the 24th, and the attack of the enemy, traversing the whole front that should have been occupied by the other two regiments. Having received a very severe wound, shortly after the charge made by the 24th on the enemy's battery, I became so weak, from loss of blood and suffered such excruciating pain, that I was unable to direct the operations of the brigade, and was compelled to retire from the field just as the 5th N. C. Regiment, under the lead of its gallant colonel, made its charge on the enemy's artillery and infantry; but its conduct has been reported to me by impartial witnesses.

This regiment in conjunction with the 24th Va. Regt. made an attack upon the vastly superior forces of the enemy which for its gallantry, is unsurpassed in the annals of warfare. Their conduct was such as to elicit from the enemy himself the highest praise. But these regiments were not supported by the other two regiments of the brigade. The 23rd N. C. Regiment, it seems from the report of its commanding officer, was ordered by General Hill to change its front before it got through the woods, which brought it in rear of the 24th Va. Regiment, but it never got out of the woods; and the 38th Va. Regiment, it seems, started to obey my order, though it was so late in doing so, that before it got fairly under fire the 5th and 24th had been ordered by General Hill to retire. Had these two latter regiments been properly supported, they would unquestionably have captured the enemy's artillery and routed his infantry. As it was, the enemy was compelled to withdraw the most of his pieces of Artillery from the field, and these two regiments did not give way, notwithstanding the fearful odds against them, until ordered to retire by General Hill.

Col. McRae's report which accompanied mine showed that the two regiments had driven the enemy into the redoubt on the left and the woods beyond, where they were held by the fire of our men who had gotten to a place where they were not suffering damage, the enemy being afraid to lift their heads above the breast-work at the redoubt to fire on our men. He

sent to Genl. Hill for re-inforcements to enable him to dislodge the enemy, and received in reply an order to retire. When he started to do this the enemy rose and poured a volley into the retiring regiment which was very destructive. In going back a number of men obliqued too much to the right and ran into one of the enemy's regiments in the woods, and were thus captured.

As a matter of course they suffered severely, their loss being heaviest while falling back. A number of valuable officers were killed and wounded in both regiments; the 5th N. C. Regiment lost its Lieut. Colonel J. C. Budham, a most excellent and gallant officer, and it lost also several Captains and Lieutenants while gallantly performing their duty; the 24th Va. Regiment did not suffer so severely in killed, but Captain Jennings and Lieut. Radford, two officers of great worth were killed on the field, and Captain Haden was mortally wounded. A number of prisoners were taken in these two regiments, owing to the fact that, in retiring through the woods, back to the position from which they had advanced, they lost their way and fell into the hands of a body of the enemy that was in the woods.[1]

Returns of the killed and wounded in the two regiments were sent to me, but it has since been ascertained that they are so inaccurate that I forbear to send them, and must refer to the regimental commanders for correct returns.

So well did the officers and men of these two regiments do their duty, that it would be invidious to discriminate, but I may be permitted to mention especially the gallant conduct and undaunted courage displayed by the field officers of both regiments, Col. D. K. McRae, Lieut. Col. J. C. Budham, and Major Sinclair of the 5th N. C. and Col. Wm. R. Terry, Lieut. Col. Peter Hairston, and Major R. R. Maury of the 24th Va., all of whom proved themselves eminently worthy of the positions held by them in their regiments. Of these officers, unfortunately, Lieut. Col. Budham was killed on the field, and Col. Terry and Lieut. Col. Hairston were severely wounded.

I do not wish to be understood as casting reproach upon the 23rd N. C. and 38th Va. regiments, both of which have, since that time, encountered the enemy on another field (Seven Pines) and suffered severely.

I have received no report of the part taken by the 2nd Florida Regiment and the 2nd Mississippi Battalion on the right, the only reports being lists of killed and wounded. I have no doubt

[1] This information was received from the prisoners themselves, who were exchanged in a very few days.

they performed their duty well. On the list of killed in the 2nd Florida Regiment is found the name of its Colonel, George T. Ward, as true a gentleman and as gallant a soldier as has drawn his sword in this war, and whose conduct under fire it was my fortune to witness on another occasion. His loss to his regiment, to his State, and to the Confederacy cannot be easily compensated.

My regular Aide, Lieut. S. H. Early, and young Mr. John Morson of Richmond, a volunteer aide, were both on the field under fire, and discharged their duties admirably.

Accompanying this report are copies of the reports of several of the regimental commanders. My own report has been delayed thus long, because I have been unable to undergo the labor of writing it.

Very respectfully,

Major J. W. Blatchford, Your obt. servt. J. A. Early."
A. A. Genl.

After my wound was dressed in a hospital at Williamsburg, I started in an ambulance at 12 at night, and reaching James River near Charles City C. H., I took a steamer for Richmond where I arrived on the evening of the 8th. From thence I went to Lynchburg for treatment.

The foregoing contains the narrative furnished General Johnston, to which he refers on page 449 of his "Narrative."

The only difference between the two is that, in the copy furnished him, I omitted what is said about the presence of officers' wives in camp, as his own wife was there for some time,—and in a few instances, in copying, I have changed the phraseology very slightly, without changing the sense, or affecting the facts stated. What, however, is said about the loss of stores at Manassas and at Yorktown is given verbatim as it was in the copy sent to him.

The notes appended to the narrative, which are merely explanatory, were not in his copy, for they relate to facts with which he was familiar. In the copy of my report of the Battle of Williamsburg, sent him, the notes were fuller than they are here given.

In his "Narrative," on page 122, in reference to the Battle of Williamsburg, he says:

"About five o'clock General Early sent an officer to report that a battery, that had been firing upon Fort Magruder and the troops near it, was near his front, and asked permission to

attack it. The message was delivered to General Longstreet in my presence, and he referred it to me. I authorized the attempt, but enjoined caution in it. Early's brigade advanced in two equal detachments, commanded, one by Major General Hill, and the other by himself. They were separated in a thick wood, and General Early, in issuing from it, found a redoubt near and in front of him. He attempted an asault, in which he was severely wounded, after which his two regiments were quickly defeated, with a loss of nearly four hundred men."

I sent no officer to get permission, but applied for it to General D. H. Hill, my immediate superior. I understood he went in person to see Longstreet, but it is not improbable that while looking after something else, perhaps ordering up other troops or some artillery, he may have sent one of his staff officers to get the permission, who stated that I had made the request, as in fact I had made it to General Hill. My brigade was not divided into two detachments, but advanced in one line of battle as stated in my report—though General Hill accompanied it on the right and gave some orders in going through the woods. The attack that was made, was made by the two flank regiments, the two in the middle not getting out of the woods in time to join in the attack. We did not come on the enemy in a redoubt and assault that, but found him in the field in front of the redoubt, and drove him back to it. The redoubt was not assaulted at all, and was capable of holding but a small portion of the enemy's force on that part of the field. When we came upon the enemy as the 24th Va. did there was no alternative but to attack, and I know of no "caution" in making an attack, but boldness and promptness in making it, when it is resolved on. To have retired as soon as the enemy was discovered, would have been absurd, and would have been as disastrous as a repulse. The two regiments that united in the assault were not repulsed at all. They drove the enemy to the cover of the redoubt and the shelter of the woods near it, and he was there held at bay by my two regiments, which had suffered comparatively little at that time. Colonel McRae, who succeeded to the command after I retired, sent to Genl. Hill for re-inforcements in order to advance, and in reply he received an order to retire.

This fact was stated in his report, and he further stated that his men were holding the enemy to his shelter in such way that they were suffering none, but it was when he commenced retiring that the enemy rose and fired upon his men, doing the greatest damage that was done. Some of them obliqued too far

to the right in going back and ran into a regiment of the enemy's concealed in the woods, and were thus captured.

McRae's report, which was sent with mine, showed the facts that transpired after I left the field, and hence they were not repeated in my report. In retiring, my brigade met Rodes' advancing to his assistance, Genl. Rodes having taken that responsibility. Had time been given for him to get up, the result would have been very different.

The fault, therefore, was not in making the attack without caution, but in not supporting it promptly and vigorously. Had that been done, the enemy's force here engaged must have been captured, as it had crossed over to this point on a narrow mill dam, and had only that way to escape. The correspondents from the enemy's camp gave a very different account of our attack from that given by General Johnston, and Hancock told Dr. Cullen, left in charge of the wounded, that the 5th N. C. and the 24th Va. deserved to have the word "immortal" inscribed on their banners.

J. A. Early.

endorsed: Gen. J. A. Early, evacuation of the line of Bull Run; Operations in the Peninsula, etc.

C. G. Memminger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Flat Rock Sept. 25, 1877.

Hon. Jeff. Davis,
Miss. City,
Dear Sir,

Your letter of 17 Inst. addressed to me at Charleston has just reached me at this my summer home, and I rejoice at seeing once more your familiar handwriting.

As to your first inquiry, Genl. Drayton, at my last information was residing at Charlotte, No. Ca.

As to the other subject of your letter, to wit, the cotton policy of the Confederate Government, it would be impossible to make an explicit statement without documents, and unfortunately most of the documents taken home by me were burnt in Sherman's fires at Columbia. As to that portion of our cotton policy which relates to shipping cotton before the ports were closed, the charge was met by myself and Mr. Trenholm in the public newspapers as soon as it appeared in Genl. Johnson's

Book, and every body in this region thought we had extinguished it. As soon as I return and can get copies of these replies I will send them to you. The fact is that we would have extinguished the charge long before, were it not that you yourself was cited as authority for it. In the Book published by the Physician who gave an account of your prison life, a conversation with you is given, in which you placed on my action in this respect, the responsibility for our failure. I was greatly surprised when I read it, but of course preferred to submit to the reproach, rather than add one straw to the sufferings you were enduring.

Moreover I did not believe that you had ever said what was attributed to you, and I thought that you would contradict the statement yourself when you were free to act. For I thought you would remember, that of all the Cabinet, I was the most earnest in advancing these early shipments, and that I actually brought young Mr. Trenholm to Montgomery to advocate before the Cabinet, the establishment of two lines of Steamers to run to some intermediate Depot at Bermuda and Havannah for the purpose of accumulating Cotton and munitions of War. This I was sure that you would remember; so as I said before, I felt sure that you were misrepresented. Nevertheless as every body read the Book, and no one contradicted the statement, it obtained such currency that even Genl. Johnston gave it credit in his Book. I have no doubt that our Records, which I understand are at Washington would furnish materials for full refutation; but it is not in my power to examine them.

Col. Capers, formerly my chief clerk, in a recent visit to Washington, procured from these records a Copy of a Letter from me to a leading merchant in New York, a few weeks after entering on the duties of my office, in relation to the employment of vessels to transport Cotton. It seems to me that a very little reflection is necessary to show the absurdity of the charge, even to one outside of the Government. But to us on the inside who know that we had no money to pay for arms, much less to buy Cotton; that we had not in the Confederacy a sheet of Bank Note paper, and but one Bk. Note engraver; and had first to establish a paper mill at Richmond before we could even issue Bonds to raise money; and that such was the general opinion that there would be no war; that the first issue of Notes authorized by Congress was limited to one million of Int. bearing Notes and the first loan to 15 millions of which only two could be placed.

As soon as I return to Charleston, I will send you copies

of the articles above mentioned; and would respectfully suggest that you should get some friend at Washington to search the Records of the Treasury Department for details of the information you may desire. They will show also the subsequent measures taken for procuring the Erlanger loan on cotton, and the earnest efforts made to run the Blockade.

With kindest wishes for the continuance of your health, and kind remembrances to your family, Very truly yours,

C. G. MEMMINGER.

endorsed: C. G. Memminger; ansd. Oct. '77

Jefferson Davis to Dr. E. L. Drake.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

1877

Dr. E. Drake,

My Dear Sir:—

I have received your courteous letter of the 9th ult. and also the July number of The Annals of the Army of Tennessee.

In regard to the article by Colonel A. S. Colyar, and the introduction connected with it, I can only say that the representations made of the opinions of General Lee do not accord with the full, and, I must believe, frank conversations he held with me about the period referred to by Colonel Colyar.

Of the proceedings in secret session, I have no knowledge; but must express my surprise that the Congress should have held such deliberations, and concealed their action from the Executive, who had a right to expect their Co-operation in his efforts to save the people, whom they and he alike represented; or that the House of Representatives should assume to itself the appointing power, which the Constitution vested in the Executive and Senate. As to the rest, which puts me in the attitude of staying proceedings directory of my conduct as Executive, by assurance of compliance with the will of the House, even as to the persons to be appointed, I will say that it is utterly unwarranted by anything I ever said or thought.

The incentive to the appointment of a peace commission at that time was the assurance by Mr. F. P. Blair Sr., a confidential friend of President Lincoln, that if I would send such a commission it would be received by the Government at Washington.

It is not to me surprising that Mr. Stephens did not, in his work, refer to the proceedings described by Colonel Colyar, in

connection with the account of the appointment of that commission, because I early conferred with Mr. Stephens on the subject of sending a commission, as well as in regard to the persons who should constitute it. Subsequently, after conferring with my Cabinet, I changed the personnel of the commission, and Mr. Stephens, not originally intended, was made one of them, not because he desired it, for the reverse was known to me to be the fact. It will be remembered that I had on a previous occasion sent Mr. Stephens on a mission to President Lincoln, especially in regard to prisoners of war, and that he had been refused permission to go to the Federal Capital. Like considerations to those which had caused me to select him on the first occasion prevailed on the second.

Colonel Colyar states that "great astonishment" was felt when, "for the first time, after the commissioners returned," the character of their instructions was learned by himself and others. One cognizant of the relations of the House of Representatives to the treaty making power would justly be astonished if the Executive were to communicate to the House of Representatives the instructions given to commissioners sent out for purposes of negotiation, before their mission was closed. But after the return of the Commissioners, when for the first time it was consistent and proper, the instructions were communicated by the Executive to the two houses of Congress, and as they were very brief, covering little more space than Colonel Colyar has employed in giving his interpretation of them, I will here insert them.

"In conformity with the letters of Mr. Lincoln, of which the foregoing is a copy, you are requested to proceed to Washington City for informal conference with him upon the issues involved in the existing war; and for the purpose of securing peace to the two countries. Your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON DAVIS."

I do not know how anyone could have expected me, under the trust which I held from the people of the Confederate States, to propose to surrender, at discretion, the rights and liberties for which the best and bravest of the land were still gallantly struggling, and for which so many had nobly died. The "matter they had at heart" was to maintain the rights their fathers had left them. My heart sympathized with theirs, feeling that duty and honor alike forbade that I should seek peace on conditions which our army, depleted as it was, would have rejected with disdain.

If, while the army defiantly held its position in the field, the sovereign people and their representatives in the Congress of the Confederate States, under the pressure of war, and dread of possible consequences, had wished to abandon the claims in defense of which the war was waged, and that the battle-torn flags should be furled and cased in humiliation, and the arms so long and valiantly borne, should be stacked for surrender, I should have bowed to their will, but would have never executed it. In shame and mortification I would have resigned and left the office to be filled by some one fit for such service as has been indicated. Through all I have suffered and lost, it has been to me an unfailing consolation, that I served a people and a cause worthy of any sacrifice which man could make, and I truly regret the recent revelations which have developed obstructions concealed from me and from the people, when I was zealously laboring to fulfill the duties of the office with which they had honoured me.

Freely admitting my liability to err, and lack of strength adequate to the heavy burthens imposed upon me, if honesty of purpose and zeal for the public welfare be admitted, as I believe they always have been, from them there surely arose a fair claim, all the stronger for any deficiences ascribed to me, for the full co-operation, frank dealing, and steady support of all who wished the success of our cause.

If so, what shall be said of secret caucuses, concealed plans, to embarrass the Executive, and to undermine the confidence and good will of the people in the administration they had chosen and thus to destroy the corner stone, and work the inevitable ruin of the Confederacy?

With very sincere regard and esteem,

Yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

James D. Porter to Mrs. Jefferson Davis.

Paris Tennessee Apl. 17th 1890.

Dear Mrs. Davis:

I enclose copies of the correspondence referred to in a previous letter. In my opinion it is important that this correspondence should appear in the forthcoming volume of memoirs of President Davis, it illustrates very forcibly the difficulties by which he was surrounded, he sought to secure the support of the country by maintaining our armies in the field and by organizing

victory for their commanders, and I have no doubt that when Mr. Colyar's letter was brought to his attention in 1877, he could see that the growing want of confidence that became apparent towards the close of our struggle was much of it chargeable to this Congressional Cabal.

I trust that you will submit this suggestion to the gentlemen who are assisting you in your editorial work, and with all good wishes, I am,

Yours very truly,
JAS. D. PORTER

Mrs. Jefferson Davis.

As previously stated this correspondence appeared in Drake's "Annals of the Army of Tennessee" a monthly publication continued for five or six months after the appearance of President Davis' reply; no response was ever made to it.

A. S. Colyar to R. M. T. Hunter.

(Nashville Tenn. Jan. 3d 1877.)

Honorable R. M. T. Hunter,

Dear Sir:—

I have just read your letter in the December number of the *Southern Historical Papers.* (I did not see the other letter, nor Mr. Davis' reply.) But the subject is one about which I have often had occasion to speak, and, as a matter of history, I want to give you my distinct recollection about the Hampton Roads Commission.

I was, as you may remember, in the House of Representatives, and on intimate terms with Colonel John B. Baldwin. Some time in the latter part of the year 1864 (I cannot remember the exact date, but, probably, in November), at the close of a night session, Mr. Baldwin asked me to take a walk with him, saying, when we got out on the Capitol grounds, that a crisis had come, and something must be done; "but," said he, "for the first time in my life I feel that I lack moral courage to do my duty." He then went on to say that a determined stand ought to be made for peace, but, knowing Mr. Davis as he did, he feared nothing could be done with him. Said he, "I have seen General Lee, who gave me to understand, distinctly, that the cause had to fail." Colonel Baldwin, as you will remember, was, during the first year of the war, in the army and under General Lee, and was on most intimate terms with him.

Upon consultation, it was agreed that Mr. Baldwin should, the next day, introduce in the House, in secret session, a resolution for the appointment of a committee to inquire into our resources and ability for carrying on the war. This he did, and the committee was appointed. Mr. B. was chairman, and I was put on the committee. This committee took much proof—mainly officers of the army, and, among others, we examined General Lee.

I suppose his deposition can be found at Washington. He proved that his army was daily being reduced, and that General Grant's army was daily being strengthened, and that it was only a question of time as to giving up Richmond, and when he did retire, his army could not be sustained for lack of supplies. Colonel Baldwin put the question to him direct, if he could make no suggestions for strengthening the army, and his answer, without qualification, was, that he could not. The facts fully confirming what General Lee had told Mr. Baldwin were reported to the House. Thereupon I drew a set of resolutions looking to a peace conference. The resolutions, as I drew them, named Hunter, Stephens and Campbell as the Commissioners.

In company with the Honorable J. D. C. Atkins, I took the resolutions to Mr. Stephens, who had just arrived in Richmond. Just what time this was, I do not remember; but it was in one or two days after Mr. Stephens arrived, after a long absence, and after the committee had taken much time in taking the proof. Atkins and myself had a free talk with Mr. Stephens, who fully realized the situation. We left the resolution with Mr. Stephens with the distinct agreement that he should make such changes as he thought proper, but not to change the Commissioners. He re-wrote the resolutions, and it was agreed that the first effort should be to get them approved by the Committee on "Foreign Affairs," of which Mr. Rives was chairman. Atkins had the matter greatly at heart, and, Governor Foote having resigned his place on that committee, we managed to have Atkins appointed, and he got the resolutions approved by this committee.

They were reported to the House, and, in secret session, were debated several days—Mr. Davis' particular friends opposing them; but, at length, it was said to those of us who were trying to get the resolutions through, that, if we would not press these resolutions any further, Mr. Davis would appoint the three men named in the resolutions.

Of course, we stopped at once, and Mr. Davis did appoint the Commissioners. To the great astonishment of all of us who

had the matter at heart, we learned for the first time after the Commissions returned, that they had been clothed with no power, except to treat upon the basis of independence, which most of us regarded as entirely hopeless, predicting our belief on General Lee's testimony mainly.

This is substantially the truth of history.

Very truly,
A. S. Colyar.

Nashville Tenn. Jan. 3d 1877.

S. A. Dorsey to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir Oct. 6th 1877

Dear Col.

Arthur brought your note. I regret to hear of Mrs. Walthall's illness. Hope she is entirely recovered ere this hour. Mr Davis is as well as usual & will be pleased to see you at your convenience. I sent some Mss. by Arthur—two pages of which belongs to the beginning of the pages you took away when you were here last, as you will see by the numbering of the pages.

With best wishes for Mrs Walthall & regards to your daughters

I am sincerely
yours
Sarah A. Dorsey

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, 8th Aug. 1877

Maj. Walthall

Dear Sir,

I have received a long paper from Reagan, intended for publication, in answer to Wilson. I would be glad to show it to you and to confer with you about it as soon as convenient to you. Could you come tomorrow morning for a days work—

With affectionate regard to your wife and children I am
Your friend
Jefferson Davis

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, 20th Aug. 1877

Dear Sir:—

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of this day, informing me of my election as a vestryman of St. Mark's Church and requesting my attendance at a meeting tomorrow Tuesday, at 12 M. I am duly sensible of the distinction conferred and regret that the distance and the want of a conveyance, together with the feeble state of my health debars me from the service which would otherwise be most cheerfully rendered in the good cause for which the kindness of the congregation accepts me as a laborer.

Thankfully recognizing the consideration shown for me I am faithfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS

W. T. Walthall
Secty &c. &c.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

13th Oct. 1877

My dear Sir,

The accounts in Alfriend of the siege of Monterey and the battle of Buena Vista are imperfect and inaccurate in many particulars, too many to be enumerated in a note.

The reports of those actions will be found in the Docs. accompanying the Presdt's messages of 1846 & 1847— The volumes I have of Socs. & Globes do not embrace those years. If you wish details not found in the printed reports, I can give you many. In looking over Stephens book I find it very valuable for dates and quotations but his egotism causes many obliquities & more than improbable statements. I am not well enough to write fully and wish we could be more frequently and for longer periods in consultation, in the days when I could talk more easily than either write or dictate.

With respectful regard to Mrs. Walthall and your children I am ever truly

yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS

W. T. Walthall

Address on envelope.
Maj. W. T. Walthall
Missi. City

Favor of Mr. Dahlgren

Barry College Library
Miami, Florida

Jefferson Davis to J. F. H. Claiborne.[1]

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Miss City P. O.
13th Oct. 1877.

Col. J. F. H. Claiborne
Dear Sir,

Allow me first to thank you for the labour you have undertaken of rescuing from oblivion, the early history of Mississippi & by a faithful record of events shielding her from the reproaches which combined ignorance & malice have heaped upon her.

It has occurred to me that you might be able to supply a loss I have sustained to wit the mss reports of the Captains of the 1st Miss Riflemen of events at the siege of Monterey.

The originals were sent to the Governor of the State of Miss. & by order of the Legislature were filed in the library—I do not think they were ever printed & do not know how many mss copies, may have [been] made. I have been since the beginning of the year residing at the house of Mrs Dorsey about halfway between Miss. City & Biloxi at the way station Beauvoir & am sorry that we have been so long comparatively near to each other without my having had the pleasure of seeing you. Time & severe trials have rendered me not only reluctant but unable to go about much. I hope Time has treated you more kindly & I am sure my Hostess would like myself be much gratified by a visit from you.

Respectfully & Truly Yours
Jefferson Davis

[Envelope addressed:
Hon J. F. H. Claiborne
Bay St Louis
Mississippi

[1] Claiborne, John F. H. (1809-1884), an editor and historian, was born at Natchez, Miss., April 24, 1809, was educated in Virginia and studied law there but never practised. He took up journalism served several terms in the Mississippi legislature, and was a representative in Congress, 1835-1838. He was then for a few years editor of the Natchez Fair-Trader, but in 1844 removed to New Orleans where he edited successively The Jeffersonian, The Statesman, and The Louisiana Courier. Retiring from journalism in 1856, he settled first on a plantation near Bay Saint Louis, and then on a plantation near Natchez. Devoting himself to literary pursuits, he contributed many articles to periodicals and wrote several volumes of history and biography. His extraordinary book Mississippi as Province, Territory and State, (Vol. I only published), appeared at Jackson, Miss., in 1880. He died at Natchez, May 17, 1884. Consult F. L. Riley: Life of Col. J. F. H. Claiborne, 28 pp., Oxford, Miss., 1903.

Jefferson Davis to Crafts J. Wright.

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Missi. City P. O., 13th Oct. 1877

My Dear Crafts,

I have learned that T. F. Drayton is at Charlotte N.C. and have written to him mentioning your affectionate inquiries, and your purpose to have a reunion of our class, as many as may then be living, at West Point in June next. The meeting will be certainly attractive to him, and I hope there may be no other than myself who will fail to answer to his name at that roll call. Accept my thanks for the report of the proceedings at the last annual meeting of the West Point graduates, also for a paper containing a statement in regard to my capture. The Lieut. in his zeal to sustain the slanderous article of his General makes assertions which he could not have believed to be true, for instance the one who ordered me to halt bore a carbine, not a "revolver," the only person with me was a colored maid-servant, instantly I dropped the waterproof cloak and shawl and advanced toward the soldier, offensively declaring I would not surrender, in answer to his demand. Then Mrs. Davis ran up to me and threw her arms around my neck, that of course ended any possibility for my escape, and I said to her God's will be done, and turned back with her to the tent, and passed on immediately to a fire a short distance off. The only firing or show of armed resistance was beyond the creek we had crossed before encamping, and that fire was between the Michigan and Wisconsin men. It was a considerable time before I saw Col. Pritchard, he afterwards told me that several hours had elapsed before he knew of my presence, and he claimed credit for the forbearance of his men in not shooting me when I refused to surrender. As you say there was no impropriety in using a disguise to escape capture, but there was no time to have assumed one, except by waiting for the deployed cavalry, seen approaching, to close upon the road still open to the creek. The falsehood was conceived in a desire to humiliate and at first asserted that I had on a bonnet and woman's dress with hoop-skirt, wood cuts of that kind were said to have been made in New York. It may here be mentioned that the staff officers, sent on the ship where my Wife and Children were detained after I was incarcerated at Fortress Monroe, did plunder her trunks carrying off many articles of value, and among other

things a hoop-skirt which the knaves were said subsequently to have sold as the one worn by me. Do not, my friend, wonder at my conviction that in my case and our time, truth is crushed beneath malice and falsehood, so deep below the light of reason in the Northern mind, that justice to me from them is hopeless.

The gallant soldier, the Adj. Gen. Townsend, whose feat has been to keep watch and ward over a trunk belonging to me, which was found in Florida, and over the cloak and shawl taken from my Wife when a prisoner, could enlighten the first witness as to the shape of the cloak and teach him not to risk his veracity by assuming to have seen a belt in the gray of the morning, and with but an instant's opportunity to view a moving and distant object. Either sagacity or magnanimity should have taught my enemies to deal fairly if not generously by one who was regarded as suffering vicariously for the people whom he had represented.

I presume you have the papers of the Southern historical society on the treatment of prisoners both at the south and at the north. Also the book of Dr. R. R. Stevenson, one of the Surgeons at Andersonville. It contains a list of those who died and the diseases and treatment, etc.

Robert Ould, the Confed. Comr. for exchange of prisoners has recently published in the Philad. Times a letter on that subject. Further than these I might refer to my Messages if I knew where they could be had. Col. L. B. Northrop, who was for nearly the whole war Com. Gen. Subs. now resides near to Charlotteville, Va. He was in the U. S. army until 1861. As to my views in regard to treatment of prisoners he might give you some information not contained in the reports. Gen. A. R. Lawton of Savannah, Ga. was Q. M. Gen. and if he knew what and why you wanted it, would give you freely whatever he knows. I thank you truly for your kindness.—Give my fraternal regards to your wife and believe me ever yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Saml. P. Johnson to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

St. Louis, Oct. 17th, 1877.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dr Sir

I have no sufficient excuse for addressing you, unless it may be found in the heartfelt homage I render you, and yet I am

so anxious to have an answer that will not be questioned to a matter in dispute between myself and some friends, that I hope you will pardon me and find time to reply.

Did not the Confederate government use every effort to have the prisoners at Andersonville exchanged for our prisoners then held by the federal Government? And did you not finally offer to allow the U. S. Government (to) take them on its own terms? Your reply will be too highly esteemed to be used for other than the purpose I have mentioned.

Very respectfully,
Your obt. servt.
SAML. P JOHNSON

endorsed:
Inquiry about exchange of Prisoners; ansd. 19th Nov. '77.

Wm. Preston Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lexington, Va.
Oct. 18th, 1877.

My Dear Friend:

My *Mss.* sent to Genl. Buckner five months ago have just been returned today. I send you *one chapter* through P.O. as a registered letter; not as a sample, but because it is the only one which probably does not reflect *as in a mirror* your own views. I beg that you will erase anything and insert anything that you think necessary to establish the truth.

I have finished my narrative of the Battle of Shiloh. Anxious as I have been to avoid controversy, the claims set up by Genl. Beauregard are so preposterous that my account must necessarily lead to it. He sent me for my information a letter from Jordan claiming that he had great difficulty in inducing my father to concentrate at Corinth and that (Jordan) persuaded him by Beauregard's order, to fight the Battle of Shiloh. He says that Beauregard gave all orders after my father's arrival, and had *actual* command of the army.

I replied to Genl. Beauregard that I regretted that his views and opinions were so much at variance with the conclusions at which I had arrived after a calm investigation of all the facts accessible, and that I should have to present a state of facts entirely different. Such friends as have examined my *Mss.* think that I have been very just.

I hope to go on to New York early in November with my book completed.

My Daughter, Henrietta, is to be married next Thursday, the 25th, to Harry Tucker, a son of Randolph Tucker. He is poor, but a very promising young lawyer, and in all respects acceptable to Mrs. Johnston and myself.

Jordan states in the letter sent me what he also states in his life of Forrest, that Beauregard was not allowed to have the officers from Va. for whom he had stipulated *as a condition,* of going West. You had better get that Life of Forrest. It is used as a cloak for a good many things.

I hope that you have found the preparation of your work recreation, instead of labor. It was something *due* to yourself, and I am very glad that you undertook it.

My family join me in affectionate remembrances to you.

Sincerely Your Friend,

(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Missi. City.

Jefferson Davis to Crafts J. Wright.

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Missi. City, P.O., 22nd Oct. 1877.

Dear Friend,

I have received yours of the 12th penl. and reply that before sending to you the paper containing Judge Reegan's letter to Gov. Porter I had carefully read it and considered it quite correct. The attempt to rebut it in one particular showed a desire to escape its more damaging statements in regard to other matters, and also as I wrote to you sometime since was marked by a low disregard for truth in the minor points related as of actual observation. I who have been for so many years the target for all manner of abuses, realize what you cannot, the impossibility of silencing my slanderers. Disprove the assertion, they will only reassert it the louder and add to the first a multitude of fictions to support it. Truth is eternal, but as you indicate, it requires advocates and defenders.

With affectionate regards to you and yours, I am

Ever Faithfully,

Jefferson Davis.

C. J. Wright

Mrs. S. A. Dorsey to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir
Oct 26th 1877

Dear Major Walthall

Mr Davis & Jeff left yesterday mng for Memphis where they should arrive this morning— I will forward your note to him— He will return (D.V.) in a fortnight & may bring Mrs Davis with him if she is able to travel. I doubt whether he has a view of "Brierfield" & it is not very easy to get a photo of it now—dilapidated as it is— If I were in Tensas I would cross the river & "reconstruct" Brierfield in a sketch for you— I could do it— The "Hurricane" was utterly destroyed by the Yankees. I was in the habit of visiting there intimately "avant le deluge."

I send some pages of Mss. & will try to see you soon—with regards to Mrs Walthall & the young ladies,

I am sincerely yours

Sarah A. Dorsey.

Dabney H. Maury to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Office Southern Historical Society.
Richmond, Va., Nov. 2, 1877.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Mr. Davis,

I enclose this Certificate and ask you to sign it. The Society of the Army of Northern Virginia desires to have your signature to it and I am glad of the occasion to hear from you directly and to assure you of my unabated interest and respect. Stephen D. Lee told me a great deal about his visit to you and I was very glad to learn that you are engaged upon your history of your administration.

We opened on the suggestion of Count de Paris a discussion about Gettysburg which while it thoroughly exposes all the sad mismanagement and causes of our defeat, also will fix upon Gen. Lee the responsibility. Longstreet's recent letter in the Times has created a great excitement; all the intimate admirers of Gen. Lee,—those who have sought in their overzeal to fasten upon Longstreet all the blame are now in a flutter, and are

sharpening their pens to go back at Longstreet. They had better have left that business where Gen. Lee did. He knew what he was saying when he said "it was all my fault."

I feel great hope that we have broken the power of repudiation in this State and all the indications of our future are very bright and cheerful.

Have you among your papers an account I wrote you direct, in 1864, of the meeting in Clanton's Brigade and of the secret organization of a peace society. I would like to have a copy of it if convenient and agreeable to yourself.

With sincerest wishes for your continued health, for your prosperity and happiness I am with high respect your friend,

DABNEY H. MAURY

endorsed:
Dabney H. Maury; for comrade signature and remark about Gettysburg; ansd 17th Dec. '77.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Memphis, Tenn., 3 Nov. 1877

My dear Sir,

Yours was forwarded to me, it not having reached Beauvoir before my departure thence. Enclosed you may find a view of Brierfield. It is so imperfect that we have tried to find a better one but all of our papers were packed by others and not having therefore any clue to the whereabouts of the picture I comply with your request for speedy transmission by sending you the one enclosed. The west wing is so shortened and the slope of the roof so exagerated as to look like a bevelled roof to a small projection. The two wings are exactly alike. If you do not get the better picture, and have to use this, please erase the impudent lettering which the yankees put on the pediments, on the occasion of a fete they held in my house.

Expect to leave in a few days for Vicksburg and thence with Mrs. Davis to go to the Sea Shore and resume our work. Beauvoir is more pleasant than Memphis, at least was so when I left it, and if it has turned cold and rainy since, it at least cannot be muddy.

Please present my sincere regard to Mrs. Walthall and your children and believe me as ever truly your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Maj. W. T. Walthall

Wm. Preston Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lexington, Va.
Nov. 8th, 1877.

My dear Friend:

Your letter reached me from Memphis today. Please make my congratulations to Mrs. Davis on her return to America.

I address this to you at Missi. City, supposing you have returned there. Will you send your reply to me at New York, care of D. Appleton & Co., Publishers.

I have found a number of rough draft telegrams, etc. of yours among my papers. I presume they are in your letter-books, but for security I will send you copies. They are now in hands of the copyists. I will send you the originals, if you prefer it. I kept them as valuable autographs. They are generally *cipher* telegrams, which I translated into cipher, retaining the originals.

I have written to Mr. Thompson, as you suggest.

Very Respectfully and sincerely yr. friend,
(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Missi. City.

C. G. Memminger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Charleston (S. C.) Nov. 14, 1877.

Hon. Jeff. Davis,
Miss. City,
My much esteemed Friend,

I have just returned home and now send you a copy of the replies to Genl. Johnston's charges against the Confederate Treasury policy. I have but a single printed copy, so that I have had to send you a Manuscript copy of that.

I hope that your health is restored by your summer vacation and that you and Mrs. D. will be spared to enjoy many more years. I am sorry to have to add, that since we parted, Death

has made a large breach in my family,—having taken from me my wife, a son and a daughter.

With much regard,
and esteem, Very truly yrs.
C. G. Memminger.

endorsed: Memminger and Trenholm; on the Finance of the Confederacy. (Envelope stamped "Registered.")

(with letter of C. G. Memminger to Jefferson Davis, Nov. 14, 1877.)

The Reply of Ex-Secretary Memminger to General Joe Johnston.

Charleston March 27th 1874.

To the Editor of The News and Courier,

I observe by your paper of yesterday which extracts a passage from Gen. Johnston's book, that he follows the ancient example of our fore-father Adam in casting the fault of a general calamity on some other person. He attributes the failure of the Southern Confederacy to the blunder of the Government, at its first institution, in not possessing itself of the cotton crop then in the hands of the planters. This cotton (according to the General) should have been shipped in anticipation of the blockade, and it would then have furnished a basis for future credit. As I was at that time in charge of the Treasury Department, the responsibility of this failure would rest chiefly on me; and you will therefore not consider it out of place that I should correct misapprehensions which seem to have misled yourself as well as Gen. Johnston.

The Confederate Government was organized in February, the blockade was instituted in May, thus leaving a period of three months in which the whole cotton crop on hand, say four millions of bales, ought, according to the military financier, to have been got into the hands of the Confederate Government, and to have been shipped abroad.

This would have required a fleet of four thousand ships, allowing one thousand bales to the ship. Where would these vessels have been procured, in the face of the notification of the blockade? and was not as much of the cotton shipped by private enterprise as could have been shipped by the Government? When so shipped, the proceeds of the sale were in most cases sold to the Government in the shape of bills of exchange. The superior advantage of that plan is evinced by the fact that,

throughout the year, the Government exchanged its own notes for bills on England at par, with which it paid for all its arms and munitions of war.

Of course this vast amount of cotton could only have been procured in one of three ways,—by seizure, by purchase, or by donation.

Certainly no one at the first inception of the Confederacy would have ventured to propose to seize upon the crop then in the hands of the planters, and which furnished their only means of subsistence.

Could it not, then, have been purchased?

At the commencement of the Government the treasury had not funds to pay for the table on which the secretary was writing; and the first purchases of the Government made abroad were made on the private draft of the secretary. There was not to be found, in the whole Confederacy, a sheet of bank note paper on which to print a note. Forecasting this need, the secretary had ordered, from England, a consignment of note paper and lithographing materials, the vessel containing which was captured on the high seas; and many of the friends of the late Col. Evans, of our city, will remember that he nearly lost his life in the attempt to bring across the lines a single parcel of note paper. It is within the memory of the printers of these notes, that months elapsed before bonds or notes could be engraved and printed; and these constituted our entire currency.

How, then, was the cotton to be paid for?

And when the mechanical difficulties were overcome, the financial presented an equal barrier. The scheme for raising money, adopted by Congress, was to issue Confederate notes, funding the redundant notes in interest-bearing bonds; and all payments at the treasury were made with these notes. The daily demands on the treasury exceeded greatly the means of supply. Now, if instead of applying the notes to the daily payments required at the treasury they had been used to purchase cotton, the treasury would have found itself filled with cotton, without any money to meet the wants of the government until that cotton could be shipped abroad and sold.

If, instead of payment in notes, the bonds of the government had been used to purchase the cotton crop, those bonds would have been thrown in the market to meet the necessities of the planters, and their value as a means of funding the surplus currency would have been destroyed. It is obvious to any one acquainted with finance, that this would have broken down the Confederate currency within the first year of its existence.

Whereas the plan pursued sustained the credit of the Confederacy until broken down by calamities under which no credit could survive.

The only remaining mode in which the cotton could have been procured by the government was by donation from the planters. So far was this donation from being possible, that the treasury actually had to issue a circular in response to applications to the Government for aid to the planters in making loans to them, and not a bale of the crop of that year was contributed to the government. An effort was made to get pledges of the next year's crop in exchange for bonds of the government. To accomplish this it was deemed necessary to allow the planters to get their own price through their own factors, without allowing the government to fix its price, and the whole amount thus pledged did not reach fifty millions or about two months' expenses of the government of which perhaps one third was never received.

Every one conversant with the politics of the day knows that it was the current expectation that the blockade could not be continued for a year. The Confederate Congress were so informed when they adopted the international agreement as to privateers. The Government of the United States equally supposed that the war would be of short duration, as is apparent from President Lincoln's proclamation calling for troops for ninety days. There could, therefore, be no motive to induce the Confederate Government to store up cotton as a basis of credit. When it became apparent that the blockade and the war would continue, the government then made arrangements for using cotton as the basis of a loan; and the large foreign cotton loan negotiated in Europe by Messrs. Erlanger furnished abundant resources to the government for its supplies from abroad. But even to the last its power over the crop was restricted by the large quantities held in private hands which could not be purchased at all. At no time that I am aware of was it in the power of the Government to get possession of the cotton crop, unless it had seized the same by force, and by the same force compelled payment in a depreciated currency; a high-handed course which could never receive the sanction of the statesmen who administered our government. The only approximation to it was in the shape of a tax in kind when the currency failed to command supplies, and which was made as just and equal as any other tax.

The truth is, that if Gen. Johnston's recollections of history were as vivid as his knowledge of military tactics is great, in-

stead of censuring the financial administration of the Confederate Government, he would have discovered no instance on record where a war of such dimensions, in a constantly decreasing territory, has been sustained for four years by mere financial expedients, without the aid usually derived from taxes—for in the whole Confederate war but one general war tax was levied, and a great portion of that was never collected.

C. G. MEMMINGER.

I append, as part of the history of the times, one of the circulars of the treasury department on this subject.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,

Treasury Department,
Richmond, October 15th 1861.

The Commissioners Appointed to Receive Subscriptions to the Produce Loan:

Gentlemen:

Enquiries have been made from various quarters

1. Whether during the continuance of the Blockade, efforts should be made to procure further subscriptions.
2. Whether the Government will authorize promises to be held out of aid to the planters, as an inducement to such further subscriptions.

The first inquiry seems to imply a misunderstanding of the scheme of the subscriptions. Many persons have supposed that the Government was to have some control of the produce itself; others that the time of sale appointed by the subscription, was to be absolute and unconditional. The caption at the head of the lists, when examined, will correct both these errors. The subscription is confined to the proceeds of sales, and contains an order on the Commission merchant or factor of the planter to pay over to the Treasurer the amount subscribed, in exchange for Confederate Bonds. The transaction is simply an agreement by the planter to lend the Government so much money; and, in order to complete the transaction, a time and place are appointed when and where the parties may meet to carry it out. The important point is, that it shall certainly be completed at some time, and that is secured by the engagement of the planter. Whether that time be December or June is simply a question of convenience, and works no injury to either party. The Government is sure of the eventual payment, and derives from that

certainty so much credit; and it loses nothing, because it gives its bond only when the money is paid.

It is obvious, therefore, that the subscriptions are quite as valuable to the Government during the blockade, as after it. The blockade simply suspends the completion of the engagement. It becomes the interest of both parties to wait for a good price, and the Government will readily consent to a postponement of the sale.

You perceive, therefore, that it is desirable to continue your exertions to increase the subscriptions; and you are authorized to say that the Government will consent to a reasonable extension of the time appointed for sales.

2. The next inquiry is as to a promise of material aid from the Government to the planters.

In answering this enquiry, I am to speak in advance of any action of Congress. What that body may see fit to do, it is not for me to determine. I can express merely the views of this Department, and these must govern your action, until reversed by a higher authority. It would be a sufficient answer to the enquiry, to say, that the action of the Government is settled by the Constitution. No power is granted to any Department to lend money for the relief of any interest. Even the power of Congress in relation to money is confined to borrowing, and no clause can be found which would sanction so stupendous a scheme as purchasing the entire crop with a view to aid its owners. But it may be said that the Constitution of the Provisional Government may be altered by Congress, and that it is the duty of this Department to prepare the way for such alteration, if, in its judgment, the financial necessities of the country demand the change.

I am not disposed, then, to close the enquiry with the abrupt answer thus made by the Constitution; and will proceed to consider the subject upon its intrinsic merits.

Two plans of relief have been proposed. The one is that the Government should purchase the entire crop of the country; the other that an advance should be made of part of its value. In either case the payment is to be made by the issue of Treasury notes, and therefore, if we put aside for the present, the many and serious objections to the possession, transportation and management of the crop by the Government, it becomes simply a question of amount. To purchase the whole crop, would require its whole value, less the amount of the subscriptions made to the Government. If we estimate the whole crop of cotton at 200 millions and the subscriptions at 50 millions, the

purchase would then require 150 millions of Treasury notes, and, if to this sum be added the amount of values for other agricultural products, which would certainly claim the same benefit, the sum required would probably reach 175 millions.

The amount called for by the other plan of making an advance, would depend upon the proportion of that advance; few of the advocates of this plan have put it lower than 5 cents per pound on cotton, and at the same rate upon other produce. It may, therefore, be very fairly set down at about one hundred millions.

If we consider first, the least objectionable of these plans, it is certainly that which requires the smaller sum; and if this be found impracticable, the larger must of necessity be rejected. Our enquiry, then, may be narrowed down to a proposal that the Government should issue 100 millions of Treasury notes, to be distributed among the planting community upon the pledge of the forthcoming crop.

The first remarkable feature in this scheme is, that it proposes that a new Government, yet struggling for existence, should reject all the lessons of experience, and undertake that which no Government, however long established, has yet succeeded in effecting. The "organization of labor" has called forth many ingenious attempts, both speculative and practical, among well-established Governments, but always with disastrous failure. With us, however, the experiment is proposed to a new Government, which is engaged in a gigantic war, and which must rely on credit to furnish means to carry on that war. Our enemies are in possession of all the munitions and work-shops which have been collected during forty-five years of peace—their fleets have been built up at our joint expense. With all these on hand, they yet are obliged to expend nearly ten millions of dollars per week to carry on the war. Can we expect to contend with them at less than half that expenditure? Supposing that it may require 200 millions of dollars; then the proposal is that at a time when we are called upon to raise this large sum for the support of Government, we shall raise a further sum of 100 millions for the benefits of the planting interest.

For it must be observed, first, that the Government receives no benefit whatever from this advance. The money is paid to each individual planter, and in exchange the Government receives only his bond or note—or, if the cotton be purchased, the Government receives only certain bales of cotton. That is to say, the Government pays out money which is needful to its very existence, and receives in exchange planters' notes or

produce, which it does not need and cannot in any way make use of.

It must be observed, in the next place, that Treasury Notes have now become the currency of the country. They are, therefore, at present, the measures of value. In this view it is the duty of the Government to limit their issue, as far as practicable, to that amount which is the limit of its currency. Every person acquainted with this branch of political science, is aware that if the currency passes this point, it not only becomes depreciated, but it disturbs the just relations of society, precisely as though an arbitrary authority should change the weights and measures of the country. If the currency of a country should be suddenly extended from one hundred to two hundred millions of dollars, that, which was measured by one dollar is now measured by two, and every article must be rated at twice its former price. Of course all contracts are disturbed. The debt incurred before the increase is discharged by paying one-half its former value; and each article purchased must be paid for at double its former price. The Government, from the necessities of war, is the largest of all purchasers, and thus, by a kind of suicidal act, compels itself to pay two dollars for what one would have formerly purchased. And, at this rate of advance, two hundred millions of dollars can effect no more, than one hundred millions of dollars would have effected before; or, in other words, one hundred millions of dollars are actually sunk in the operation.

Such a condition of the currency, the Government has anxiously endeavored to guard against. The war tax was laid for the purpose of creating a demand for Treasury Notes, and a security for their redemption. Their redundancy has been carefully guarded against by allowing them to be funded in eight per cent bonds. If necessity shall compel the Government to issue for the defence of the country, and to keep out two hundred millions, it is plain that every accession must impair and may defeat all these precautions.

If the Government should undertake, for the sake of private interests, so large an increase of issues, it may hazard its entire credit and stability. The experiment is too dangerous, and relief for the planters must be sought in some other direction. And may not that remedy be found?

In the first place, let the planters immediately take measures for winter crops, to relieve the demand for grain and provisions. Let them proceed to divert part of their labor from cotton, and make their own clothing and supplies. Then let them apply to

the great resource presented by the money capital in banks and private hands. Let this capital come forward, and assist the agricultural interest. Heretofore the banks have employed a large part of their capital in the purchase of Northern exchange. Let them apply this portion to factors' acceptances of planters' drafts secured by pledge of the produce in the planters' hands. An extension of the time usually allowed on these drafts, would overcome most of the difficulties. This extension could safely reach the probable time of sale of the crops, inasmuch as the suspension of specie payments throughout the entire Confederacy relieves each bank from calls for coin. The banks are accustomed to manage loans of this character, and will conduct the operation with such skill, as will make them mutually advantageous. The amount of advance asked from the banks would be greatly less, than if advances were offered by the Government; and all the abuses incident to Government agencies would be avoided.

It seems to me, therefore, that it is neither necessary nor expedient that the Government should embark upon this dangerous experiment. It is far better that each class of the community should endeavor to secure its own existence by its own exertions, and if an effort be at once made by so intelligent a class as the planters, it will result in relief. Delay in these efforts occasioned by vague expectations of relief from Government, which cannot be realized may defeat that which is yet practicable.

Respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
C. G. Memminger,
Secretary of the Treasury.

(The following written by George A. Trenholm and embodied in above report of C. G. Memminger.)

The Confederate Collapse.

A critical examination of the Facts cited by Gen. Johnston, in support of his Views of the Cause of the Failure of the South.

To the Editor of the News & Courier,

The News & Courier, quoting from the forthcoming work of Gen. Johnston, gives us the views of the author as to the cause of our failure. Those who ascribed it "to the superior population and greater resources of the Northern States" and those

who attributed our defeat to "a want of perseverance, unanimity and even of loyalty on our own part" are in my view, says the general, both "far wrong." We are inclined to believe there is now a third party "wrong." The Confederate Government, the general thinks, had the means of filling its treasury, but the "government rejected those means." "The necessity of actual money in the treasury, and the mode of raising it, were generally understood in the country. It was that the government should take the cotton from the owners and send it to Europe as fast as possible, to be sold there. This was easily practicable, for the owners were ready to accept any terms the government might fix, and sending to Europe was easy in all the first years of the Confederacy's existence. Its government went into operation early in February. The blockade of the Southern ports was proclaimed in May, but was not at all effective until the end of the following winter, so that there was a period of about twelve months for the operation of converting four million or five million bales of cotton into money. The sum raised in that way would have enabled the war department to procure at once arms enough for five hundred thousand men; and after that the Confederate Treasury would have been much richer than that of the United States."

Let us examine the facts upon which this theory rests, and without the support of which it must necessarily fall to the ground. The crop of cotton available for this scheme must necessarily have been that of 1860–61. It could not have been the crop of which the seed was not yet put in the ground when the government was formed at Montgomery.

What was then the crop of 1860–61?

Was it 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 bales, and was it accessible for immediate exportation?

The crop of 1860–61 was officially stated at 3,849,000 bales.

Of this quantity the consumption of the Southern States took off,.....	193,000 "
Leaving for exportation.....	3,656,000 "

Let us now see what proportion of this quantity was available in the way described by Gen. Johnston.

Up to the 28th of February, the month that gave birth to the infant government, 3,000,000 bales had been received at the seaports, and the great bulk of it had been exported to Europe or been sold to the New England spinners. By the 1st of May 586,000 bales more had been received and sold.

England and the Continent took 3,127,000 bales.
The New England spinners " 654,000 "

It will thus be seen that before the new government was fairly organized, the entire crop was already beyond its reach. Another crop followed, it is true, but no part of it was ready for market before the month of September ensuing. This all will agree in; and they will also agree that the exportation in any quantity was an absolute impossibility. There were no vessels in the ports of the Confederacy; the last had left before the expiration of the sixty days allowed to foreign tonnage under the blockade proclamation.

The only vessels that took out Cotton after that time were the foreign steamers that ran the blockade to procure cargoes of cotton for the owners. They came in small numbers, and one or two at a time. Had the government seized one of them for its own use, or prevented them from leaving with cotton, they would have ceased to come. T.

The writer of the above was Mr. George A. Trenholm, late Confederate Secty. of Treasury.

Alfred H. Colquitt[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

State of Georgia,
Executive Department,
Hon. Jefferson Davis, Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 27th, 1877.
Mississippi City, Miss.,
My Dear Sir,

It is my very pleasant privilege to communicate to you what I trust will prove a gratifying evidence of the esteem and affection in which you are held in our section. Of all men connected with

[1] Colquitt, Alfred Holt (1824-1894), a soldier and political leader, was born in Walton County, Ga., April 20, 1824, was graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1844, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1845. He served through the Mexican war as a staff major; was a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1855; and was a member of the Georgia Convention of 1861, voting for secession. Entering the army as a captain, he soon became colonel, and in 1862, was promoted brigadier general, D. H. Hill's division. In 1864 he was ordered to Florida and was very active there, returning to Virginia for the defence of Petersburg. He was governor of Georgia, 1876-1882; and U. S. Senator from March 4, 1883, until his death in Washington, D. C., March 26, 1894. For many years Colquitt was a trustee of the University of Georgia, and in 1878 was President of the International Sunday School Convention.

the Confederacy you are most closely identified with that sacred cause, not only because you were its leader, but from your fidelity, devotion, sacrifice and sufferings.

You will therefore understand that when some of your friends heard that in your business you had not been favored with good fortune they regarded it as affording them a cherished opportunity to repay to you some measure of that debt which they in common with all of our Southern countrymen owe to you, and which whatever they may be allowed to do, can never be adequately discharged. They felt it was their right to redeem this obligation, and to give to you in a private and unostentious way their practical appreciation of your public and unrequited services.

I have been requested by these friends, your worthy colaborers in a common and cherished cause in which you were the chief victim and sufferer, to forward to you the accompanying sum of one thousand dollars ($1000.) as an insignificant token of the great debt due to you by a grateful people.

These friends, who unlike yourself have not been so hampered and so irreparably crippled by the war and its results, claim the privilege of helping to defray their part of this sacred obligation. They feel that in thus doing they but discharge an imperative duty. At the same time it will give them infinite satisfaction to feel that they have contributed to any extent in lightening your burdens and smoothing your declining years.

Others beg the same privilege and it may be my pleasure to transmit to you further evidence, of a similar character, of the grateful affection in which you are held by your devoted countrymen of the South.

For myself permit me to assure you of my own high personal respect and regard, as well as admiration and to express the hope that the tribute of your countrymen's devotion which I tender will be understood and accepted in the spirit that prompted it. I am very truly, Your obt. svt.

ALFRED H. COLQUITT.

endorsed:

7th Dec. 1877; Ansd. That expressions were not less gratifying than the material manifestation. Would have asked to have it checked, as I did on former occasions, if I had known of the movement, and requested that the further remittance mentioned should not be made. Approval of my countrymen the all sufficient compensation for any thing I had done or suffered. Hereditary attachment to Ga. made the regard of her people especially dear, &c &c J. D.

Jefferson Davis to Crafts J. Wright.

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Private

Missi. City, P. O., 28th Nov. 1877.

Gen. C. J. Wright,

Dear Friend, and Classmate,

I quite agree with you that the effort to magnify the capture of a man who was without any force to resist, is a small foundation on which to build military glory for a Brigade, and that there was nothing unbecoming in the attempt to escape a capture. But each year adds another to the list of claimants for the honor of being the hero of the occasion.

When I acknowledged the receipt of the printed statement of Mr. Dickerson I intended to show you why from internal evidence I was satisfied that his statement was untrue as to his presence, and was further untrue as to all the surroundings; but suppose I must have been indistinct, as the questions you ask are upon those points. Mr. Dickerson's statement is as I recollect it, that he halted me, aiming a pistol at me, and that I was between two females, my Wife and her Sister. The fact is that the man who ordered me to halt was armed with a carbine, *not* a pistol and the only person with me was a colored woman. It was the weapon, a carbine, which led me to believe that if the man fired he would probably miss me, and therefore caused me instantly to drop the water proof cloak and shawl and advance upon him. It was then that my Wife who was watching from her tent, ran up behind me and threw her arms around my neck. My purpose was thus defeated, and I led her back to the door of her tent, and passed to the rear, where there was a fire. The cloak was a loose water proof, differing from the one I usually wore little if at all except in length. My coachman, a colored man, came to the tent where I had fallen asleep with my clothes on, having been watchful during the night, because of a report that marauders were coming to steal our horses and he, the coachman, aroused me with the announcement that there was firing over the creek, I stepped out and saw men deployed around our camp, and recognizing at once their character, turned back and told my Wife, it was Federal cavalry, for though it was in the grey of the morning their movement revealed more than sight could.

My Wife's Sister, Mr. Dickerson may have seen at some subsequent time but not when I was arrested, nor certainly for an hour afterwards.

Mr. D. may have come up after my Wife joined me and then have seen two females, but before then, I had dropped the cloak, and I think the servant woman had picked it up. There is no mode by which his statement can be reconciled with a purpose to state what he saw and did. The Coachman, who aroused me, has twice or oftener published a statement in refutation of the pitiful slander about my being disguised in a woman's dress, and recited the words spoken by the man who halted me, and his recollection of my reply. His name is Jim Jones, and he was a few years ago door keeper of the North Carolina Legislature. He is so far as I know, now living at Raleigh. Mrs. Davis and her Sister and children occupied one tent. I had none, and my Water proof was strapped to my saddle, it having been my intention to leave my family in care of some paroled soldiers and my private secty. with whom they had been travelling before I went to them; and with the small party previously with me eight in number, to go on that night. The rumor of marauders detained me. It was my design to attempt to cross the Mississippi river, and continue the war until we could, by treaty, secure the political rights of the states; which experience has shown would not be obtained by returning to the Union, or rather by offering to do so, without condition.

If any friend were, at my instance, to ask for a paper from the War office, he would be fortunate if *politely* refused.

B. N. Harrison is in New York, his law office is in the "Equitable Building" 120 Broadway.

I have only written as above for *your* satisfaction, having declined to answer any of the malignant fictions with which the press has teemed, or to ask any of those who were with me to make statements of the case. The passion of the hour, only could make Gentlemen believe the stories which have been told for sake of vanity, or in hope of reward from those who would regard abuse of me, the test of merit. When a better feeling, and sounder reason prevails, all this vituperative fabrication will only be remembered as matter of shame, and to that happier time we must fain be content to refer the matter.

Ever faithfully
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. G. Barnard to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Nov. 30, 1877.

Dear Sir:

I did not know whether or not my "waif" had gone astray; and was most gratified to receive your letter.

A recollection of our former official and personal intercourse and of your personal relations to my excellent brother-in-law, Wm. Brown, and to some of the Barnard's dearest friends—and to my protegé Burton Harrison, prompted me to send a copy of my "address." I feel flattered that my quasi political remarks have attracted your attention.

The clauses you refer to in the Confederate Constitution, I did not recall when I wrote—But I fear we can never get such into *our Constitution.* The misfortune of our evils is their (apparent) *irremediableness.* The "virtue" of our people flares up now and then—but it never seems to get back anything lost. But I will not occupy you with speculations so out of my "line."

I am reminded that "Mississippi City" where you now live is very near where (attending to some dredging at mouth of Pascagoula River) I passed some pleasant days of my youth (I was 20) with the McReas—Malcolm (afterwards governor, and a friend of my brother at Oxford University) was not there but "Colin" and "Charley" (of sad fate) were then at the place—The "Miss Mary McRea" (of 43 years ago) was almost a *flame*—and in Mobile and New Orleans, for many years after, one of my "lovely" friends.

And speaking of the "Pascagoula River" it for its lumber tracts is as well entitled to government improvement as—"Rattlesnake Creek" or other subjects of "River and harbor improvements," but I always wished that we had a "Secretary of War" who set his foot on all this kind of abuse of "government" aid *now* grown to be such an enormous *abuse.*

For obvious reasons I did not send you the brochure with all the Sheffield "Centennial" proceedings; but as it seems to have excited some interest, I now send it.

I am very respectfully yours,

(Signed) J. G. Barnard.

J. Wm. Jones to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
No. 7 Library Floor,
State Capitol.
Richmond, Va. Dec. 5th, 1877.

President Jefferson Davis,
My dear Sir:

I had intended sending you *proof* sheets of Mr. Hunter's reply to your letter which is just out in our Dec. No. forwarded to you today. But unfortunately I was in Lexington, Va., cut off by the great freshet, when the proofs were corrected.

I desire to say that neither the Sec'y, nor the Committee approve of the *tone* of Mr. Hunter's reply, and we would have been very glad to have avoided the publication of his article.

Of course we will cheerfully give place to a rejoinder from you, if you should think proper to make one, and in order that it may appear promptly I would be glad if you would notify me of the time you would probably send it, and its length.

I need not assure you again that your fame is dear to our Virginia people (whatever the few may say)—that the President of our Society, Genl. Early, and the members of the Executive Committee generally are your warm admirers—and that nothing will give us more pleasure than to do everything in our power to put right on the record the able statesman, gallant soldier, pure patriot, and accomplished gentleman who presided over the Confederacy.

With best wishes, and most fervent prayers for your health and happiness, I remain, Yours most truly,

(Signed) J. Wm. Jones.
Sec'y S. M. S.

Wm. P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

No. 61 W. 17 St.
N. Y. City
Dec. 7th, 1877.

My Dear Friend,

I acknowledged the receipt of your letter. To-night I revised my *Mss* with your letter before me. I have made most of the modifications you suggest. Your objections are sometimes to

matters that can be cleared up by a word as we do not disagree on them. Your personal apprehension of a long and severe war was known by me, and told in a former chapter. I have repeated it here. I think I did understand your difficulties; and they are often repeated by me in the book; but I will make some of them manifest in this chapter. I did not imagine that you held the power of the South in your hand; for Congress and the State Govts. often hampered you; and popular opinion had to be regarded also, as it was a people's war.

In one of your objections you mistake what I say of the feeling of the Southern people, for the Govt. I have made this clear.

On *one point* we must disagree—it may be *prejudice* on my part, but I hope not—the judiciousness, not the motives, of the Govt. in their action on the 12 M^{d} men. I think I have guarded carefully against the danger of being quoted as reflecting upon you personally, and I have pointed out your difficulties. I trust the result may meet your approbation.

Please remember me affectionately to Mrs. Davis and your children, if they are with you.

I am here trying to please the Publishers about my book, which is too long. I am very solicitous to have it ended, so that I may be released to the support of my family.

Wishing you health and happiness, I am as ever

Sincerely your Friend,

To (Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

Missi. City.

Jefferson Davis to Crafts J. Wright.

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Missi. City, 8th Dec. 1877.

My dear Friend;

I have just received yours of the 4th inst. and am very sad to know that you are and to perceive that you are so dispirited. We have lived long enough to have few of our earliest friends yet with us. The fewer the more dear and less to be spared. You are somewhat my junior and in the order of nature should survive me, so I do in all earnestness wish it may be.

My Wife is with our daughter in Memphis, whose health requires a Mother's care. Were she with me she would I am sure send a message to you, for she remembers you well and

joined me in the hope some years since that you would accept my invitation to visit us in Memphis. I am surprised and mortified that your Daughter should have been in Richmond during the war and I not have known of it. You may be right as to the political future save and respects myself. I have no purpose or desire ever to appear again on the arena. Unless with a fair prospect of being useful, political life never would have had any attractions for me, and that prospect is closed to me forever. To hold a position of public trust is honorous in proportion to the extent of its power, and the hand must be supported by the confidence of those whose truncheon it holds, else it would sink with over-powering dissatisfaction with the task. So in one respect at least the "Republicans" and I are in accord, they would never trust me, and without that I would never consent to be their agent.

The general interest of the country requires cointelligence among the sections, that can never be obtained by soft phrases which conceal opinions. Whether it be possible to reach a cordial agreement as to the construction of the Constitution is doubtful, but unless that be attained the union can never wholly serve the purpose for which it was ordained and established. The word union implies volition among the members and ours was formed for the holy object of doing good to each other, and making the joint power effective for defence against those outside of the Union who should seek to injure any of its members. Sectional strife arose from the departure from the fraternal obligation and the growth of rival interests to which it was sought to make the general government tributary. That was the reverse of the union contemplated. It may be said rivalry was unavoidable, granted, and it would have been harmless if confined to the legitimate action of the state government and peoples. We may not hope to see the rebuilding of the Temple as our Fathers designed it, but we can live on praying for that event and die with eyes fixed on the promised land, an union to secure the general welfare, the domestic tranquility and liberty of our posterity.

I must beg your pardon for failing to answer your former inquiry for the names of some of my personal friends in the U. S. Congress. I have not seen a list of the present members, but can send you a few of those remembered on the instant. Chalmers, Singleton, Hooker, Money of the H. R. from Missi. Lamar, Senate, from Missi. Reagan, H. R. from Texas, Maxey, Senate from Texas, Hill and Gordon, Senators from Ga., Cockrell, Senator of Mo. Tucker, Va.

Should you wish a greater number, I may be able to add to the list of those who *will stick*, but I have like yourself, proved too many disappointments to be as sanguine as some would have been.

Accept my heartfelt prayers for your restoration to your usual health. Please give my sincere regard to your Wife and believe as ever faithfully your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Gen. C. J. Wright, Chicago.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir
10th Dec. 1877.

Maj. W. T. Walthall
My dear friend

The Dec. No. of So. Hist. papers contains an article by Mr. Hunter in reply to mine. It is evasive and fallacious. I have written to Col. W. P. Johnston for the letters of Trenholm Barnwell and Graham by which to show that the interview which H. describes was held not at my house but in my office, not with him alone but with a committee of which he was a member &c, &c. It will be necessary also to make extracts from my messages to prove that I stated in emphatic terms my desire for peace. Not like Mr. Hunter thinks should have been done on the basis of submission but as a Government claiming to be independent. Hoping to see you soon I am with sincere regard for you & yours faithfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

R. H. Chilton[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Columbus Ga. Decr. 14th, 1877.

To Honble Jeff Davis,
Mississippi City, Missi.

D'r Sir,

Y'r letter of the 22d of Oct. arrived during my absence, which, with the hard work imposed upon me, in bringing up

[1] Chilton, Robert Hall. Soldier, born in Virginia, Chief of Staff of Gen. Robt. E. Lee; graduate of West Point Class of 1837; promoted for gallantry in the battle of Buena Vista; resigned from U. S. army April 29, 1861; brigadier general C. S. A.; died Feb. 18, 1879.

accumulated business needing my *personal* attention, must be my excuse for long delay in answering it. In reply to your enquiry respecting the condition of the Army of N. Va. at the time I joined Gen'l R. E. Lee as Chief of Staff, it appeared to me to be in a very disorganized condition. Large unauthorized absenteeism of officers and men greatly weakened its force, exhausting wastefulness pervaded all departments, especially apparent with each change of camp, in the abandonment of supplies of different kinds, and a laxity of discipline prevailed, which greatly impaired the efficiency of this Army composed of the finest body of men ever brought together. This state of affairs was attributable to several causes. This Army was composed almost entirely of 12 months Volunteers, whose time had recently expired, obliging under the conscript law, re enlistment for the war and reorganization in front of the enemy, or while upon the march. Thus reorganized it was formed of new organizations under newly *elected* officers, not yet fully confident in themselves, and therefore doubtful about extent of their power to enforce discipline. Again, it had just passed through the battle of the "Seven Pines," following its retreat from York Town, during which had occur'd the affair at Williamburg, in which engagements, many officers had been killed and disabled and their places were still unfilled. Under these circumstances, even with such admirable material to work upon it taxed to the utmost the remarkable organising and administrative powers of General Lee, to bring about an efficient organization of these discordant elements, but his indomitable will, energy and industry overcame all difficulties; and during the short respite between the battle of "Seven Pines" and the "seven days fights around Richmond" followed by the 2d Manassas, he effected an improvement in his Army which raised the seige of Richmond, and drove the enemy crushed and demoralized into their "strongholds" around their own capital, and captured from them immense "spoils"—Artillery, small arms and various army supplies most valuable to the Confederacy. He at the same time established those relations of idolising devotion, confidence and pride between himself and his Army which led to deeds of heroism which commanded the admiration of the world, and that invincibility of spirit under his guidance which sustained it up to the close of its existence as an army, when staggering under the pressure of starvation, and the weight of hordes drawn from every nationality (5 to 1 while in front of Richmond), it was surrendered at

Appomattox a mere fragment of its former grand and powerful self.

Yrs truly
R. H. Chilton.

Excuse the erasures and interlineations of this hasty scrawl.

endorsed:
R. H. Chilton; on condition of the army after "seven pines" and about campaign of R. E. Lee in W. Va. Jany., 1878.

Mrs. Varina Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

362 Vance Street,
Memphis, Tenn.
Dec 16th 1877.

Dear Maj. Walthall,

Many thanks for your kind welcome back to America, I have always reckoned you among those who would be glad to see me at home again, and felt grateful for your regard.

The picture which I had sent before your letter reached me was taken shortly after the Mexican war when Mr. Davis was almost thirty nine or forty—perhaps three or four years after the commencement of the war,—I think in forty nine— So far I have heard nothing of the other miniature but hope to know very soon.[1]

With the most sincere regard, believe me dear Sir

Yours faithfully
Varina Davis.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New Orleans, Dec. 17th, 1877.

Dear Sir,

Your postal card has just been received and I answer it at once.

I will leave here on the evening of the 23rd, and will stop at Colonel Nixon's at Mississippi City that night, and remain over next day. I know nothing of the localities in your neighbourhood, but am told it will be doubtful whether the train stops at your station. Hence I will stop at Mississippi City—from

[1] Illustrations for the *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.*

whence I can drive out to see you, or you can come to Col. Nixon's as may be most convenient.

I presume you have seen the December number of "The Southern Historical Society Papers" with Mr. Hunter's reply to you. When in Richmond about the 1st of Novr., I told Mr. Jones that Mr. Hunter had no right to reply to you through our Papers—that he had thought proper to make the Philadelphia Times the medium of his communication to the public—that when Mr. Hunter's article was copied into our Papers (which was done without my knowledge and should never have received my assent) you were entitled to be heard in the Papers, but that Mr. Hunter should reply through the Times, the medium first selected by him. I wrote to the same effect afterwards, and Mr. Jones has written to me here that Mr. Hunter and his friends insisted upon having his reply inserted in the Papers; and that he called a meeting of the Executive Committee which decided that the reply should be published.

It is a feeble effort, and not well tempered, but which can do no harm. It merely serves to show that Mr. Hunter is not one of those men who think it is better to sacrifice everything else to save *honor*. Poor old man, he is broken down, and will never cease grieving over the loss of his negroes, and hoping to get pay for them in some way.

Hoping to see you soon, I am

Very sincerely and respectfully
Your friend,
J. A. Early.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

endorsed:
J. A. Early; about R. M. T. Hunter and republications in the Hist. Soc. papers; Dec. 17th 1877

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. E. V. D. Miller.

(From New York Historical Society.)

Miss City P. O.
Dec 17th 1877.

Mrs Miller

My Dear Madam

Please excuse the delay in answering your kind letter & be assured it has not arisen from any want of regard for you or affectionate memory of your deceased Brother.[1] The gallantry of your Brother in the War with Mexico when he was more fre-

[1] General Earl Van Dorn of Miss.

quently noticed in the official reports of the battles, for gallantry in action, I believe, than any other officer in the army, attracted my attention, and caused me to claim for him then an additional Brevet. He was associated with me in the organization of the Army of Mississippi, immediately after the secession of our State, and I was sincerely attached to him. Please accept my thanks for the sketch you have given me of your Brother's services, to which I would thank you to add any others which you may be able to recall. His action at Corinth was marked by his usual gallantry & illustrated his military genius; to that you do not refer, I suppose, because you considered it sufficiently well known. I am grateful for your offer of services at Washington, but would not encumber you with the responsibility of friendship for one who among the officials there would be regarded as little less than a crime for you to know. Of course I refer only to the attachees of a Radical administration. Not knowing your address in Washington, I will send this to the care of our old friend Col C. E. Hooker.

Respectfully & truly yours,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

19th Dec. 77.

Dear Sir,

I propose to go to New Orleans tomorrow evening, and expect Genl. Early will return with me on Sunday or Monday. He writes that he wishes to leave on the 23rd. It will be I think agreeable and useful for you to have a long talk with him. Cannot you come for that purpose, say on Monday next. Mr. Tenny I suppose will not revisit us.

Ever truly your friend
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

No name of receiver of this letter.

Lewis Cruger[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*
(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, Dec. 27th,——(77)

Dear Sir:

Ever since the end of the War, I have been constantly determining to urge and entreat you to devote yourself to writing a

[1] Comptroller of the Treasury C.S.A.

true history of our desperate struggle to defend and redeem the Constitution in its purity, from the pollutions of a most nefarious Union, such as is now existing in the degraded Country. But, I confess that sheer laziness and a hopeless apathy and despair of the country has caused me to neglect what I was, in truth, anxious for either you or our cherished friend, Gen. Lee, to do, to justify our Confederacy to the World. I cannot express my deep disappointment in my most sanguin expectation that our noble friend would devote all his leisure hours in his Academic Retreat to composing (for the benefit of the North) a true history and a grand vindication of our glorious Cause. From that most trustful, most Christian and most honorable man any description (however brief and casual) would have been accepted all over the world as truth itself and beyond all contradiction, and next in authenticity and importance would be a history by you. But I most earnestly hope you will devote yourself to thus vindicating our noble and exalted sacrifices in defence of the Constitution and self government.

I fervently hope and pray that I may hear from you that you have been engaged in this noble and holy task, which I regard as your highest duty. I think such a history from you would be better received at this deplorable crisis than at any other time. In referring to this infamous crisis, I wrote the other day in an article on this subject as follows: "The State house of South Carolina has become the Mausoleum of American Liberty, wherein lie entombed the dearest Rights of American Citizens, most brutally crushed out by Federal bayonets. In this crisis let every citizen sound the tocsin of his endangered liberty—let all citizens light the beacon fires of alarm—let them rouse their fellow countrymen to a sense of their degraded and terrible condition—for the liberties of all American citizens are in the extremest peril. Let all citizens rise up and boldly assert their dearest Rights or become abject slaves forevermore."

But, Alas! such spirit-stirring appeals are all in vain when addressed to the cold and money-worshipping people of infamous New England, and even of the general North (though I except the merchants of New York who always sympathised with us).

Hoping you will send me a gratifying answer, I will now refer to a personal matter of my own, which I had long intended to mention to you, but, I disliked to trouble you respecting so inferior a matter, though it is of great importance to me now in my utter destitution, with a starving family around me. The matter referred to was as follows: When we were driven from

Richmond by a mobbed Army from all parts of the World (about 10 times as numerous as Gen. Lee's) all my books and papers were carefully packed in strong boxes by my chief clerk who belonged to Pontotoc Mississippi, and were started for the South under his special charge. In his letters to me since that time he assures me he left all my boxes of books and documents in charge of our Quarter-master at Abbeville, South Carolina and that he saw them placed in a storehouse there, but he can't remember the name of our quartermaster or of the merchant in whose store they were placed. My library of Law Books and other books was extensive and very valuable. I have written to Gen. McGowan at Abbeville and to others to no purpose, they all declare they cannot find any trace of them. Gen. McGowan suggested to me that as there were a number of waggons that left Abbeville at the time you left there, my boxes may have by chance, been placed in one of those wagons and that it is in the range of possibility that you might have heard something of the Comptrollers boxes of Records and Documents and Law-books. I have hitherto considered it so improbable that I have constantly hesitated (as I now reluctantly do) to trouble you with so inferior a matter in comparison with the mighty importance of our glorious struggle for liberty and independence.

With most respectful compliments to Mrs. Davis, and in hopes of receiving a line from you, I remain,

Very truly your friend,
(Signed) Lewis Cruger.

Jefferson Davis to G. W. C. Lee.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Mississippi City, P. O.,
4th Jany. 1878.

My dear Friend:

After sending to you the greeting of a new year and wishing for you and yours every earthly good, I wish to trouble you with a somewhat disagreeable inquiry. In the Dec. No. of the Southern Historical Papers, there is a communication from Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, which assumes that a conversation which *he states* was held at my house, was communicated to my Aides, despite its confidential nature, and used by them to impair his standing and influence. I would be glad to know your recollection of the affair, if indeed there be any truth in his story. I have heard

that long before the Hampton Roads Conference, some of the Staff used to laugh at Mrs. Hunter's mournful misgiving; but of that I was not informed until the war had closed.

Col. Johnston was living with me at the time, and if there was such a visit, of which I have no recollection, he will probably remember it, and any consequences of it. If he has returned to Lexington please show this letter to him, and ask him, for me, to regard the inquiry as addressed to him also.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Genl. G. W. C. Lee.

Frank Huger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Va. 5 January 1878.

Hon. Jeff'n. Davis,
Mississippi City,
My Dear Sir,

The importance of the subject on which I beg to address you, reluctant as I am to trespass on your time, will I feel assured excuse my doing so, when you learn that it is on a matter that deeply touches not only myself, but our family, in affecting so seriously the record of my father.

It has only recently come to my knowledge,—in fact but a few days before his death, that in Appleton's Encyclopedia, published by George Ripley and Chas. A. Dana of New York, it is stated referring to Huger, Benjamin,—"His conduct during the campaign on the Peninsula was severely censured, and he was removed from active service soon after."

This implies official censure and is therefore incorrect, and I regard it as an outrage, but even were I to meet with the statement other than in a work regarded as authority, I would not take the proceedings I deem necessary now to do to correct it, for I sincerely deprecate as I regard it, the useless publicity given to so many of the personal affairs of our past.

A letter from you touching this point would be invaluable to me, and if it is entirely consistent with your views I would very earnestly and respectfully request at your hands a statement of the causes that led to his removal from the command of his Division of the Army of Northern Virginia,—which we had understood was not predicated on official censure, or for any

want of confidence in his zeal for,—or earnestness in the cause.

I am well aware of, and shall never forget the gross injustice with which many news-paper scribblers and petty politicians who couldn't use him, abused him, as I shall not the manly forbearance and dignity with which he sufferd it, and was the article in question of the same ephemeral character, I would endeavor to profit by his example, and treat it the same way, but the circumstances are different.

It is proper I should add,—that unless necessary I would not propose to use any statement you may kindly favor me with on the subject, other than to enforce the request I shall make in a personal interview for a correction of the injustice done his memory, about which I anticipate no difficulty however, for the authors have thus far exhibited at least a proper courtesy, and expressed a willingness to correct any errors.

I will thank you to remember me very cordially to Mrs. Davis, and beg you will accept for yourselves with high regards, my best wishes for a Happy New Year.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
FRANK HUGER.

endorsed:
Frank Huger; ansd. 14th Jany. '78.

Mrs. Varina Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

562 Vance St.
Jan 6th 1878.

A very happy New Year to you dear Maj. Walthall, and thanks for your good wishes for my future welfare. Anniversaries become painful reminders of one's sorrows as one grows older, and yet I cannot bear to pass them by in silence. A ghost of the old Jolly Xmases of my childhood, comes to me yearly. Perhaps because he is a cheerful ghost, he will not be laid. We are not sufficiently careful in youth to garner up pleasant memories while green, and fresh, against old age, when this dry provender is all that we can call our own. What a grand cannonade the fire crackers made in our youth! How loud our tops hummed, and how sweetly our old fashioned wooden dolls smiled upon us even until their poor bleared eyes were washed out. No dolls are so sympathetic to any child now. Children are older for their years, they pass through the stages

of earliest youth more quickly than they did fifty years ago, and therefore less happily—I believe that the first stage of a verb is the most pleasant—I think now "to be" is better than "to do" or "to suffer." What stupendous changes too have not the last thirteen years accomplished! A whole country has been aroused to war against their own people, or rather a neighboring people, has been defeated, robbed, and disfranchised, tortured and insulted. Suddenly the horizon clears and we find that the conquered have the power to dictate terms to the conquering. And now like the Germans, we begin our passion play over again after a long term of years, with nearly the same actors.

Here there is an abominable condition of things just now. There are three Candidates for the mayoralty in the field—all democrats—and I fear that out of all three there are not enough high qualities to be found out of which to construct one good man. I do not know the merits of their quarrel, but I suspect that there are few to be found. Maj. Merriwether and Butler Anderson are working for Flippin so I suppose he must be nearly, if not quite right.

It was very kind of you to tell me how Mr. Davis is looking. He does not often speak of himself, and I am always more or less anxious about him.

My Daughter's health is so precarious that I do not feel it quite safe to leave her here alone, so I cannot say at what time I can join my husband. As you will very easily imagine, the separation from him is a sad disappointment to me.

I send you two pamphlets which were written by a friend in New Jersey. Please return them when read, and another rather graceful address by that agreeable sanctimoneous humbug, Morgan Dix, which if you care for it I trust you will keep. It is late and I am growing stupid, so I will with renewed good wishes for your success and welfare during the coming year, I will beg you to believe me

Very sincerely and faithfully yours,
VARINA DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Crafts J. Wright.

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Missi. City, 10th Jan. 1878.

My dear Friend,

I have just received yours of the 8th inst., and am rejoiced that New Year finds you feeling better than you expected to do.

I am truly grieved for Church! and trust his son-in-law may be able successfully to answer the charges against him. When you have your anniversary photographs taken, please send me one, one of your Wife, and yourself, and also copies from Catlin's miniatures.

I will frankly tell you why I cannot emerge from my present obscurity—or leave the dead past to bury its dead. That past of my life for which I am most censured and for which I am so bitterly hated, was dictated by convictions against which my interests and ambition were most opposed. I cannot say I am sorry or ask for pardon, for that which were it to be done over, I would do again, and when I see the government drifting from the moorings of those who made it and believe that the departures are fatal to the peace, and happiness and liberty of Posterity, I can and will say nothing, which will lead anyone, who trusts me, to suppose that I am content with the present or the future it forebodes. I have no taste for declamation and do not wish to vaunt my love for the constitution as it was made, and interpreted by the Fathers of the Federation, and therefore, it has been easy for me to keep quiet, and allow the best current of Politicians to flow past me without any action on my part to attract their attention. I would be glad "to allay feelings prejudicial to the public interest" and to contribute if I might to a restoration of the Government to its original character. If the opportunity should ever occur, doubt not it will be seized. Should you conclude to present the petition for an adequate pension, please notify me that I may aid you as suggested. With kindest regards to your Wife, I am ever cordially yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Mrs. S. A. Dorsey to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir 15th Jany.
1878.

Dear Major—

I wish you would write for those regulations. I find that it will be difficult for me to get to Mobile without occasioning remark in my household.

Yours sincerely
S. A. DORSEY.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir 20 Jan. 1878.

My dear Major Walthall

One who is preparing a book of speeches for schoolboys has written me requesting me to furnish him with some of mine. I doubt if I ever made one suited to such a purpose but it has occurred to me that the address I issued at Danville might possibly be the best for me to use, being my last it ought not to be the worst. I think there were one or two copies among the papers I gave you in Memphis, one say in print, the other a Mss. copy. If I am correct in this supposition & you have seen either of them, please be kind enough to let me have it. Kindest regards to Mrs. Walthall and your children. I am as ever

Yours respectfully
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Wm. P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lexington, Va.
Jany. 24, 1878.

My dear Sir:

Your favor of Jany. 16th has been received. I note your reference to the Confederate laws, and will examine them.

I am living in Lexington, and went home today to look for the correspondence with Mr. Graham. I did not find it where I expected, and in my moving and the preparation for my book my papers have fallen into such confusion that I cannot find these letters. I am just on the eve of starting for Washington, but when I return will give a thorough search unless in the meantime you find your own copies.

I do not think it worth while to pursue Hunter. I think he is senile.

Very sincerely and affectionately yours,
(Signed) WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Missi. City.

D. H. Maury to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., Jany. 25th, 1878

Hon. Jefferson Davis
My dear Sir

Your very kind and valued favor of the 19th inst. was received yesterday, and I assure you that I am greatly gratified that my views on so great a question meet your approval. You are the father of the Pacific R.R. idea and I know that your study of the subject has been comprehensive and exhaustive. I would be very glad indeed if you had not made your letter confidential for in the hot fire which I have drawn from the Tom Scott people your opinion would have been a protection and a comfort to me by influencing and informing the public mind. In fact the public mind has been preoccupied by the Texas Pacific and the people of our state accustomed to associate Tom Scott alone with the enterprise are impatient when any other is mentioned. Newspapers Conventions and lobbyists have eulogized Scott and denounced every rival until with unthinking or unscrupulous people to seek a better think(er) than Scott offers is criminal— Mr. Huntington is able and willing to build —he has a vast accumulation of material at Fort Yuma and asks for permission to go on and for the land voted to Tom Scott and forfeited by him. I am very much indebted for the significant scrap of "mass" information you give me concerning the St. Louis Convention, I have no copy of the report of its proceedings. The great mistake our people make in espousing the Texas Pacific bill is that it has no possible chance to get through— The North except a few Scott men (very few) are opposed to giving a cent to the South for this purpose; of the Southern men not more than half will go for any Scott bill— I see that it is impossible to float Scott therefore I turn to some one else— If the Com. will report my bill it will pass and that will secure the road to El Paso, there Pierce of the San Antonio Harrisburg and Galveston RailRoad who has built 236 miles of his road in the best manner, will meet him and the connection from Galveston to New Orleans will soon be completed by private capital which will be offered in abundance to complete so short a link in a Pacific road; from San Antonio connection will be had with Memphis, Vicksburg with the same help— Scott and

Bond his 1st V.P. have both said to the House Com. on Pa. Railways that Huntington could and would build the road and that they could not without government aid in guaranteed interest bonds for $20,000 to the mile.

The only practicable route from Yuma to San Diego *direct* the only route practicable is by the Los Angelos and that route is already occupied by Huntington who has a branch finished to San Pedro bay 100 miles nearer by the practicable route than San Diego.

There were some serious typographical errors in the Clarion print of my letter which doubtless confused the reader, "Havana" is put for "Swansea" in speaking of the shipment of copper ore. The trouble in this matter is the dreadful lack of information and the newspapers refuse to give any— Not a single one has published my bill nor given any information on the subject whatever but instead empty declamation detraction and abuse—

With best wishes for your health prosperity and happiness,
I have the honor to be

Yours truly,
(Signed) H. D. Maury.

R. H. Chilton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Columbus, Ga. Jan'y 25th, 1878.

Dr Sir

Yrs of 22d inst duly recd. Glad my letter covered points upon which you wished to be advised. I did not think it expedient to use the strong expressions used in the interview you allude to, as my ideas, accustomed as I had been almost entirely to the regular service, were exaggerated, in contrasting the two services, since modified also by disinclination to any bickering amongst ourselves, giving a handle to the other side to charge us with internal dissensions. As regards the Cheat Mountain affair I know nothing personal, but Col. Walter Taylor whose memory is excellent was with Gen'l Lee at the time and can speak advisedly. A very intelligent gentleman Dr. Colzey, now living here, was present, being the Medical Director of Gen'l Wise's Brigade. He states that Gen'l Lee joined the Army of W. Va. at Cheat Mountain where he wished Gen'l Floyd to unite with him and make the fight, but he declined, and after a fight at

Gowley, retired and passed to Wise's rear as far back as the meadows, and after Gen'l Lee's arrival was recalled to take part in the action proposed by Gen'l Lee, at Cheat Mountain which failed, in consequence of Rosencrant's escape. He happened to be present when a conversation occur'd between Genl. Lee and Col. Lucius Davis, in which the latter was speaking bitterly of the escape through the failure to carry out his orders, to which the Genl replied, but Col. you do not think of the advantages obtained in driving back the enemy without bloodshed and defeating their purposes. My recollection of the matter is, that Gen'l Lee had so disposed his troops as to surround Rosencranz during the night, with the intention that Rust's Brigade sh'd make a feint attack on his side, at dawn, so as to occupy the enemy vigourously in that direction, under their surprise, withdrawing them from the point of real attack as much as possible. The troops to make the real attack were to act so soon as they heard the guns of Rust's command which attack not being made properly led to the discovery of the intended attack and prevented the surprise upon which depended the success of the movement. We had the report and plan of the (attack) in the office which was discussed and regarded as one of the prettiest strategic movements which had been made but failing led to objectionable criticisms written by Pleasants *Floyds* aid-de-camp,—the recall of Floyd thus endorsing Wise creating angry felings.

Yrs. truly R. H. Chilton.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lynchburg, Va., Jany. 28th 1878.

Dear Sir,

I have sent to you by express some smoking tobacco (Lone Jack) which I trust you may find to your taste. I send also some pipes which I think you will find better than even the meerschaum. I do not send the stems, for you have an abundance of them around you. A branch of the Fig makes the very best stem. It is pleasant to hold in the mouth and is quite fragrant. I send also a copy of my narrative of my operations in the Valley and Maryland. I have not had time to copy the narrative of events preceding and following the 1st Battle of Manassas, but will do so and sent it you. I send you a number of "The

Land We Love," containing an article I wrote in Canada in regard to that battle. I send also the Message of Govr. Haight of Calafornia, which treats of the question we were talking about in regard to the new amendments. You will see that he fully sustains your proposition.

I remained in Richmond some time before returning, and found a very unsatisfying state of things there in our Legislature. In conversing with a number of gentlemen I found the impression very general that Mr. Hunter's reply to you did him more harm than any one else. Mr. Hunter is almost completely broken down in every respect, and it is doubtful whether he can be elected Treasurer of the State.

Let young Mr. Dahlgren have a little of the smoking tobacco, though I would not encourage a young man to indulge too much in the pipe.

Very shortly after my return the thermometer twice was down below zero, which made a wonderful change from your balmly atmosphere in the Gulf.

Present my best regards to Mrs. Dorsey, and also to Mr. Dahlgren, and accept the assurance of my continued esteem and regard.

Very truly, yours,
J. A. Early.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

endorsed:
Genl. J. A. Early; ansd; 8th Feb. '78; sends copy of the "Land we love" for the article on Mannassas.

Bishop W. M. Green to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Sewanee, Tenn. Jan. 28, 1878.

Hon. Jeff. Davis,
My Dear Sir,

You may remember that when you were kind enough to give me, in writing, the circumstances of your "capture", you enclosed in your letter a Photograph likeness of yourself, as you were dressed on that occasion. On showing this likeness, a day or two ago, to Gen. Gorgas, he was much struck with it, and pronounced it the best that has ever been taken of you. I agree with him fully; and am therefore desirous of having a

number of copies taken for myself and friends, on a larger scale. I am unwilling to do so, however, before I learn whether it would be agreeable to you, to be thus represented, and the fact made known that that was your dress at the time of your capture. I presume that you can have no objection to my having the face, and the upper half of your person taken, including the arm which rests upon your side. Neither do I think that you would object to my having the whole figure taken, with nothing said about the time or occasion connected with it. Nor have I any fear that injury would result from letting the *story* of the dress go along with the dress itself. But, if you think otherwise, I will be guided by your wishes.

Please excuse me for thus troubling you. I can not well help it. My "righteous soul is vexed" at miserable *daubs* which I see wherever I go, with your name written under them. I can't say that I have ever seen a single likeness of you with which I was satisfied. The Postage Stamps that were *first* issued under our Confederacy came pretty near to being a good likeness. The second issue, in which you were made to look like a Roman instead of an American, was a great failure. For a long time, I have been inquiring and begging for one of the former; but in vain. If you have one to spare, please send it to me.

My health, or rather my flesh and strength are fast returning to me. In two or three weeks I hope to be "on the war path." I may reach your region about the middle of March.

If Mrs. Davis is with you, present to her and Mrs. Dorsey my kindest regards; and accept for yourself the blessing of

Your Bishop
W. M. Green

Endorsed: Bishop Green ansd. 7th Feb. 1878.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir PO
30th Jany 78

My dear Sir:

I think you mentioned your possession of "The Federalist", if so, will you look at the last of Hamilton's articles I think No. 85 and see what he says about the power of amendment, whether he did not hold that any material change such as would

be a new power would require *all* the states to agree as in the original delegation of functions or powers to the general govt.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Walthall and your children I am

yours faithfully
JEFFERSON DAVIS

Maj. W. T. Walthall

Jefferson Davis to G. W. C. Lee.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
4th Feb., 1878.

My dear Friend:

Accept my thanks for your kind letter of the 15th ultimo, and for your satisfactory reply to my enquiries.

I have received several letters in regard to the attack by the Treasury Clerks upon Dahlgren's command at Green's farm, and the statements made do not agree with my memory of the affair. After the repulse of Kilpatrick near the Brook turnpike, I believe we, ie. you and I, went to the West side of Richmond where you were placed in command of all the means we had to resist an attack expected from the direction of Charlottesville—by the Three Notch road near which I left you quiet at nightfall and went to the extreme left, to look after some expected forces, which were to come on the River Road. I found a battalion of Marylanders under Marshal Kane, but did not see the Treasury Clerks and supposed in the absence of orders they had gone on to Green's Farm; but recent letter speaks of it as having been their destination when they left the Treasury and as though Dahlgren's presence there had been known. I think your father left Richmond the day before and that he had been advised of a movement by Custer by way of Charlottesville which led us to expect if an attack was made it would be by the approaches from that direction. I have however very little confidence in my recollection of such details as those to which I have referred and hope you will be able to assist me with accurate information.

Please give my affectionate remembrance to your sisters and to your brothers when you see them, and believe me as ever,

Very truly yours,
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Crafts J. Wright.

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Missi. City, 4th Feb. 1878

Dear Friend,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge your kind letter of the 30th ult. The facts you state in regard to captured treasures are new to me. It is probable that most of it was the property of the Richmond banks. The item of money captured from "Jeff. Davis" is unfounded, for the sufficient reason that I had no gold when captured, either private or public. Mr. Reagan, secretary of the treasury, had some gold, part of it his private property, more of it belonged to the C. S. treasury, which was seized in his saddle bags; the amount does not, as my memory serves me, correspond with either item. It was probably appropriated by the drunken fellow Hudson, who was recognized as Adj. of the Mich. Reg., and who Reagan told me got his saddle bags.

The rest of the C. S. Treasury was in the possession of the treasurer, an old purser of the U. S. navy, and his Asst. both of them recent appointments. They were in Washington, Ga. when I left there, and I have no knowledge of their future conduct.

Col. Pritchard told me some days after my capture that he had been sent in pursuit of the wagon train, and that he had no expectation of finding me with it. As has been related to you I had recently joined it. There were in the Northern papers of that time, reports to the effect that a large amount of Treasure was being carried away, and that was undoubtedly the motive for the pursuit of those wagons; the report of Gen. Wilson to the contrary notwithstanding. Gen. Sherman notices the reports of Treasure being carried off, and the abuse of himself for wanting activity in the matter. I will write to Mr. Reagan and ask him to answer your inquiries.

The fact is, my dear Crafts, that I staked all my property and reputation in the defence of state rights and constitutional liberty as I understood them. The first I spent in the cause except what was seized and appropriated, or destroyed by the Enemy, the last has been persistently assailed by all which falsehood could invent and malignity employ.

I hope from the steady character of your writing that you

health has improved. May God grant to you length of days, and better fortune ere your sun sinks to its horizon.

With sincere regard to your Wife, I am ever affectionately yours.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

C. J. Wright
Chicago.

John H. Reagan to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives.
Washington, D.C. Feby. 7th 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

Esteemed Sir and friend:

Your letter of the 2nd instant is before me, advising me that an effort has been made "to put you in the attitude of having by your own volition and against the advice of others decided to remove Genl. J. E. Johnston from the command of the army in Georgia," and asking me to state my recollection of events bearing on that question, and how it came to pass that you agreed that the Secretary of War should issue an order relieving Gen. Johnston, and as far as I remember it the discussion in regard to the choise of his successor, including the mission of the Secretary of War to Gen. Lee on that subject, &c.

I am almost afraid to write on this subject from memory alone after so many years, and upon a subject not then within the line of my particular duty. I remember that you hesitated much about puting General Johnston in command of the army in Georgia, and that you did so in deference to the opinions and appeals of others. I also remember that when you were appealed to afterwards to remove Gen. Johnston from the command of that army, by letters and by personal solicitation, you hesitated to do so, and called attention to the danger of doing so in the midst of a campaign; and that the change was not finally made until, as I understood, General Johnston would not give the Secretary of War to understand certainly whether he would give battle rather than uncover Atlanta. My understanding was that you then attached so much importance to holding Atlanta as the Military key to Georgia, that you preferred the risk of fighting a battle for it to evacuating it without a battle,

the fear being that the fall of that place would enable the federal forces to bisect our territory by a line from that to the coast, as it had been bisected by the line of the Mississippi by the fall of Vicksburg. My remembrance is that after the refusal of Gen. Hardee to take the command of that army you took the advise of Generals Lee, Bragg and Beauregard as to the proper person to put in command of that army, and that each of them without a comparison of views, being in different parts of the country, suggested General Hood as the proper officer.

There were certainly differences of opi(n)ion in the country about the propriety of the removal of Gen. Johnston from that command; but I know you were urged by letters and telegrams and by deputations sent to Richmond, in the most earnest manner to make the change, these appeals, as well as I remember, being among other things based on the idea that the fall of Atlanta would emperil the Confederacy, and that a battle should be risked to save it.

I cannot but regret that controversies should arise between leading men who were identified with our common cause. I have often felt that as to yourself and others there was much unjust criticism, which was caused not by the want of skill and patriotism, but by the want of men and material of war. And so generally have I believed this to be true as to all our officers in high command that I have always abstained from censuring or critcising them, and have been and am unwilling to mix myself up with their controversies; and the more so as I was not connected with the military service, and am not qualified to criticise military operations.

I have seen nothing on this subject but what is said in your letter, and as you will see may not be able to throw material light on it.

I note what you say about the failure to publish my letter to Gov. Porter among the papers of the "Southern Historical Society." A few days ago I saw Col. Preston Johnston when the same thing was mentioned. He said he would write and enquire why it was; but suggested that its publication might be delayed so that a paper from himself and one from Governor Lubbock on the same subject might appear at the same time. If this is the reason it may be for the best.

With my best wishes for your health and happiness, I am

Very truly and respectfully

JOHN H. REAGAN.

endorsed:
Jno. H. Reagan; about removal of Genl. J. E. Johnston.

Wm. P. Johnston to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Museum.)

610—13th Street, Washington, D. C.
Febry. 8, 1878.

My dear Sir:

Your favors of the 3d and 4th have come to hand.

I spent several hours in the Archives office today trying to find the matter you ask for, ie. "the proceedings relative to Genl. Beauregard's report of the Battle of Manassas, the President's endorsement, the striking out of part, etc." I was unable to find it. Cannot you point out to me indications in your posession, the time at which this occurred and any other *earmarks* you may have which will lead to its discovery. Do so and I will make another search.

I was in time to countermand the order about copying the President's message. It was Febry. 3d, 1864.

I cannot tell what you want, and have no doubt I will blunder sadly in what is sent you; but as I am not familiar with the topics and their relative importance, I have to send much which *you* would know you did not want

I *am* very happy to do anything I can for you.

I have written Mr. Davis about what Beauregard says of my book.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Maj. W. T. Walthall.

Geo. Davis to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Wilmington, N. C., Feby. 8th, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Mississippi City, Miss.,

My Dear Friend,

I avail myself of my first leisure to reply to your note of 25th ult., inquiring as to what took place at the conference with Gens. Johnston and Beauregard at Greensboro in April 1865.

I must preface my statement by saying that the flood of disastrous and distressing events which has swept over us at the South since the war, together with advancing age, have impaired

my memory; and I cannot speak with perfect confidence of the events of twelve years ago.

I do not think I was present at the whole of the conference to which you allude. My impression is that it had been in progress some little time when I entered the room. But I can state with all the confidence that lapse of time leaves to me, that you never did, in my presence and hearing, give to Gen. Johnston authority to negotiate for the surrender of the army. The general situation was discussed in terms that seemed to me quite guarded on all sides. And while everything that was said by the Generals tended to show the impossibility of maintaining a front against the enemy, I do not think even that was plainly and distinctly declared. And I have no recollection whatever of the subject of a surrender having been discussed, or even distinctly mentioned.

I will add, that, while I had the honor of a seat in your cabinet, it was not your habit to give important orders or instructions relating to the conduct of the war in cabinet session. Whatever subject was presented was freely discussed; but your orders and instructions were privately given. And so much was this the settled rule that I cannot recall a single exception.

With kindest regards to my dear friend, Mrs. Davis, and warmest wishes for your welfare and happiness, I am as ever

Faithfully Yours,

Geo. Davis

P.S. I will mention to you, as a matter of personal history, that the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of this State has lately been tendered to me under the most honorable and flattering circumstances; but I was obliged to decline because I could not live upon the petty salary of $2500. G.D.

endorsed; Geo. Davis on Greensboro conference.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg Feby. 16th 1878.

Dear Sir,

I send you the copy of the narrative I promised you, and regret that I could not have it ready sooner.

Tell Major Walthall that I spoke to Mr. Jones about his article when I reached Richmond, but the matter for the "Papers" was then in print for the January and February numbers, and there

was no room for the Major's paper. I hope and expect that it will appear in the March number.

It is a serious (?) spectacle that has been presented to the country in the participation of the Vice President of the Confederate States in the reception of a miserable daub commemorating Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, by the United States Congress.

How was it, if Mr. Stephens had such high regard and warm friendship for Abraham Lincoln, that he ever consented to run the risk of deluging the country in blood, because a man for whom he entertained the feelings he now expresses had been elected President of the United States?

And our friend, Ben. Hill, it seems has conceived a warm friendship for Blaine, while Lamar wants to instil into the hearts of Mississippians principles of morality and honesty gathered from the "land of steady habits"!

Are our leading Southern representatives, and bitterest revilers of the North, about to resolve themselves into a mutual admiration society, leaving such "irreconcilables" as you and myself out in the cold?

Present my best regards to Mrs. Dorsey and accept my warmest wishes for your own health and happiness. Remember me also to Mrs. Davis if she is with you, or when you write to her.

Yours most truly and faithfully
J. A. Early

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

Operations on the line of Bull Run in June and July 1861, including the first Battle of Manassas.

Narrative by General J. A. Early then Colonel of the 24th Virginia Infantry commanding brigade.

On the 19th of June, 1861, I arrived at Manassas Junction and reported to General G. T. Beauregard, the 24th Virginia regiment having been previously sent to him, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Peter Hairston, from Lynchburg, where I had been stationed, under the orders of General R. E. Lee, for the purpose of organizing the Virginia troops which were being mustered into service at that place.

I found the main body of the 24th in camp about three or four miles east of the Junction, while two companies were detached to guard Davis' ford on the Occoquan east of the Camp, and another company was detached to watch the road to Fairfax C. H. that crosses Bull Run at Woodward's ford, not far above its junction with the Occoquan. Subsequently a fourth company was detached to watch a ford on the Occoquan above Davis' ford.[1]

In a few days after my arrival the troops under General Beauregard, then called "The Army of the Potomac," were organized into six brigades, and I was assigned to the command of the 6th brigade composed, originally, of the 4th South Carolina Regiment, Colonel Sloan, the 7th Virginia Regiment, Colonel James L. Kemper, and my own regiment, the 24th Virginia. The 4th South Carolina Regiment was never, however, under my command, as it was sent, on its arrival, to Leesburg in Loudoun County to report to Colonel N. G. Evans, who was in command in that section. That regiment was subsequently replaced in my brigade (about the 11th of July,) by the 7th Louisiana Regiment, Colonel Harry T. Hays.

Captain Eugene Davis' company of cavalry (from Albemarle County) was attached to my command for the purpose of scouting on the lower Occoquan and watching the fords on that stream and the landings on the Potomac below the mouth of the Occoquan as far down as Free-Stone Point, on which duty it was already engaged. Subsequently Captain Wm. W. Thornton's company of Prince William Cavalry was sent to me for the same purpose, and the two companies of cavalry were placed under the command of Captain John Scott, about the 12th of July.

A few days after my arrival at the camp of my regiment I moved with it to the village of Occoquan near the Potomac, in a reconnaisance, by order of General Beauregard, and I subsequently made a similar reconnaissance to the same point with the 7th Va. Regiment and a section of the Washington Artillery under Lieut. Squires, under like orders. This movement was begun on the 12th of July and I returned on the 14th.

Early in July, and before the last named reconnaissance, General Beauregard summoned his brigade commanders to Fairfax Station on the Orange and Alexandria Rail-Road, and there disclosed to them in confidence his plan of operations in the

[1] Except for the purpose of accustoming the men to picket duty this was all a needless precaution, as Bonham's brigade was in front of Bull Run at Fairfax C. H. and Ewell was at Fairfax Station.

event of the advance of the enemy, for which he had learned that active preparations were being made. His anticipation was that the enemy's main force would move on the road by Fairfax C. H., Centreville, and Mitchell's ford on Bull Run, towards Manassas Junction, and his plan was for all the troops on the North of Bull Run to fall back to the South of that stream on the approach of the enemy, Bonham, who was with his brigade at Fairfax, C. H., in the center to Mitchell's ford, Cooke, who was with his brigade at Centreville, on the left to the stone bridge on the Warrenton Pike, and Ewell, who was with his brigade at Fairfax Station, on the right to Union Mills, while Evans, who was at Leesburg with the 4th South Carolina, Wheat's Louisiana Battalion, and several companies of the 8th Va., was to retire from that place and join Cooke at Stone-bridge, Longstreet, whose brigade was at the Junction (Camp Pickens), was to move up to Blackburn's ford about a mile below Mitchell's ford, D. R. Jones, whose brigade was at Camp Walker on the rail-road northeast of the Junction, was to move up to McLean's ford about a mile below Blackburn's ford, and I was to move, with my brigade, to Union Mills in support of Ewell.

General Beauregard's expectation was that the enemy would follow Bonham and attack him at Mitchell's ford, in which event the latter was to maintain his position, and the other troops were to cross Bull Run and attack the enemy on both flanks, Longstreet crossing at Blackburn's ford and D. R. Jones at McLean's ford, so as to attack immediately on the enemy's left flank, Ewell at the same time crossing at Union Mills and moving towards Centreville so as to attack the enemy's left and rear, while my brigade was to follow Ewell's, in supporting distance and look out for his right flank and rear, and Cooke, supported by Evans, was to come down on the enemy's right flank.

The routes by which all these movements were to be made were pointed out and designated on maps previously prepared, and each brigade commander was instructed to make himself familiar with the ground over which he would have to operate. At the same time General Beauregard informed us that the official returns showed an effective force under his command of only about 15,000 men. At this time the 7th Louisiana had not arrived, and some other regiments arrived after that time and prior to the battle of the 21st. On the 11th of July, before leaving for Occoquan, I received from General Beauregard the following letter:

"Manassas Junction Va. July 11th 1861.

My Dear Col.

I think it would be advisable, as soon as you have time, to go, with your staff and Cols. (without giving the reasons), over the ground your brigade is to operate upon—i.e. from Union Mills to Centreville—taking with you a good guide to point out all the roads, especially on your right. Mr. Wilcoxen would be a very good one.

Whenever your brigade marches, I would not advance the head of it nearer to Union Mills than Mr. Smith's farm house or woods, until Ewell should commence his move forward on Centreville. I say this so as not to crowd the troops too much about that ford, through which his train of wagons has to pass. I will probably order Col. Hay's Regt. (La.) to report to you at Camp Wigfall (Kemper's), for I cannot get another Va. Regt. at present.

Respfly Your Obt. Servt.

G. T. Beauregard,
Brig. Gen. Commg.

Col. J. A. Early
Commg. 6th Brig.
Camp Pryor, Va.

I complied with the suggestion contained in the letter on the 14th, after my return from Occoquan, by ranging my staff and Colonels over the road from Union Mills to Centreville.

Kemper's Regiment had been camped on Wilcoxen's farm, a mile or two north of my own, and Hays' was camped near his when it reported.

On the night of the 16th information was sent me from General Beauregard's head-quarters that the enemy was advancing, and orders were received for moving early next morning in accordance with previous instructions. About sunrise on the morning of the 17th, I commenced the movement of my brigade to its assigned position, starting first the 24th Va. which had to pass the camps of the other regiments, and moving the other regiments as I came to them.

On my arrival at Union Mills, I found Ewell's troops falling back to the same point. Under previous instructions four companies of the 24th Va. were left under Major J. P. Hammett, one to guard the camp of the regiment, and the three others to picket the fords of Bull Run and Occoquan on our right as far down as Wolf Run Shoals below the mouth of Bull Run. The two companies of cavalry under Capt. Scott were recalled, by orders from General Beauregard, from the lower Occoquan and the Potomac, and ordered also to watch our right. All the

tents were left standing in the camps of the several regiments, guards being left in each camp, and no wagons were taken with the troops except ambulances, and ordnance and medical wagons, the rest being left in camp. The men were ordered to move with three days cooked rations in haversacks. All of which was according to instructions from head-quarters.

Three pieces of artillery, under Lieut. Squires of the Washington Artillery, were attached to my brigade, and joined it at the position in rear of Union Mills, where we remained inactive during the day and bivouacked at night.

On the morning of the 18th, my brigade was moved, by order of General Beauregard, to the left to Camp Walker on the rail-road, and remained there some time.

On falling back, General Ewell, in pursuance of his instructions, had burned the bridges on the rail-road over Pope's Run, from Fairfax Station to Union Mills, and while I was at Camp Walker I saw the smoke ascending from the rail-road bridge over Bull Run, which was burned that morning. The burning of this bridge had not been included in the previous instructions to Ewell, and I have always been at a loss to know why it was now fired. That bridge certainly was not necessary to the enemy for crossing Bull Run, either with his troops or wagons, as that stream was easily fordable at numerous places, both above and below. The bridge was moreover susceptible of easy defence, as there were deep cuts leading to it on both sides. It took about six weeks after the battle to replace the bridge, and it was then washed away by the first freshet that came. The only possible purpose to be subserved by the burning of that bridge would have been the prevention, for a short time, of the running of trains over it by the enemy, in the event of our defeat, or evacuation of Manassas without a fight. As it was, we were afterwards greatly inconvenienced by its destruction.

At Camp Walker, while we were awaiting further orders, cartridge boxes and belts were issued to a portion of the 24th Va. Regt., which had not before received them, because they were not to be had. In fact the whole regiment had gone to Manassas armed simply with muskets without any accoutrements whatever, as the State of Virginia had none, and the Confederate Government was not able to supply them at that time. Those issued to the regiment now had but recently been received by the Ordnance Officer at Manassas.

After I had been at Camp Walker two or three hours, General Beauregard and his staff passed on towards McLean's farm house, where his head-quarters in the field were established,

and he ordered me to move my brigade along the road through the pines to the gate entering into McLean's farm, and halt there until further orders. The following, which is a copy of the original report which was transmitted to General Beauregard's Adjutant General, will explain my further operations on the 18th:

"Head Quarters 6th Brigade
Army of the Potomac,
July 31st 1861.

Colonel: I submit the following report of the operations of my brigade on the 18th instant, in the engagement at Blackburn's Ford on Bull Run, in which our troops were commanded by Brig. Genl. Longstreet.

In the morning of that day, I marched with my brigade, composed of the 7th Virginia Volunteers (Col. Kemper's Regiment) commanded by Lieut. Colonel L. Williams,[1] the 7th Louisiana Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Harry T. Hays, six companies of the 24th Virginia Volunteers (my own regiment) commanded by Lieut. Colonel Peter Hairston, and three pieces of artillery from the Washington Artillery of New Orleans, under the command of Lieut. C. Squires, to Camp Walker, from whence it was moved by direction of General Beauregard into the road leading from Camp Walker to the gate in front (south) of McLean's farm, where it remained until about twelve o'clock, at which time a large cloud of dust was observed on the high ridge north of Blackburn's Ford, at which latter place General Longstreet's brigade was stationed. This cloud of dust proved to be produced by the enemy's columns moving in that direction, and in a few minutes a cannonade was commenced by the enemy, directed first upon General Bonham's position at Mitchell's Ford, and subsequently upon the farm house of McLean and the hospital in his barn, over which latter was floating the hospital flag. As soon as the cannonade commenced my brigade was moved, by order of General Beauregard, to the cover of the pines on the left of the road leading from McLean's house to Blackburn's Ford, where it was joined by two more pieces from the Washington Artillery under Captain Eschelman.[2] At this position it remained for the purpose of

[1] Colonel Kemper had been detailed on special duty in the Quarter Master's department, and did not return to his regiment until the 19th. Colonel Kemper had been engaged in organizing the transportation by collecting wagons and teams from the surrounding country, and had obtained a large number.

[2] This is a mistake.—Capt. Eschelman was not in command of the artillery but merely came with it, and was present with it while engaged, and hence I fell into the error of supposing that it was part of his command.

supporting General Bonham at Mitchell's Ford, General Longstreet at Blackburn's Ford, or General Jones at McLean's Ford as occasion might require. After the first cannonade had ceased, and General Beauregard with his staff had passed towards Mitchell's Ford, a fire of musketry began at Blackburn's Ford, which became very animated and continued for some time, when one of General Longstreet's aides came to inform me that he (Longstreet) had repulsed the enemy's charge, but desired reinforcements. I immediately put my whole brigade in motion, including the five pieces of artillery, to which, by his own request, was joined Lieut. Garnett of the same battalion with two pieces that had been sent to the rear by General Longstreet before the action commenced. After my column was put in motion, I received an order from General Beauregard to support General Longstreet with two regiments and two pieces of artillery. I thereupon proceeded with the 7th Louisiana Regiment, and 7th Virginia Regiment, and two pieces of artillery under the charge of Capt. Eschelman,[1] to the support of General Longstreet. Upon ariving at Blackburn's Ford I found the greater part of General Longstreet's command, under cover of the strip of timber on the banks of the stream, engaged with the enemy who was under cover of the timber on the hill-sides on the opposite banks. Colonel's Hays' regiment, which was in advance, was then placed on the banks of the stream, under cover of the timber on the right and left of the ford, relieving the 17th Va. Regiment under Col. Corse. This regiment proceeded to its position under quite a brisk fire of musketry. The 7th Virginia Regiment, under Lt. Col. Williams, as it arrived, was formed on the right of the ford under a heavy fire of musketry from the enemy evidently directed at the regiment. It was momentarily thrown into confusion by this fire and discharged many of its own guns over a portion of our troops in front, fortunately, however, doing them no damage as I believe. The regiment was soon rallied and proceeded to the banks of the stream relieving the 1st Virginia Regiment. The two pieces of artillery under Capt. Eschelman which followed the 7th Virginia Regiment were moved down in the open field on the right of the road, so as to be concealed from the view of the enemy's artillery by the timber on the banks of the stream, when they opened a fire upon the enemy's infantry on the opposite banks, directed only by the sound of the musketry from that side. As soon as the 7th Virginia Regiment advanced to the banks of the stream as above stated, I sent back for the six companies of the 24th Va., and the other pieces of artillery, and they were brought up. The companies of the 24th were placed in position, in good order, on the left of the ford in a place not occupied by Colonel Hays' regiment, and the remaining guns of the

[1] (See previous foot-note.)

Washington Artillery, five in number, were unlimbered on a line with the first two pieces and on the right of the road. A scattering fire of musketry was kept up for some time, but the enemy finally ceased firing and evidently retired to the hills where his artillery was placed, having, no doubt, observed the position of our pieces of artillery, for a fire was soon opened on them by the enemy's artillery, which was responded to by ours, and the cannonade was continued for a considerable time with great briskness on both sides, the balls and shells from the enemy's battery being directed with considerable accuracy upon ours, but the enemy finally ceased firing and did not renew the attack with his infantry.

During all this firing, when the balls and shells were passing over the heads of my men on the banks of the stream, they remained at their posts coolly awaiting the renewal of the attack with musketry.

The affair closed late in the afternoon, and about dusk General Longstreet, by direction of General Beauregard, retired with the two regiments of his brigade that had been engaged early in the action, to the pines from which I had gone to reinforce him, leaving my brigade and Colonel Garland's regiment (11th Va.) of his brigade on the ground for the night.

When I first arrived on the ground I found General Longstreet very actively engaged, in the thickest of the fire, in directing and encouraging the men under his command, and I am satisfied that he contributed largely to the repulse of the enemy by his own personal exertions. The officers and men belonging to the Washington Artillery behaved very handsomely indeed under a well directed and galling fire of the enemy, displaying great coolness and skill in the management of their pieces. The regiments of my brigade came for the first time under fire, and while one regiment was thrown for a few moments into confusion, without retiring it rallied under fire on the same ground and took the position assigned it and retained it.

Some parties sent across the stream, after the close of the fight, reported about forty of the enemy found dead on the ground occupied by his infantry during the fight. We were not enabled to examine the ground occupied by the enemy's artillery and the regiments of infantry supporting it, because it was evident that a large force was in the neighborhood, and the whole of the next day the men were engaged in throwing up embankments to strengthen our position which was on ground lower than that occupied by the enemy.[1]

About one hundred muskets were picked up on the opposite hillsides, and a large number of hats and other articles. From

[1] The embankments thus made were very slight, being constructed with very imperfect tools. There were no embankments on the day of the fight.

all indications the enemy's loss must have been much larger than our own.

The ranks of the 7th and 24th Virginia regiments had been much thinned by sickness, and the whole strength of my brigade did not exceed 1,500 men.

I have already furnished Brig. General Longstreet with a list of the killed and wounded.

Captain Fleming Gardner, my A. A. A. General, and Captain George E. Dennis, Asst. Commissary, of the 24th Va. Regiment, who acted as my aide during the engagement, discharged their duties to my entire satisfaction.

Very respectfully,
Your Obt. Servt.
J. A. Early,
Colonel Commanding 6th Brigade.

Lieut. Colonel Thomas Jordan,
A. A. General."

I remained, with my brigade and Garland's regiment of Longstreet's brigade, at Blackburn's Ford during the night of the 18th, the 19th, and the night of the 19th, the artillery having been withdrawn to the rear after the fight of the 18th and permanently detached from my brigade.

This being the first affair in which any of the troops with me had been engaged, they were in such a state of excitement and expectation during the night of the 18th as to rest very little. On the 19th they were occupied in the effort to strengthen their position, by throwing up the best defences they could with the implements at hand, which consisted of a very few picks and spades of an infirm kind, some rough Bowie knives which some of the men had, and the bayonets to the muskets. By the use of these implements an indifferent protection, in the way of an irregular rifle-trench along the banks of the stream, was constructed, which would afford some cover for the men when they were lying or sitting down, but the position was a very weak one, as the banks on the opposite side of Bull Run overlooked and commanded those on the south side, which were but a few feet above the water's edge, and there was an open field in rear of the strip of woods on our side of the stream for a considerable distance up and down it, which exposed all of our movements on that side to observation from the opposite one, as the strip of woods afforded but a thin veil which could be seen through.

During the day scouts were sent across Bull Run to the heights on the other side, and occasionally some bodies of the enemy were seen about the position occupied by his artillery

the day before. There was, however, no indication of an attempt to renew the attack at this point.

About dusk on the 19th, the brigade commanders were summoned to a conference at McLean's house, by General Beauregard, and he then informed us of the fact that General Johnston had been ordered, at his instance, from the Valley, and was marching to co-operate with us. He stated that Johnston would march directly across the Blue Ridge towards the enemy's right flank, and would probably attack on that flank at dawn the next morning. Before he had finished his statement of the plans he proposed pursuing in the event of Johnston's attack on the enemy's right flank, a party of horsemen rode up in front of the house, and, dismounting, one of them walked in and reported himself as Brigadier General T. J. Jackson, who had arrived with the advance brigade of Johnston's troops, by the way of Manassas Gap railroad, and he stated that his brigade was about 2,500 strong. This information took General Beauregard very much by surprise, and after ascertaining that General Jackson had taken the cars at Piedmont Station, General Beauregard asked him if General Johnston would not march the rest of his command on the direct road, so as to get on the enemy's right flank. General Jackson replied with some little hesitation, and, as I thought at the time, in rather a stolid manner, that he thought not, that he thought the purpose was to transport the whole force by railroad from Piedmont Station. This was the first time I ever saw General Jackson, and hence it was that my first impressions of him were not very favorable from the manner in which he gave his information. I subsequently ascertained very well how it was that he seemed to know so little, in the presence of the strangers among whom he found himself, of General Johnston's intended movements, and I presume nothing but the fact of General Beauregard's being his superior in rank, and his being ordered to report to him, could have elicited as much information from him, under the circumstances, as was obtained. After General Jackson had given the information above stated, and received instructions where to put his brigade, he retired, and General Beauregard proceeded to develop fully his plans for the next day. The information received from General Jackson was wholly unexpected, but General Beauregard said he thought Jackson was not correctly informed and was mistaken, that he was satisfied General Johnston was marching with the rest of his troops and would attack the enemy's right flank early next day as he had before stated. Upon this hypothesis, he directed that, when General Johnston's

attack began and he had become fully engaged, of which we were to judge from the character of the musketry fire, we should cross Bull Run from our several positions and move upon the enemy so as to attack him on his left flank and rear. He said that he had no doubt Genl. Johnston's attack would be a complete surprise to the enemy, that the latter would not know what to think of it, that when he turned to meet that attack and soon found himself assailed on the other side, he would be still more surprised and would not know what to do,—that the effect would be a complete rout, a perfect Waterloo, and that when the enemy took to flight, we would pursue, cross the Potomac and arouse Maryland.[1]

Having received our instructions fully, we retired, and I returned to Blackburn's Ford, where I assembled my Colonels, and was proceeding to explain to them the plans for the next day, and instructing them to have everything in readiness, when we were startled by a fierce volley of musketry on our immediate right. This of course put an end to the conference, and every one rushed to his position in anticipation of a night attack. The 11th Va. Regiment, Colonel Garland, was moved rapidly and promptly to the rear of the point where the firing occurred, which was repeated, and, after a good deal of trouble, we ascertained that it proceeded from two of my companies which had been posted on picket in the woods on the bank of the stream, to our right, in order to watch some points where a crossing was practicable. The officers of one of the companies insisted that a body of the enemy had been discovered stealthily moving down the opposite bank, and that the firing had been at that body and had been returned. Subsequent developments showed that this story was most improbable, and it was doubtless one of those unaccountable false night alarms with which we subsequently became familiar. Though everything soon became very quiet and remained so, this affair kept us on the alert all night, and the men were again without their needed rest.

At light on the morning of the 20th, instead of being required to advance to the attack of the enemy according to the programme developed to us the night before, General Longstreet came in a great hurry with his two regiments to relieve me, and with orders for me to move with my brigade as rapidly as possible to a point on our right on a road leading from Yates' Ford, below Union Mills, to Manassas Junction. As soon as

[1] I use very nearly Gen. Beauregard's exact language. In speaking of the enemy's surprise and dismay, he said, "They will be like a flock of frightened partridges."

relieved, I moved in the direction indicated, and the head of my column was just emerging into Camp Walker, from the pines south of McLean's farm, when I was met by a courier with orders from General Beauregard to halt where I was, as the alarm upon which the order to me had been founded had proved false. I subsequently ascertained that this false alarm occurred in this way: A captain in an Alabama regiment in Ewell's brigade was on picket with his company at Yates' Ford on the night of the 19th, and retired from his post in a great hurry and reported to his Colonel that McDowell had appeared on the opposite bank of the Run on a white horse, with his whole army, and was engaged in building two bridges at that point. This was reported to Ewell who sent the information to General Beauregard, and hence the order for troops to meet the supposed movement on that flank. After the information had been sent off, something in the deportment of the officer who had given it induced some doubts of its truth to be entertained, and another officer was sent in charge of him to ascertain the facts. On reaching the vicinity of the ford a pistol in the possession of one of the party went off accidentally, when the author of the report exclaimed: "There they are, there are the two bridges, and there is McDowell on his white horse,"—when there was not a living creature near the ford, and it was effectually blocked up. It was a case of optical illusion produced by the too free use of a stimulant, or by nervous excitement from anxiety and loss of sleep, for there was no reason, as his Colonel, who told me the story, informed me, to doubt the integrity or courage of the officer who made the report.[1]

This false alarm operated as a very great relief to my command, for it remained all that day and the ensuing night in the pines where it was halted, and was enabled to procure some refreshment and the much needed rest, so as to be in a condition to comply with the demands made on its endurance the next day.

During the 20th General Johnston arrived at Manassas Junction by the rail-road, and that day we received the order from him assuming command of the combined armies of General Beauregard and himself.

Early on the morning of the 21st (Sunday) we heard the enemy's guns open from the heights north of Bull Run from

[1] This false alarm, and the attempt to meet the supposed advance of McDowell's whole army on our right with my brigade will show how little we then knew of the stern realities of war.

which they had opened on the 18th, and I soon received orders for the movement of my brigade. My operations for this day will fully appear from the following copy of my original report to General Beauregard's Adjutant General:

Head Quarters 6th Brigade, 1st Corps,
Army of the Potomac.
August 1st, 1861.

Colonel: I submit the following report of the operations of my brigade on the 21st ultimo.

My position, on the morning of the 21st, was in the pines on the road from Camp Walker to the gate south of McLean's farmhouse, to which place my brigade had been removed, on the day before, from Blackburn's Ford on Bull Run, where it had been since the action on Thursday the 18th. The portion of the brigade with me consisted of Colonel Kemper's regiment (7th Virginia), Colonel Harry T. Hays' regiment (7th Louisiana) and six companies of my own regiment (24th Virginia).

At an early hour in the morning the enemy's batteries near Blackburn's Ford opened fire, and I received an order from General Beauregard, through one of his aides, to move my brigade to the cover of the pines between McLean's Ford and the road leading to Blackburn's Ford, so as to be ready to support either General Longstreet or General Jones as might be necessary.

A short time after taking this position, I received a request from General Longstreet to send him a regiment which request I complied with by sending him the six companies of my own regiment, under Lieut. Colonel Hairston, and two companies of Colonel Hays' regiment, under Major Penn. I proceeded also to General Longstreet's position at Blackburn's Ford, and after the companies I had sent him were posted as he desired, I returned to the place where the rest of the brigade was. In a short time I received a farther request from General Longstreet to send him another regiment, which I complied with by carrying him the remainder of Hays' regiment. Upon arriving at the ford, I found that the companies I had before sent had crossed over Bull Run, and were in position with General Longstreet's command awaiting the signal for an assault on the enemy's batteries, which were constantly firing in every direction. Hays' companies were drawn up in double column in rear of the ford, where they remained for some time, when I received an order from General Longstreet to march Hays' regiment back, and, with that and Kemper's, cross McLean's Ford and attack the enemy's batteries in the rear. Hays' regiment was immediately marched back to where Kem-

per's regiment was, sustaining, during its march through the pines, a fire from the enemy's battery, which was directed by the cloud of dust it raised in marching, and a shell exploded in the ranks wounding three or four men.

I then proceeded with Hays' and Kemper's regiments to McLean's Ford, for the purpose of attacking the enemy batteries in the rear, but before the whole of the regiment had crossed, General Beauregard's aide, Colonel Chisholm, arived with orders requiring me to resume my position.[1]

I sent Kemper's regiment back to its position in the pines, and marched Hays' regiment up the Run to Blackburn's Ford. General Longstreet then directed me to carry the regiment back to where Kemper's was, and, after the men had rested a few minutes, they were marched down the Run by the way of the entrenchments which had been occupied by General Jones' brigade at McLean's Ford. Upon ariving there, I found General Jones had returned to the entrenchments with his brigade, and I was informed by him that General Beauregard had directed that I should join him (General Beauregard) with my brigade.[2] I immediately proceeded to comply with this order

[1] While the men were fording the stream, I galloped about 150 yards up the hill on the north side, to where I saw one or two men on the look out, in order that I might see the position of the battery and ascertain the route to it. I could see very little from the ground, but one of the men was up in a tree, and, in reply to my questions, he informed me that about a brigade of infantry was in the woods immediately in rear of the battery, and behind some timber that had been felled as a defence. The approach to the battery, which was about a mile and a half distant, was over open ground, and I would have had to approach the battery under the fire of its guns, and then encounter a much superior force of infantry. I therefore regarded the order to retire as a reprieve from almost certain destruction.

[2] Hays' regiment had been sent down the Run to avoid the artillery fire to which it would have been exposed in going the direct road through the pines, but I rode the latter way myself as it was the nearest. On reaching Kemper's position, I saw a cloud of dust near McLean's Ford and discovered that the enemy's guns were firing that way. Knowing that this must be caused by the retiring of Jones' brigade from its advanced position across the Run, and fearing that it would fire on Hays' brigade as it would appear to be coming from the direction of the enemy, I galloped to the entrenchments and found Jones' men getting into them and apparently preparing to fire on Hays' regiment, which had been discovered coming down the stream. I immediately informed General Jones, who was looking at the regiment through field glasses, that it was one of mine. He then asked me if I had received an order from General Beauregard to go to him, and, on my replying in the negative, he informed me that he had such an order for me in a note to him. He sent to one of his staff officers for the note and showed it to me. The note was one directing him to fall back behind Bull Run, and was in pencil. At the foot of it were these words: "Send Early to me." This was all the order that I received to move to the left, and it was shown to me a very little after 12 o'clock. General Beauregard is therefore mistaken in his report when he says: "Col. Early, who, by some mischance, did not receive orders until 2 o'clock, which had been sent him at noon, came on the ground immediately after

and sent to General Longstreet for the six companies of my own regiment, and received a reply stating that I could take in lieu thereof the 13th Mississippi Regiment, under Colonel Barksdale, which had been ordered to report to him, and thus save both regiments from the fire of the enemy's batteries, which they would have to sustain in marching to and from Blackburn's Ford. I accepted this proposition and put the two regiments of my brigade, with Colonel Barksdale's 13th Mississippi Regiment, which I found in the pines on the road from McLean's farmhouse towards Mitchell's Ford, in motion to comply with General Beauregard's directions, having previously sent Captain Gardner ahead to ascertain where the General was.

I marched in rear of Mitchell's ford in the direction of the ground on which the battle was being fought near the Stone Bridge, and after proceeding some distance was met by Captain Gardner who informed me he had been unable to find the General, but had ascertained that his head-quarters were at Lewis' house in the direction of the fighting. I continued to advance through the fields as fast as my men could move, guided by the roar of the cannon and the volleys of musketry, until we reached the neighborhood of the battle ground, when I sent Captain Gardner again ahead to ascertain, if he could, where the General desired me to go, my brigade being still kept on the march. Captain Gardner met with Colonel John S. Preston, one of the General's aides, who informed him that the General had gone to the front, and that the order was that all reinforcements should go to the front. The Captain soon returned with this information, and I still continued to advance until I was met by Colonel Preston, who informed me that General Beauregard had gone to where the fighting was on the right, but that General Johnston was just in front and his directions were that we should proceed to the left, where there was a heavy fire of musketry. I immediately inclined to the left in the direction pointed out by Colonel Preston, and soon met with General Johnston, who directed me to move to the extreme left of our line, and attack the enemy on his right flank.[1] The direction

Elzey &c'' He had before stated in the same report that the order for me to go to the left had been dispatched by 10:30 A. M., and Chisholm who carried the note to Jones, in which was contained the order I received, passed me at McLean's Ford going on to Jones about a little after 11 o'clock. If I had not received the order until 2 P. M., it would have been impossible for me to get on the field at the time I reached it, about 3.30 P. M. Colonel Chisholm informed me that the order was for all the troops to fall back across Bull Run.

[1] As we neared the field of battle we began to see fugitives from it, until, when we reached the road leading back to Manassas, there was a continued stream of them. As they passed on, their exclamations were anything but encouraging to men who were going to the front. According to their accounts, their regiments were all cut to pieces and their field officers were all killed; and as I rode by the side of Colonel Kemper, whose regiment

I complied with, marching in rear of the woods in which Elzey's brigade had just taken position, as I afterwards ascertained, until we had cleared the woods entirely, and got into some fields on the left of our line, where we found Colonel Stuart with a body of cavalry and some pieces of artillery belonging as I understood to a battery commanded by Lieutenant Beckham.[1] Here I turned to the front, and a body of the enemy soon appeared in front of my column, on the crest of a hill, deployed as skirmishers. Colonel Kemper's regiment, which was in advance, formed in the open field in front of the enemy, under a heavy shower of Minnie balls, and advanced towards the enemy. Col. Barksdale's and Col. Hays' regiments, were successively formed on the left, and also advanced thus outflanking the enemy. At the same time, the pieces of artillery above-mentioned and Stuart's cavalry moved to our left, so as to command a view of a very large portion of the ground occupied by the enemy. With the advance of my brigade and the cavalry and artillery the enemy retired rapidly behind the hill, though the advance

was in front, we were greeted with the comforting information that no officer on horseback had any chance for his life. But one solitary man offered to return, and he was a soldier of the 4th Alabama Regiment. He said he had stood until all the field officers of his regiment were shot down, and his regiment dispersed, but he would go back and try again. We told him to fall into the ranks of the 7th Va. Regt., which he did, and he remained with the regiment until the close of the battle, having the satisfaction of witnessing the rout of the enemy. How different must have been his reflections, subsequently, from those of the men who fled the field entirely! When we reached General Johnston, he expressed great gratification at our arrival, but it was very perceptible that his anticipations were not sanguine. He gave me special instructions as to my movements, directing me to clear our lines completely before going to the front, in order to avoid the danger of firing into our own men, stating that he was sorry to say that something of that sort had already occurred. Notwithstanding the discouraging signs as we moved forward very few if any of my men fell out of the ranks.

[1] General Johnston, in his "Narrative," in describing my movement, says that on my way I was re-inforced by five companies of cavalry under Colonel Stuart and a battery under Lieut. Beckham. This is incorrect. I found Stuart already in position beyond our extreme left, and, as I understood it, supporting and controlling Beckham's guns which were firing on the enemy's extreme right flank, thus rendering very efficient service. I feel well assured that Stuart had but *two* companies of cavalry with him, as those were all I saw when he afterwards went in pursuit of the enemy. As I approached the left, a young man named Saunders came galloping to me from Stuart, with the information that the enemy was about retreating, and a request to hang on. This was the first word of encouragement we had received since we reached the vicinity of the battle. I told the messenger to inform Stuart that I was then moving as rapidly as my men could move; but he soon returned with another message informing me that the other was a mistake, that the enemy had merely retired behind the ridge in front to form a new flanking column, and cautioning me to be on my guard. This last information proved to be correct. It was the last effort of the enemy to extend his right beyond our left, and was met by the formation of my regiments in his front.

of my brigade was delayed a short time by information from one of General Elzey's aides, that the body of men in front us, and who had fired upon my brigade, was the 13th Virginia Regiment. This turned out to be an entire misapprehension, and in the meantime a considerable body of the enemy appeared to the right of my position, on an extension of the same hill, bearing what I felt confident was the Confederate flag. It was however soon discovered to be a regiment of the enemy's forces and was dispersed by one or two well directed fires from our artillery on the left.[1] As soon as the misapprehension in regard to the character of the troops was corrected, my brigade advanced to the top of the hill that had been occupied by the enemy, and we ascertained that his troops had retired precipitately; and a large body of them was discovered in the fields in rear of Dogan's house and north of the Turnpike. Colonel Cooke, with one of his regiments, now joined us, and our pieces of artillery were advanced and fired upon the enemy's columns with considerable effect, causing them to disperse, and we soon discovered that they were in full retreat. My brigade and Colonel Cooke's regiment were advanced in a direction so as to pass over the ground that had been occupied by the enemy's main body, crossing a ravine and the Turnpike, and passing around Dogan's house, by Matthew's house, and past Carter's house.[2] My brigade ad-

[1] The hill on which the enemy's troops were was Chinn's hill, so often referred to in the accounts of this battle, and the one next year on the same field. The officer who misled me as to the character of the troops, Lieutenant McDonald, afterwards informed me that he was led into the error by the similarity in appearance and dress of a mounted officer with the enemy to Col. A. P. Hill of the 13th Va., as well as the resemblance of their horses. At the time he came to me in a gallop and entreated me not to fire on the troops in front, and I was so much impressed by his earnest manner and confident tone, that I halted my brigade on the side of the hill and rode to the top of it, when I discovered, about 150 yards to my right, a regiment bearing a flag which was drooping around the staff in such a manner as not to be distinguishable from the Confederate flag of that day. I thought that, if the one that had been in front of me was a Virginia Regiment, this must also be a Confederate one, but one or two shots from Beckham's guns on the left caused the regiment to face about, when its flag unfurled and I discovered it to be the United States flag. I forthwith ordered my brigade forward, but it did not reach the top of the hill soon enough to do any damage to the retiring regiment, which retreated precipitately down the hill and across the Warrenton Pike. At that time there was very little distinction between the dress of some of the Federal regiments and some of ours.

[2] It was this movement, doubtless, that produced the erroneous impression that Kirby Smith had got off the train at Gainsville and moved with Elzey's brigade directly to the field, as when discovered by our troops on the right my column was moving north of the Warrenton Pike and parallel to it, as if coming from the direction of Gainsville. Smith in fact left the cars at Manassas Junction and moved from thence to the battle-field, while my brigade passed entirely to the left of and around Elzey's. When my column was seen by General Beauregard he at first thought it was a column of the enemy, having received erroneous information that

vanced as far as Bull Run, to the north-east of Carter's house and one mile above the Stone Bridge, where it bivouacked for the night. Colonel Cooke crossed the Run at a ford to the left, and I saw no more of him that night.

We saw the evidences of the fight, all along our march, and unmistakeable indications of the overwhelming character of the enemy's defeat, in the shape of abandoned muskets and equipments. It was impossible for me to pursue the enemy farther, as well because I was utterly unacquainted with the crossings of the Run and the woods in front, as because most of the men belonging to my brigade had been marching the greater part of the day, and were very much exhausted.

But pursuit with infantry would have been unavailing, as the enemy's troops retreated with such rapidity that they could not have been overtaken by any other than mounted troops. On the next day we found a great many articles that the routed troops had abandoned in their flight, showing that no expense or trouble has been spared by the enemy in equipping his army.

The number of men composing my brigade, as it went into action, was less than 1500, but I am unable to give exact returns, as we bivouacked eight or ten miles from our baggage, with which were all the rolls and returns, and the brigade has since been separated and the troops re-organized.[1]

	killed :	wounded :	aggregate :
Colonel Kemper's regiment, numbering less than 400 men on the field, lost,	9	38	47
Colonel Hays' regiment lost	3	20	23
Colonel Barksdale's regiment lost	...	6	6
Total lost in the brigade,	12	64	76

Without intending to be invidious, I must say that Colonels Kemper and Hays displayed great coolness and gallantry in front of their regiments, while they were being formed under a galling fire from the enemy's sharpshooters, whom, from their appearance, I took to be regular troops. My A.A.A. General,

such a column was on the Manassas Gap rail-road. The enemy took my troops, as they approached his right, for a large body of our troops from the Valley, and as my men, moving by flank, were stretched out at considerable length, from weariness, they were very greatly overestimated. We scared the enemy worse than we hurt him.

[1] This estimate of the strength of my brigade, so far as it applies to the brigade proper, that is, the 7th Va. 7th La. and 24th Va., was certainly correct. The Typhoid fever and measles, which had gotten into our camps, had reduced the 7th and 24th Va. terribly in the last week or two before the battle. Whether the estimate would cover the strength of the brigade, counting the 13th Mississippi in place of the 24th Va., I am now unable to say.

Captain Fleming Gardner, rendered me very efficient service during the whole day, and Lieutenant A. Murat Willis (of Captain Gibson's Company of Rappahannock Volunteers) who volunteered to act as aide, and did so, was also of great service to me. Captain Gibson's Company from Rappahannock joined Colonel Kemper's regiment in the early part of the day, and a South Carolina Company (from either Kershaw's or Cash's regiment) joined Colonel Hays' regiment just after it arrived in front of the enemy.

The companies of my own regiment remained all day, until the retreat of the enemy, at Blackburn's Ford with General Longstreet, under an annoying fire from the enemy's batteries, but without sustaining any loss, and afterwards joined in the pursuit, under General Longstreet, towards Centreville.

Very Respectfully,

Your Obt. Servt.

J. A. Early,

Col. Commg. Brigade

Colonel Thomas Jordan,
A. A. General.

In my movement after the retreat of the enemy commenced, I passed the Carter house until I had gone beyond the right of our line of battle. The enemy had by this time entirely disappeared, and having no knowledge of the country whatever, being on the ground for the first time, besides not observing any movement of troops from our line, I halted with the expectation of receiving further orders.

Observing some men near the Carter house, I rode to it and found some five or six Federal soldiers who had collected some wounded those of both sides, and among them Colonel Gardner of the 8th Georgia Regt., who was suffering from a very painful wound in the leg, which was fractured just above the ankle. I rode back to my regiments for the purpose of sending a surgeon to him, but was unable to find one, or any person in the ranks of either regiment who was a physician. I had received a note from Colonel Jones, of the 4th Alabama Regt. directed to the Confederate Officer commanding on the field, giving the information that he was in a Federal hospital on the road towards Sudley, and I sent and had him carried to the Matthew house. Just after my return from the house where I saw Colonel Gardner, President Davis, in company with several gentlemen, rode to where my command was, and addressed a few stirring remarks to my regiments, in succession, which received him with great enthusiasm.

I briefly informed Mr. Davis of the orders I had received

and the movements of my brigade, and asked him what I should do under the circumstances. He told me that I had better get my men into line and wait for further orders. I then requested him to inform Generals Johnston and Beauregard of my position, and my desire to receive orders. I also informed him of the condition in which I had found Colonel Gardner, and also of Colonel Jones' being in the neighborhood badly wounded; requesting him to have a surgeon sent to their relief, as all of mine were in the rear attending the wounded of their regiments. While we were talking we saw a body of troops moving on the opposite side of Bull Run, some distance below us, which at the time I presumed to be Bonham's Brigade moving out from Mitchell's Ford, but which turned out to be the regiments sent across at and below Stone Bridge towards Cub Run. Mr. Davis then left me, going to the house where Colonel Gardner was, and I moved my brigade some half-a-mile farther and formed it in line across a peninsula formed by a very considerable bend in Bull Run above the Stone Bridge. I sent out a line of pickets in front, and my brigade bivouacked in this position for the night. By the time all these dispositions were made it was night, and I then rode back with Captain Gardner over the route I had moved on, as I knew no other, in order to find General Johnston or General Beauregard, so that I might receive orders, supposing that there would be a forward movement early in the morning. I first went to the Lewis house, which I found to be a hospital filled with wounded men, but was unable to get any information about either of the Generals. I then rode towards Manassas, and after going some distance in that direction, I met an officer who inquired for General Johnston, stating that he was on his staff. I informed him that I was looking for General Johnston also, as well as for General Beauregard, and supposed they were at Manassas, but he said he was just from Manassas and neither of the Generals was there. Taking it for granted that this statement was correct, and despairing of finding them that night, I returned to my command, taking the Sudley road, and turning off from it towards my command after passing the Stone Tavern; and at about 12 o'clock at night I laid down, in the field in rear of my command, on a couple of bundles of wheat in the straw.

My men had no rations with them. I had picked up a haversack on the field, which was filled with crackers, and had been dropped by some Yankee in his flight, and out of its contents I made my own supper, distributing the rest among a number of officers who had nothing.

Very early next morning, I sent Captain Gardner to look out for the Generals, and get orders for my command. He went to Manassas, and found General Beauregard, who sent orders to me to remain where I was until further orders, and to send for the camp equipage, rations &c of my command. A number of the men spread over the country in the vicinity of the battle-field, and picked up a great many knapsacks, India-rubber-cloths, blankets, overcoats &c. as well as a good deal of sugar, coffee, and other provisions that had been abandoned by the enemy.

It commenced raining soon in the day, and continued to do so until night, and during the night, the rain becoming very heavy, and falling in such quantity as to materially raise the water-courses.

After I had received orders showing that there was no purpose to make a forward movement, I rode over a good deal of the field, north of the Warrenton Pike, and to some hospitals in the vicinity, in order to see what care was being taken of the wounded.

I found a hospital on the Sudley road, back of the field of battle, at which Col. Jones of the 4th Alabama had been, which was in charge of a surgeon of a Rhode Island regiment, whose name was Harris, I think. I asked him if he had about what he wanted for the men under his care, and he told me he would like to have some morphine, of which his supply was short. I directed a young surgeon of our Cavalry, who rode up at the time, to furnish the morphine, which he did from a pair of medical saddle pockets which he had. Dr. Harris told me that he knew that their troops had had a great deal of coffee and sugar mixed, ready for boiling, of which a good deal had been left at different points near the field, and asked if there would be any objection to his sending out and gathering some of it for the relief of the wounded under his charge, as it would be of much service to them. I gave him the permission to get not only that, but anything else that would tend to the comfort of his patients. There did not come within my observation any instances of harsh or unkind treatment of the enemy's wounded, nor did I see any indication of a spirit to extend such treatment to them. The stories which were afterwards told before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, appointed by the Federal Congress, in regard to "rebel atrocities" were very grossly exaggerated or manufactured from the whole cloth.

During this day (the 22nd) Colonel Barksdale rode to Manassas and obtained orders for his regiment to be attached to the

command of Colonel N. G. Evans, and he accordingly left me that or the next day.

Kemper's and Hays' regiments remained in their positions for two or three days, when a re-organization of General Beauregard's command took place, and the former was assigned to Longstreet's brigade, and the latter to a Louisiana brigade which was now organized.

My own regiment was brigaded with the 5th North Carolina State Troops, and the 13th N. C. Volunteers, afterwards known as the 23rd N. C. Regiment; and I was assigned to the command of the brigade with the rank of Brigadier General.

The companies of my regiment which had been left with Major Hammett, did not get under fire at all, but remained on picket. On the 18th, when McDowell went towards our right for the purpose of ascertaining whether a movement could be made on that flank, a small party of the enemy's troops appeared at Wolf Run Shoals, below the Junction of Bull Run with Occoquan, where some of Richardson's Company of the 24th were on picket. A squad from this party crossed over, and getting in rear of some of our sentinels near the Shoals caused them to retire. The whole party then withdrew, and it was doubtless the escort to the officers sent by McDowell to reconnoitre, and ascertain the practicability of a movement on that flank.

The movements of the two companies of cavalry that had been under my command before the approach of the enemy, after that event were controlled entirely by General Beauregard's orders given directly to the officer in command of them.

In a few days after the battle the 24th Va. returned to its former camp, and the 5th and 13th (23rd) N. C. regiments occupied the camps that had been occupied by Hays' and Kemper's regiments.

On the night following the battle, when I was looking for Generals Beauregard and Johnston, in riding over and to the rear of the battlefield, I discovered that the greater part of the troops that had been engaged in the battle were in a great state of confusion. I saw companies looking for their regiments, and squads looking for their companies, and they were scattered as far as I went towards Manassas. It was very apparent that no considerable body of these troops that had been engaged on the left, could have been brought into a condition next day for an advance towards Washington.

The foregoing narrative ought to set at rest the opinion that extensively prevailed, that Genl. Kirby Smith stopped the trains while moving towards Manassas, and moved directly for the

field of battle, striking the enemy on his right flank and rear. That story finds no countenance in the reports of either General Johnston or General Beauregard.

The dispute as to who planned the battle, or commanded on the field, General Johnston or General Beauregard, is a most unprofitable one. The battle which General Beauregard planned was never fought,—because the enemy did not move as he expected him to move. The battle which was fought was planned by McDowell, at least so far as the ground on which it was fought was concerned. He made a movement on our left which was wholly unexpected and unprovided for, and we were compelled to fight a defensive battle on that flank by hurrying up re-inforcements from other points as rapidly as possible. When Generals Johnston and Beauregard arrived on the field where the battle was actually fought, it had been progressing for some time with the odds greatly against us. What was required then, was to rally the troops already engaged, which had been considerably shattered, and hold the position to which they had been compelled to retire, until re-inforcements could be brought up.

According to the statements of both Generals, the command of the troops then on the field was given to General Beauregard, and he continued to exercise it until the close, but in subordination of course to General Johnston as commander-in-chief, while the movements of all the re-inforcements as they arrived were unquestionably directed by the latter. According to the statements of both, the movement of Elzey's brigade to the left averted a great danger, and both concur in attributing the turning of the tide of battle to the movement of my brigade against the enemy's extreme right flank,—General Beauregard in a letter on the origin of the battle-flag, and General Johnston in his "Narrative" recently published. General Beauregard unquestionably performed the duty assigned him with great ability, and General Johnston gives him full credit therefor. Where is there any room for a controversy in regard to the actual command, and what profit can there be in it?

General Johnston assumes the responsibility for the failure to advance on Washington, and why, then, should an effort be made to shift it on any one else? He certainly was commander-in-chief, and had the privilege of advancing if he thought proper. The attempt to show that the failure to advance was due to the want of transportation and rations for the army is idle. If the Bull Run bridge had not been burned on the 18th, our supplies could have been run to Alexandria, if we could have advanced,

as easily as to Manassas, for the enemy had repaired the railroad to Fairfax Station as he moved up, and failed to destroy it when he went back. Moreover, we had abundant transportation at that time for all the purposes of an advance as far as Washington. In my brigade, the two Virginia regiments had about fourteen six-horse wagons each, and that would have furnished enough for the brigade, if the 7th Louisiana had none. In 1862, we carried into Maryland only enough wagons to carry ammunition, medical supplies, and cooking utensils, and we started from the battlefield of 2nd Manassas with no rations on hand, being entirely dependent on the country, before we crossed the Potomac, which in July 1861 was teeming with supplies, but in August and September 1862 was nearly depleted. The pretense therefore that the advance in July 1861 was prevented by the want of transportation and of supplies is wholly untenable.

J. A. Early.

Lewis Cruger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, Feby. 18th. 1878?

My dear Sir:

I thank you most sincerely for your very kind and friendly letter, as I am always gratified to hear from you. But in addition to this gratification I am now specially delighted that you have referred to as "knowing more than most others" of the life and character of that great statesman and philosopher Chief Justice Rutledge, whom I have always made it *my habit to denominate "The President of the once sovereign state of South Carolina* (now, alas! degraded into a *negro Colony).*

Your kind remittance to me of the correspondence of Mr. Gayarre with Mr. Ettrig, as to preparing a memoir of Judge Rutledge, proves to be singularly and fortunately opportune, for I had been occupying myself for several days previously to receiving your letter in writing to Mr. Gayarre a brief memoir of my own of the great Statesman, in which memoir I have striven to establish *especially* the most certain fact that he undoubtedly *wrote the constitution of U. States* and reported it to the convention on 6th Aug. '87, as chairman of a *special committee* to report upon all the various proposed plans and to make a final Report upon *(as is clearly shown by the journals of the convention).*

In my first letter to Mr. Gayarre I mention that I had by the merest chance, seen in a transient Newspaper that he was appointed to prepare such a memoir and that he desired information on three points. 1st, If Rutledge after Declaration of Independence desired a re-union with Gt. Britain. 2nd. If there could possibly be amongst the papers of Franklin details of a powerful opposition made by Rutledge to the U. S. Constitution. 3rd. Why it was that Rutledge was rejected by the Senate when appointed Chief Justice by Washington.

I then informed Mr. Gayarre that it was fortunate that I chanced to see (in this black Republican City) anything at all favorable or interesting to the South and then I informed him that Judge Rutledge was my father's next door neighbor and intimate friend and was perfectly adored by my father, and that I learned from him in my boyhood the facts of the life and character of that great and good man, and that I would be most happy to impart to Mr. Gayarre all the information I possibly could, for which purpose my own knowledge of those events gave me the greatest advantage and I possessed in this city great advantages from the facilities afforded by the great Congressional Library, where are preserved all the old Archives of this Country, and in referring to them I find a great amount of information as to Rutledge even to minute copies of his numerous messages to the Assembly of South Carolina, both as president and as Governor. I have, therefore, sent to Mr. Gayarre 2 long letters of nearly a dozen pages each with details of my own knowledge and from those Archives. But I commenced my first letter by pronouncing (from my own knowledge as well as from continuous public Records) both of the two first suggestions of either any desire for re-union with Britain or of any opposition to the U. S. Constitution (which he wrote himself as shown by the Journals) to be most absurd and suicidal slanders, and I beg Mr. Gayarre to inform me where such slanders could possibly be found. And as to the 3d inquiry, why, it was that the great Jurist Rutledge was *rejected* by the U. S. Senate, I could positively inform him from my own father's knowledge as well as that of all Rutledge's friends, that he never was rejected, but that his feeble health at that time (from a painful chronic disease) *compelled him to decline the honor of being confirmed,* and at the same time to decline the office of Chief Justice of S. Carolina to which the Assembly had elected him, and which office from his devoted love of his native State, he declared that he *"much preferred"*.

I informed Mr. Gayarre that I had been desiring all my life

to write a memoir of the great and good Rutledge, but had shamefully deferred and postponed it for other works, such as my "Life of Calhoun" and my life of my noble brother-in-law, Gov. Hamilton, and my "Statesman's Manual of the U. S. Constitution" of which I now send Mr. Gayarre a copy and will send you another copy (as I am especially proud of it as my best production). I now enclose you a short slip from one of the Newspapers here, which I demanded the Black Republican Editor to publish in reply to his own containing infamous abuse of yourself and of Winder, and his searching the whole country to produce innumerable statements of low fellows who had been prisoners at Andersonville.[1] I endeavored to give my statement

(Clipping enclosed with this letter follows.)

[1] Editors Washington Chronicle:

Trusting to your being just men, willing and desirous to admit and disclose the truth on all occasions, I beg leave, as a Confederate officer who was in a manner connected with the Cabinet of Jefferson Davis, to correct a few errors in the statement published in your Tuesday's edition, and to state a few facts within my own knowledge, and for which I am personally responsible.

First—As to the statement of Colonel Chandler, which you publish as a report made by him to Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet, I have to state of my own knowledge, that this officer was a northern born man, a bitter enemy of General Winder, and never Inspector-General of prisons, and never detailed by Jefferson Davis, (but by the Secretary of War) to examine the condition of the Andersonville Prison. This officer, after reporting most severely upon the bad location at Andersonville, and the consequent sufferings there, recommends that another officer be substituted for General Winder, chiefly on the ground that Winder declared that he had never been inside the stockade, and that Winder, with his limited means, might, "with a little energy and judgment, have considerably improved the condition of the prisoners." It thus appears that Winder had never been inside the stockade, and therefore knew nothing of the prisoners' sufferings. And in regard to the endorsement which you state (I know not how correctly) was made by Jefferson Davis on that report as follows: "This is uncalled for." I now undertake to deny that such endorsement was made by Davis himself, because I know it was considered the duty of the Private Secretary of Davis to open and examine all papers sent to his office, and to endorse on them which required to be answered and which not; and this endorsement only shows that Davis had never called for any such report, and that it belonged to the Secretary of War, who had detailed Chandler for that purpose. Therefore Davis was not, as you suppose, responsible for neglecting to attend to it.

Second—As to the statement of Mr. Garfield, in congress, that General Winder was the officer detailed by Davis to select the location at Andersonville, that statement, to my own knowledge, and that of every Confederate officer, is entirely erroneous, because Winder was not detailed to Andersonville until long after its location was fixed, but had charge of the prisons at Richmond, where I positively and certainly know that no cruelties or privations were ever practiced.

Third—As to the statement of Ambrose Spencer, which you publish as being that of a "Confederate planter," I have to state, of my own knowledge, that this Ambrose Spencer was a Northern spy, then living at the

all the importance and authority I could by informing that Editor that I had been comptroller Gen. and in a manner connected with the Government of Jefferson Davis, etc., but he chose to leave out the words, "in a manner" and many other words that he did not like. As soon as I could get hold of three copies of your admirable letter in reply to that vile Yankee of New England, Blaine, I took them to each of the Newspapers here, in person and demanded of them as an act of the commonest justice, and of undeniable honesty to publish your letter in reply to their continuous and infamous abuse. Every one of them said leave the paper and we will consider it, and there, of course, it ended. So also I had requested them to publish the admirable letters of Gen. Early and Judge Sedden in defence of the furiously abused Winder, with precisely the same result. The fact is that the Bribe of the public printing (worth to each of them more than $100,000 a year) is too great for any but the most extraordinary honesty to withstand.

I again return you my thanks for sending me the correspondence of Gayarre and Ettrig, which I had not before seen, and I hope Mr. Gayarre will comply with my request to publish my letter that you and my friends may see my slight effort to do

town of Albany, Georgia, (where my brother lived) and was always suspected, in spite of his solemn attestations. He was born at Albany, New York, was the son of Ambrose Spencer, the former Secretary of the Navy, and brother to that infamous traitor, who was hung to the yard-arm at sea, for treason and mutiny, and those two were truly *par nobile fratrum*. So much for that testimony.

Fourth—As to the statement of Richardson, who was a prisoner at Andersonville, he asserts that there were no buildings there in this vile pen. Now, I chance to have the report of the officer detailed by Stanton (the most vindictive enemy of the South) to examine and report upon the condition (after the war) of the enclosure at Andersonville. This officer, after the most violent abuse, stated that there were two wooden buildings, each 120 feet long, but no trees nor shade near the stream of water running through some marshy land, etc., etc. This man Richardson then says that in the month of June "it rained for twenty-seven days," and then declares that the "sun had drawn up their skin like parchment, and had cracked it open," etc., etc., and that they had to drink the "loathsome mud" from the marsh, etc. Now, his own words show that there was no sun, and those incessant rains must have surely purified the water; and as to no buildings, let me ask where did they sleep? So much for this kind of testimony.

Now as to the sufferings of our prisoners at the North, I could adduce the testimony of thousands of them, but I regard such directly interested testimony as of no value.

Fifth—As to the statement of Captain Dumas, and other officers, in command of northern prisons, I have only to say that I could adduce the statements of General Winder, and other officers in command of our prisons, to contradict every word as to cruelty in our prisons. It is therefore proper that such directly interested testimony be utterly disregarded.

(Signed) JUSTINIAN.

some justice to the great Rutledge. (If you have any influence with Gayarre, please urge him to publish my letter)

Please present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Davis, and believe me truly your friend,

(Signed) Lewis Cruger.

Crafts J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

U.S.M. Hospital,
Chicago, Feb. 18/78.

Hon. J. Davis,
Miss. City, Miss.

Dear Friend,

I send you a Petition in regard to Pensions. You will think I believe, in reading, that I was badly treated and deserve what I seek.

The * * * * * * * of a Pension is admitted by the granting the pittance named which is according to the legal scale. That allowance embraces one disability. I have in this made stronger another disability really of more moment than the one for which granted. This further and increase is made the ground of a petition—and tis at the recommendation and suggestion of the Commission, who in his acts is governed by existing laws. Whatever sum I have I wish to have remitted back to and begin 1 Sep. 1862 when I left the service for the reasons and in the manner stated.

I did not think the time would come when you could be of service to me, in our Congress—but it has. It is of moment, to get as many take an active interest, as possible—especially prominent ones—in order to get it through I shall, in the Senate get Matthews—Oglesby, Plumb (old friends) Burroughs and Davis of Ill—In the House Gen. Banning—Gen. Ewing—Gov. Cox (old friends)—as also Butler—and S. S. Axen— You can refer to them. If you can induce your friend to speak to them—and as many as may be—then we may get it through. I want more especially to remit the time to the Sep. 62 when I left—and that will give back pay.

I trust this past Saturday or the next will find published my defence of you from Wilson. The pith is taken out by the long delay. The Ed. wrote that it was caused by previous engagements, though in *Dec.* they wrote it would find place Jan.

Things unfortunately appear again to be taking such a violent

turn that the members are getting excited and aggravated. In my article I have taken occasion to propitiate and to advocate the reconciliation on the grounds put by Hays that war could not be helped and neither side to blame—neither side could help the course they pursued—&c. Still there is a point always —most unjustly made against the *President* of the Confed. as if he was more blameable than any other. I think not. Whilst now no one attacks Lee or Polk, I think Lee, (holding a commission) more to blame than you if either. I have taken occasion most justly I think to attack the propriety of keeping Mrs. D. garments in the Adj. Gen. Dept. and most justly. All should be returned or compensation be made.

So I think as to you and Reagan you were not liable to capture and be held as prisoners. The Proclamation could give no such right. Your relase on bail was evidence in your favor. There were no grounds for conviction, as Mr. Chase knew. Although the capturing officers acting in obedience to the order of the Pres. was not to blame for obeying—that established no right and the private property of yourself and Reagan were not liable to service or appropriation except by process of law. Still my advocacy may not do my Petition any good with or very technical men of the North in Congress—more especially those opposing Hays to get the control of the Spoils of office.

Though my Petition was filed last summer,—before I saw Wilson's article. It may or may not commend my petition to your friends, or enemies in Congress thus I am I think the only one North who has now and years before defended the South since the war and you especially. I am known as "the friend of Davis" and the Cin. Commercial, when I was spoken of as candidate for Governor said I might do—were it not that I was so warm an advocate of "Jeff Davis". Still I do not think the Cin. Com[1] now your opponent. We had some correspondence when I wrote that article about that attack on you at Memphis and again when you got that letter in Newport— However this may be you can aid me, as I wish you would and let me know to whom you write.

If that money seized, belonged any part to individual banks or individually—to you or Reagan—I think, if so authorized to do, I could recover it back. So also any other there may be not yet found—here or elsewhere liable to be found, and whether it would be public or private, derive a benefit therefor.

I had a letter from Church yesterday. The Blount in trouble I am glad to tell you is not his son-in-Law. His is in some trouble. His son who died some four years ago, was partner

in the large Iron Manf. Co. of Wood & Co. of Pha. This house has failed—and part of the Widows estate was stock in the company and it is lost and will give trouble. C. is very anxious about our meeting. We have but few. I can not hear about Bob Cleary and Rousseau I fear is dead or non compos. Mercer is dead. Austin is sick and in Europe. I have not heard from Drayton in a month or so.

I shall send you a pho. of self and wife ere long to show how I am at just 70 and my wife 69. I should be glad to have that of you two—and so all round.

Our regards to Mrs. D. and believe me,

Truly yours,
(Signed) Crafts J. Wright.

Do not delay writing what you can. I shall have already sent to Gordon Hill—Lamar—Withers of Senate and Reagan and Stevens—they presented petition. You might write to one of each house—say Gordon and Reagan to see the others. The petition will be in the hands of Oglesby and Ewing.

I sent you as of note an ——— with the sermon of Bishop Cheeney. After we came here, we found the churches so high that we attached ourselves to Bishop Cheeney's church. The main point of difference is partly in faith and is also in a word or so in creed—in the Baptism in the water of holy regeneration—in the ordination as to the words employed in that the ordained can forgive or retain sins—and in the right (to) participate with other evangelical clergy and they with us—in all which I concur. I have been a member 45 yrs.

I cannot tell why the Times has not published that article. Feb. 22. Your very kind letter of ——— came to me whilst I was down at the town office 7 miles away. I put it in my pocket and came back to answer it here. At the same moment I had a letter from William D. Gallagher (the poet) who used to be associated with me in Cincinnati when managing the Gazette. G. had just lost his daughter, who was managing his household,—his wife being dead. G. is poor (latterly) like you and I—and his child was his chief happiness and stay. She had died and was buried and he had written me. His tale made me sad—very sad. I have too few to lose and not feel it.

I had gone to the city to get off my Pension Petitions. I had previously written many letters. My foundation, though not built rests on this pension. You see how much depends on its success. I had written in faith to Reagan on this and on

other matters. If you can do so do so—and to him, Gordon or Stevens—or have those you have written to, speak to them it will prevent my appearing wrong.

You will note I think I was not only wrongly—but illegally treated. The War Dept. Order, though issued under an emergency—was still in its action itself or it illegality as well as wrong. I have so written Garfield and Ewing—but it would not do for your friends to assume that ground—All they can do—is that the case made deserves a pension from the date of enforced resignation Sept. 9/62. and not of 10 but at least 60$.—I would be content with that. I have found one active friend is worth an army of lazy ones. I do not know that you would feel like writing to Gordon—Lamar of the Senate or A. H. Stevens of the House, but if you can do so. They have power.

I wrote Mr. Reagan as well as to Hooker about that postponed publication in the Pha. Times, and that if they would each inquire to or of C. for it, the paper might issue it. On your account I wish they would, for after I wish to apply for general pardon that would embrace you—To be of use to yours in the here after, to them when you are gone. I know how it is—but what S. & R.—G. H. & L. can do may not even if to be had that way be any discredit.

My Dear friend, I would be rejoiced to talk over old times. I wish you were here for there are several not far away. Buckingham and Gordon. I have a large and pleasant home here on the Lake and far out of town and out of the way—no noise—all quiet. I trust yet you can see your way to meet at W. P. in June. Perhaps you may see the move clear and en route come this way—

As I have written I will send you the Photographs when taken the last of Mch. at our 47th anᵛ. of our wedding and it will answer for June and July when I shall have been with you 50y. from West Point and have reached 70.

I want the pension to make the way clear for my children to have it when I am gone.

I sent copies of the petition to your two friends—W. G. H.—L. Withers S. & R. so you need take no trouble on that account.

I sent you Bishops Cheeney sermon to old Episcopalians. I never found [1]

[1] This paragraph is badly written and seems a repetition of former letter so I have not tried to decipher it. . . . . All of the Crafts J. Wright letters are so badly written and the ideas are often so badly expressed that it is almost impossible to decipher some of the passages.—Typist.

Our most kind regards to Mrs. D. When I send my wife and self to you I trust you can and will return you two.

Truly yours

(Signed) CRAFTS J. WRIGHT.

You will rejoice to know it was not Church's son-in-law Blount who was in trouble.

John H. Reagan to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., Feby. 18th, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

Respected Sir:

Your letter of the 7th instant is before me, giving an extract from the letter of Genl. Wright, in which he gives a statement from the Secretary of the Treasury, which names several sums of money amounting in all to $182,153.77, supposed to have been captured from the Confederate Government. And Genl. Wright asks, "If it was not in your possession but in Mr. Reagan's possession will he write me the facts of the money taken from him, you or your party."

I will state to you as well as I can remember what occurred in relation to the funds of the Confederacy after I became the Acting Secretary of the Treasury. When Mr. Trenholm, the Secretary of the Treasury, turned over the affairs of that Department to me, after his resignation and my appointment, he advised me that there was in the Treasury between $600,000 and $700,000 in Confederate Treasury notes. That there was also about $85,000 in gold coin and bullion, about $35,000 in silver coin, and about $36,000 in silver bullion. Making in all about $156,000 in gold and silver coin and bullion.

These funds and those of the banks of Richmond, were under the escort of the Cavalry Commands which were travelling southward in our vicinity, and in our absense under the direction of Genl. Breckinridge Secretary of War. We had agreed that the silver coin, on account of the difficulties of transportation, should be paid out to the officers and soldiers of those commands. And Genl. Breckinridge told us that the night before he reached Washington (where we were with these funds and the troops) he and the other general officers paid out to the officers and men the silver coin, so much to each without reference to rank. And

that the men demanded that a sum in gold coin, equal in amount to the silver bullion, should also be divided among them, and that he and the other officers were obliged to submit to this demand, in order to save the ballance of the funds under their escort, so that about $71,000 of the silver and gold coin of the Confederacy was thus disposed of before these funds reached us at Washington Georgia, leaving then in the Treasury, the Treasury notes above mentioned, and about $49,000 in gold coin and bullion, and about $36,000 in silver bullion; aggregating in gold and silver coin and bullion about $85,000.

In addition to these sums, when we were at Abbeville, South Carolina, the Treasurer, or some officer of the Treasury brought to your attention the fact that there was in the Treasury acceptances on Liverpool and London to the amount of about eighteen thousand pounds sterling. By your direction I took these bills of exchange into my possession, so that we might afterwards use them when needed.

Before I left Washington Georgia, and after you had left that place, after conferring with Genl. Breckinridge, and with his concurence, he being the only Cabinet officer there with me, I directed the Treasurer, to burn all the Treasury Notes, between six and seven hundred thousand dollars worth, and had them burned in our presence, as I afterwards explained to you, because I did not have transportation for them, or the means of preserving them from falling into improper hands.

At Washington, Georgia, it was agreed between yourself and the Cabinet that the ballance of the gold coin and bullion should be put into the hands of two of our Naval Officers, whose names I do not now remember, who you will remember, to be concealed by them and kept until matters became more quiet, and they were then to convey it to the coast at the safest point, and from thence they were to take it to our Agent at Bermuda, Nassau or Liverpool as might be found most expedient, so that we could draw against it. Before leaving Washington, I turned this gold coin and bullion over to these two officers. I knew nothing of it afterwards, as we did not see them again.

The silver bullion about $36,000 worth, which we could not transport, was turned over to a Major Moses of the Commissary service I believe; and before I left Washington I saw it being thrown into an open warehouse on the public square. I knew no more of this.

When we were captured the bills of exchange above mentioned were in my saddle bags. And the day after our capture the Major of the Regiment which captured us and the Surgeon,

whose names I do not now remember, told me they had my saddle bags with these bills of exchange, a set of my official reports as Postmaster General, and copies of the opinions in writing which I had given you at various times, when the Cabinet was called on for written opinions. There was also some clothing and a small sum of gold coin in my saddle bags; I do not remember the amount, but not exceeding a few hundred dollars; a part of this coin was my own, and the remainder was turned over to me by Capt. Vanbenthuysen, Asst. Com. Sub. I never knew what became of the bills of exchange.

From this you will see, that we had no such sum of specie as is mentioned in the memorandum from Secretary Sherman; and much of the money he speaks of must have come from other sources. It is probable from what I have heard that much of this was the money of the Richmond banks. And these banks or their assignees are I am informed endeavoring to recover a part of this money or some money, (I suppose a part of this) from the Government. When Genl. Wright enquires if this money was in your or my possession, he does not seem to know that it was not in the personal possession of either of us. It was in the hands of the Treasurer until disposed of as above mentioned, in the confusion and disorder of the breaking up of the Confederacy.

I write from memory alone, having no memoranda or notes of what then occurred, and if in any manner mistaken do not think I can be as to the main facts. And I write under the pressure of multiplied duties, and will not be able to take time to write to Genl. Wright, but if desirable you can have him furnished with a copy of this letter.

Very Truly your friend
and obedt. servt.
JOHN H. REAGAN .

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Maj. W. T. Walthall 21 Feb. 1878

My dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for your kind attention & great consideration.

On page 3 of letter to Mr. Sage I think it would courteous to omit the reference to my notes turned over. For though he would understand it your letter in other hands or in other times might be misconstrued.

The army regulations as they stood before the War contained matter not in those of 1861-2

The list of Miss Cadets from the foundation of the Academy, by Genl. Geo. W. Cullom gives a history of each graduate— The book sent to you is not of that character and does not meet my want. When we meet I will explain more fully—

Yours faithfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Maj. W. T. Walthall 23d Feb. 1878

My Dear Sir,

I suppose my wish for guns to be cast hollow and the promises in that connection, caused me to remember it as a thing done.

I send a note for Mrs. Bragg which you can read and deliver if you choose to do so, or destroy if you prefer to suppress it. There seems to be no reliance due to the memories of our friends, and we have been unfortunate in getting any records. Capt. Lay's letter which bears the stamp of candor, differs so widely from the facts as I remember them, and so enlarges both his command and operations, that as Genl. Twiggs said after reading the published accounts of the battle of Monterey, "I wonder if I was there." So much the greater need for papers of that day, if they can, even in fragments, be found. Men remember their own acts, and vanity often magnifies their part, and sometimes leads to suppression of that which offends the weakness.

Yrs. truly

J. D.

H. D. Money[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives.
Washington, D. C., Feby. 23d, 1878.

Maj. W. T. Walthall,

My dear Sir,

Your favor of the 15th inst. was duly received and in compliance with the request therein expressed, I have looked through

[1] Money, Hernando De Soto (1839-1912), a political leader, was born in Holmes County, Miss., August 26, 1839, and completed a course in law at the University of Mississippi in 1860. He was a soldier in the Confederate army from 1861 to 1864, leaving the army on account of defective

the files of the "Union" from Oct. 1st 1846 to May 1st 1847 without finding the letter mentioned. I also had an intelligent page to go over the same files with same result. I found a reference to the letter in Alfriend's Life of Davis, but no paper or date mentioned. I shall go over the paper again on Monday. You are sure that it was published in the "Union"? You need not make any apologies for asking any service and I hope you will not hesitate to command me. I assure you that it would give me a great pleasure to be able to assist you in your work and to do anything that would promote the wishes or interest of Prest. Davis.

I write this that you may know that I am not forgetful of your request.

Very truly yours,

H. D. Money

endorsed: Hon. H. D. Money; recd. 26 Feb. 1878; ansd. 27 Feb. 1878. The letter in relation to the capitulation of Monterey was published in the "Union" and must have been in the period 1846-7, though perhaps later than May of latter year. The letter answering an abusive article on Missi. "Repudiation" was published in the same paper, but during Polk's administration. J.D.

M. C. Butler[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

United States Senate Chamber,
Washington, Feby. 25, 1878.

Hon'l. Jefferson Davis,
Harrison Co., Miss.

My Dear Sir—

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. The pleasure, my Dear Sir, which it always gives me to hear from you and of you, is enhanced by the prospect that I shall be able to serve you.

I have recd. by to-days mail a copy of Genl. Wright's Petition for increase of Pension, and have read it with some care. He

eyesight. He was a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1875, to March 3, 1885, and from March 4, 1893, to March 3, 1897; U. S. Senator from October 8, 1897, to March 3, 1911. He died at Biloxi, Miss., September 18, 1912.

[1] Butler, Matthew Calbraith (1836-1909), a soldier and political leader, was born near Greenville, S. C., March 8, 1836, attended Edgefield Academy and the South Carolina college, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1857. He was elected to the State legislature in 1860, and shortly after, entered the Confederate military service as captain of cavalry under Hampton. He saw hard campaigning under Hampton and Stuart, was promoted

appears to have a meritorious case, and I shall have great pleasure in promoting his claim. It is difficult to conjecture even, under the present state of things, what view his own brethren in arms may take of it. They are altogether a curious set, and their ways are past finding out. The important thing for Gen'l. Wright is, to get a favorable report from the Committees of both houses, and I would suggest that he procure a list of the Coms. and bring his influence to bear upon them. It only needs, I think, that they shall understand his case, to report favorably upon it, but you know, doubtless, in your own experience here, how difficult it sometimes is, to secure for such matters proper attention, without some special friend to look after it.

I trust that you are well, and may long survive to be blessed by your countrymen and friends.

Very truly and respectfully,

M. C. Butler

endorsed:
Genl. M. C. Butler.

Luke P. Blackburn to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Louisville, Ky. Feb. 26, 1878

My dear friend:

Relying on your kind feelings and friendship, I write to you in confidence soliciting your aid in my behalf. I am candidate for Governor of this state election August 1879. I have a good prospect of being elected there are many other gentlemen spoken of for the position. I feel confident that I can beat any man in the state. I will carry this city and District solid. If you think me worthy the position and would write a letter to Mr. W. Halderman, proprietor of the Louisville Courier Journal and one to Col Stoddard Johnson, Frankfort, Ky., it would be of incalculable advantage to me and would doubtless drive off some who might otherwise oppose me.

You need not affix your name to the article for publication but to a private letter to these gentlemen, both of whom are warm

colonel in 1862, lost his right foot at Brandy Station, in 1863, and in 1864 succeeded to the command of Hampton's brigade. He was pitted against Sheridan in Virginia and Sherman in the Carolinas, and in September, 1864, was promoted major general. He was a U. S. Senator from South Carolina from December 2, 1877, to March 3, 1895. In 1898 he was commissioned major general of volunteers in the Spanish American War, and he served on the Cuban Commission after that war. He died at Columbia, S. C., April 14, 1909. Consult U. R. Brooks: Butler and His Cavalry in the War of Secession, 591 pp., Columbia, S. C., 1909.

personal friends of mine. Any assistance you may think proper to give me will always be remembered with the deepest and most sincere gratitude by me.

This is by far the most important event of my life. It is an appeal to the people of my native state to expunge from my name that obliquy which the venal press and people of the North put upon it at a time when no friend could defend me unless at the peril of his life or liberty.

Please present my kindest regards to your family hoping to hear from you soon, I am,

Your friend,

(Signed) Luke P. Blackburn.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Maj. Walthall

Dear Sir,

I have made endorsements on some of the papers, and have nothing to add in regard to Taylors to your criticism *ex nihilo* &c. &c.

It would seem to me more advisable for you to defer your visit to Mrs. Bragg until you are relieved, and in the mean time to inquire for her whereabouts. If on the Terrebonne the trip will be fatiguing and involve some exposure, if she should be in the neighborhood of Natches, nothing could be effected by a meeting, beyond an appointment for a time when she could see you where her papers are.

Truly yours

Jefferson Davis

27th Feb. 1878

Lewis Cruger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, March 10th, —— ('78)

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Sir:

Please excuse the liberty I take in asking the question as to your rumored history of the War, in which I feel the deepest and most anxious interest viz: to be informed of the probable time of the appearance of that most important and most valuable work in vindication of our calumniated struggle for the

sacred Right of self-government. I had at one time thought of making some suggestions upon various subjects connected with our glorious war, but upon reflection I felt assured that you could treat of all our efforts far better than I could suggest and that it would be vanity in me to offer any suggestions— But, my dear Sir, I must confess and acknowledge one great personal weakness which I cannot overcome, and that is a most unchristian and vindictive hatred of that apostate traitor, Henry S. Foote, who so infamously deserted us to betray us for a price to Lincoln and his cabinet at the time of our greatest distress and discomforture. And what has greatly aggravated this hatred and contempt, is to see this fellow so honored and caressed by the black Republican Government of this country and the black republicans of Congress. Under the influence of this feeling I have long contemplated refering you to those admirable and most appropriate lines of Walter Scott, and anxiously requesting you to quote them (say at the urgent request of a friend)— they are as follows:

"Oh for a tongue to curse the slave,
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the councils of the brave
To blast them in their hopes of might.
His country's curse, his country's shame,
Outcast of virtue, honor, fame,
May he at last with tongue of flame,
On the parched desert thirsting die,
While lakes that shine in mockery nigh,
Soon fade away untouched, untasted,
Like the glorious hopes he would have blasted."

I assure you there is nothing on earth could afford me greater gratification than for you to insert the above most truly merited lines. Please send me a postal card to say this letter is received, and oblige,

Most truly your friend,
(Signed) Lewis Cruger.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

20th March 1878

My dear friend,

Thanks for your welcome present, doubly welcome because of the bearer of the good gifts. Col. Johnston certainly referred to

the published story, p 121, as appears from the remark, that no allusion was made to it during his association with our captors.

The origin of the story is stated in the card of the Maine soldier, which is referred to by you.

I am truly yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to Manly Tello.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir Harrison Co. Miss.
20th March 1878.

My dear Friend,

Yours of the 6th inst. has been received. Though my letter was not written with the care and fullness of one for publication, I was gratified by seeing it as inserted in the Catholic Universe. It has given satisfaction to my Catholic friends hereabouts and I am happy to have been permitted to add a pebble to the pile of stones which signify and commemorate the good deeds and virtues of his departed Holiness. I was anxious before we went hence to have paid my respects and to have made my personal acknowledgement to the Holy Father and to you, I will explain *why* I did not do this. When in Paris I received a message from Cardinal Antonelli who had been informed of the obstacle in the way of my making a visit to Rome, that, he would give me permission to enter the city, so as to relieve me of the necessity of getting a passport from the American Minister, but as I foresaw that this might expose the Holy Father to embarassing inquiries by the U.S. chargé at Rome, I forebore to avail myself of the last opportunity to gratify my earnest desire to see him, and to thank him for his benevolent Christian course towards the South during the war, as well as for his personal kindness to myself.

When the *Universe* arrives, I have some humble members of the Church ever expectant for the privilege of reading it, and sometimes to one, sometimes to the other it is sent.

With cordial wishes for your welfare and happiness, and with the hope that we may meet ere we go hence forever,

I am faithfully your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

My dear Friend,

It has been out of my power to send my answer to the article of Mr. Hunter reflecting on yourself and staff at an earlier date I have been pressed hard recently— As you well know the tenure of office in this Country is very uncertain, regardless of how well an official may perform his duties. I am now a drift and looking for something to support me. I thank Providence that I am in health and my spirits are invariably good, consequently I am hoping for the best.

You will please make such disposition of the lines sent you as may be by you deemed best, should you have them printed anywhere, should be pleased to receive a copy—

I mail you today the copy of the papers you were kind enough to send me—please acknowledge receipt so I will know that you are in possession of the papers.

I do hope and pray, that you are preparing for publication your memoirs in other words, the facts connected with your illustrious self and the late war etc., etc., and that it may please God to spare me long enough to read them and see justice done to you and our lost cause

Do present me very kindly to Mrs. Davis and all of yours— My respects to Maj. Walthall.

Mrs. Lubbock joins me in most tender regards for your good self and family.

Yours truly as ever

(Signed) F. R. Lubbock.

(This letter is not dated but the envelope is marked, Ansd. 30th March, '78. Post marked, Galveston, March 22.)

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Maj. Walthall
Dear Friend,

I send you some letters for your perusal and will be glad to have your remarks upon them, when they are returned

C. J. Wrights request is an unpleasant demand and after your paper does not seem needful. Notice remarks about the Cavalry—

Truly yours

25th March 78

Jefferson Davis

Jefferson Davis to J. William Jones.

(From Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. V, pp. 222-227.)

Mississippi City, March 27th, 1878.

Rev. J. W. Jones, D. D.,

Secretary Southern Historical Society:

Dear Sir: In the December number of your magazine was published an article by Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, purporting to be a reply to my answer to his previous article published in a Northern paper and copied into your magazine. In the beginning of his second article Mr. Hunter avows that "no offence was intended" by the first one. His right to declare what was his intention is admitted. Whether the assumption that my action in sending commissioners as soon as Mr. Lincoln gave assurance that they would be received was to be ascribed, not to the avowed desire for peace between the two countries, but, as presented by Mr. Hunter, to the recently recognized danger from public dissatisfaction with the Confederate Executive, was to be construed as "offensive," or otherwise, each man will decide for himself, according to his standard of personal and official honor.

I will not encumber your pages by following the verbose and contradictory article through its windings, but will leave Mr. Hunter, who was at one time Secretary of State, and subsequently a Senator in the Confederacy, to enjoy the shelter he seeks under an ignorance of the addresses and messages of the President of the Confederate States.

There are, however, few Virginians of that time who can be so little informed as not to know that the executive department of the Confederate Government, with the necessary books and papers, was removed from Richmond to Danville, Virginia, when the army which covered the capital was compelled to retreat, and that at Danville the President issued an address to arouse the people to the defence of the soil of the State, Yet, importing his phraseology from beyond the country of the President and his friends, Mr. Hunter denominates that removal "a flight," and states "in no history of his flight from Richmond to the woods in Georgia, where he was captured, have I seen it stated that his head was once turned towards the enemy," &c.

Perhaps the search after some new chasm into which he could "*Curtius*"-like plunge the most prized of his country's possessions—i.e., himself—prevented Mr. Hunter from learning that the President was at Danville exerting himself for the common

defence, and that there were gaps in the ranks of Lee's army which a patriot might have filled more usefully than in playing a travesty of "Curtius" by keeping far from the field, where the defenders of his State were gallantly contending against its invaders.

I will not further consider his sophomoric twaddle about Curtius and the murder of the innocents, or his lame effort to show that he meant only—that the phrase, "the two countries," embarrassed the commissioners in their *progress* to Hampton Roads. Indeed, I should not have deemed that this article required my notice, but for the unfounded insinuation that a confidential interview which he had held with me had been reported to my aids, and by them used to his injury.

Premising that I have no recollection of such an interview as he describes, I must express my surprise that any one should after the lapse of thirteen years, be able to *report fully* a conversation of which, when it ended, he never expected to hear again. I do, however, remember a visit made to me in the executive office, some time after the Hampton Roads conference, by Senators Hunter, Graham, and Orr, to induce me to offer to negotiate on the basis of abandoning our independence; and that I closed the conversation by asking them to send me a resolution of the Senate, and promising to make a *prompt* reply. I assembled the Cabinet as soon as the Senators left me, and made a statement to them of the interview, which I would not have permitted to be held confidentially. I then went to the house of Senator Barnwell, who was ill, stated the matter to him, and asked him to see that the resolution expected should be so unequivocal that my issue with the cabal should be distinctly understood by the people. Then, for the first time, my faith in Mr. Hunter was impaired; and confidence is a plant which will not bear "topping."

That he should have thought I distrusted while yet confiding in him, must find its solution elsewhere than in my conduct. Perhaps his suspicion originated in the same source from which came the unfriendly and injurious terms which it appears from his own statement he employed secretly against me.

It is true that I believe his usefulness diminished by his timidity; but before having the advantage of his philosophy, as expounded in the article now under notice, I had concluded to take him as God made him, esteeming him for his good qualities, despite his defects; and now regret that these last have proved greater than was supposed.

I have waited for answers to enquiries about the only point in

Mr. Hunter's article to which a response was considered obligatory, and this has delayed my communication to the present date. Of the aids who were then near to me, one is abroad; the answers of the other three are annexed, and they require no explanation.

The characters of those gentlemen would render worse than useless a defence against the absurd suspicion that they were employed in backbiting gossip about a visitor to the house of their chief.

I remain yours, respectfully,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Lexington, Va., 15th January, 1878.

My Dear Friend:

I received last week your letter of the 4th instant, and showed it to Colonel Johnston, who said that he would write to you on the subject of your enquiry without delay.

To the best of my recollection and belief, I never heard, before the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, of Mr. Hunter's interview with you, in the interests of peace, referred to in the letter published over his signature in the December number of the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, which I have just read for the first time; nor do I remember to have ever heard a word from you that could be repeated to his disparagement.

I do remember, however, that you were not in the habit of talking to me about public matters out of the line of my duties, and with which I had no special concern.

With many thanks for your kind wishes, and with my very sincere prayers for the happiness of your self and household, I remain faithfully,

Your friend and servant,

G. W. C. LEE.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Mississippi City, Miss.

Lexington, Va., January 9th, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis:

My Dear Sir—Your letter has been received calling my attention to a statement of the Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, made in the *Southern Historical Society Papers* for December, 1877, page 308.

Mr. Hunter, after detailing a confidential conversation said to have been held with you, says: "After we separated I scarcely expected to hear more from this conversation; but soon, perhaps the next day after, I heard it was bruited all over Richmond

that I had been thoroughly conquered, had submitted, and was disposed to make peace on any terms, with many other disparaging remarks. Amongst others, the President's aids were said to be freely discussing these matters. How did they get hold of them, &c?"

At that time your aids, on duty at Richmond, were Colonels Wood, Lubbock and myself. I can only speak for myself. It is very difficult, after thirteen years, for me to remember many things I once knew well; but so far as I can recollect, this is the first time I ever heard that Mr. Hunter had such a conversation with you as that detailed by him.

I do remember that about that time—that is to say, early in 1865—a friend, a member of Congress, if I am not mistaken, called my attention to Mr. Hunter, near St. Paul's church, and used almost the expressions which Mr. Hunter employs. He further stated, to my great surprise, that there was a cabal in the Senate to supersede Mr. Davis and put Mr. Hunter at the head of the government.

It was my surprise which impressed this upon me, for I supposed that your relations with Mr. Hunter were of the most confidential character.

I would further state, that I do not believe it possible for you to have revealed any conversation confidential in its character. The statement is moreover improbable in many respects. I was not living with you; I met you generally at the office. I rode frequently with you on horseback; more than all others put together. Your conversation was friendly and familiar, but it generally turned upon anything else than the business of the hour, as your rides were for relaxation. Your business with your aids related to *war*, not politics.

I never knew, until this correspondence arose, that any except the kindest relations existed between Mr. Hunter and yourself. I knew that he was frequently consulted by you, and was regarded as in perfect accord with you. I have always heard you speak of him kindly—even affectionately. It is therefore with regret that I learn that a different state of feeling exists.

Very sincerely yours,

WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON.

Galveston, March 21st, 1878.

Rev. J. William Jones,

Sec. S. H. Society, Richmond, Va.:

Dear Sir—I have quite recently seen in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, for December last, a communication from the

Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, purporting to be a rejoinder to a letter of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, appearing in the November number of the *Southern Historical Society Papers,* in reply to a former communication of Mr Hunter on the subject of the "Peace Commission" conference at Hampton Roads.

The paper of Mr. Davis I have not seen, but I desire to advert briefly to some of the statements contained in Mr. Hunter's rejoinder, which I believe my official relations to President Davis, as a member of his staff, not only entitle but qualify me to intelligently consider.

After relating that he had an interview with the President, shortly subsequently to the conference, respecting the urgent necessity of some efforts to procure terms of accommodation from the enemy, Mr. Hunter proceeds to say (page 308):

"After we separated I scarcely expected to hear more from the conversation; but soon, perhaps the next day after, I heard it was bruited all over Richmond that I had been thoroughly conquered, had submitted and was disposed to make peace on any terms, with many other disparaging remarks. *Amongst others the President's aids were said to be freely discussing these matters.* How did they get hold of them? It is true there was no positive pledge of secrecy in these conversations, but from their nature and circumstances discussed, their confidential character was to have been implied and ought to have been respected."

At the time of the alleged interview and subsequently until his capture, I had the honor of being one of the "President's aids," and was most intimately and cordially associated with him and the remaining members of his official family; and I beg to say, that he never spoke a word to me on the theme suggested by Mr. Hunter; nor did I ever hear a word spoken by one of his "aids" implying any disparagement of Mr. Hunter, or indicating that any facts had been gotten "hold of" respecting the alleged or any other interview with Mr. Davis.

It is almost incredible to me that any one at all acquainted with the character of Mr. Davis could indulge a suspicion, however faint, that he could have been capable of betraying trust or of breaking faith. Of all men he is the last to whom such imputation could attach.

It is equally beyond belief that he could have tolerated, much less inspired in his staff, any assault upon the motives or character of Mr. Hunter.

The Confederate President was immeasurably superior to any such thing. Whether Mr. Hunter's great solicitude for "ac-

commodation'' became known to the public, I know not—it is not at all unlikely that the views of so distinguished a gentleman were divined by his compeers and associates in Congress.

It may be that the course claimed by Mr. Hunter to have been advised by him, would have been the wiser. Indeed, in the light of the present, it might have been *wiser* not to have fought at all, but to have surrendered at Lincoln's call for 75,000 men!

But whatever men may think of that, I believe it will not be considered extravagant to say that a proposition to surrender the cause and abandon the battle for freedom, after the conference at Hampton Roads, would have been received (*and justly, as I think,*) by the army and the people as the inspiration of either pusillanimity or treason.

I have the honor to be, yours very truly and respectfully,

F. R. Lubbock,

Ex-Aide-de-Camp to President Jefferson Davis.

The paper by R. M. T. Hunter on ''The Peace Commission of 1865'' to which the above letter is the reply was first published in the Philadelphia Weekly Times and was re-published in the April 1877 number of the Southern Historical Society Papers vol. III No. 4 p.p. 168-176. The paper follows in full.

At the beginning of the year 1865, the country had become much exhausted by the exertions and ravages of the war. Scarce a household but had lost some member of its family in the bloody conflicts of the war, to whose chances parents had hitherto consigned the lives of their children without doubt or hesitation. In General Lee's skill and patriotism universal confidence was reposed, and, among many disposed by nature to be sanguine, hopes of final success were still entertained. But among the considerate, and those who had staked and lost both family and fortune in the war, feelings of despondency were beginning to prevail. Particularly was this the case among the older class of legislators. The vacant ranks in our armies were no longer promptly filled, as at the commencement of the war, and an exhibit of our resources, made by Judge Campbell, our Assistant Secretary of War, to General Lee, exhibited only a beggarly account of empty regiments. Propositions to call out boys of not more than sixteen years of age, and to place negroes in the army, were already being discussed. The prospects of success from such expedients were regarded as poor, indeed. The chances for the fall of Fort Fisher seemed imminent, as well as

that of the complete closure of the ports through which we had been bringing into the Confederacy food, clothing and munitions of war. These dangers, beginning to be visible, were producing a most depressing effect on our Confederate Congress. When these sources of supply should be cut off, where then would be our resources to prolong the contest? The talk, too, for peace began to be more earnest and open than it had been hitherto. Influential politicians on the other side, formerly of great weight in the party contests of the country, and still bound to leading men of the Confederacy by old associations, were openly exerting themselves for peace, and appealing to men who used to act with and confide in them to unite with and work with them to procure a peace. F. P. Blair, an old Democratic leader during the time of General Jackson's election to the Presidency and his administration, and, indeed, through the whole period succeeding it up to the election of President Lincoln, adhered to the Government party, and labored earnestly for its success. Finding that things were going much further than he had anticipated, and becoming alarmed for the consequences, he interposed earnestly in the cause of peace, and procured the opportunity to visit Richmond, where he saw many old friends and party associates. Here his representations were not without effect upon his old Confederates who for so long had been in the habit of taking counsel with him on public affairs. He said what seemed to many of us to have much truth, that the disparity of resources was so great in favor of the Federals as would make a much further resistance on the part of the Confederacy impracticable. The United States, he said, if necessary for their purpose, could empty the population of Europe upon the Southern coasts by the offer of the lands of the dispossessed Southern landholders, and they would come in such number that any attempt at resistance would be hopeless. If the resistance, too, were protracted much further, such a temper would be exerted among the adherents of the Government that they would not object to the exchange, but be quite willing for it. Believing this to be the disposition of our opponents, and that a real danger was to be apprehended from a continuance of the war, my own attention was now more seriously directed to peace than heretofore. It turned the thoughts of many Confederates toward peace more seriously than ever before since the commencement of the war. But the very fact of the existence of such disposition on the part of the United States Government, showed how small were the chances for a peaceful and friendly settlement of existing differences between the parties.

The talk about peace became so earnest and frequent in the capital of the Confederacy, and the indications of a desire for it among many members of the Confederacy became so plain and obvious, that President Davis and his friends began to feel that it was expedient that the Confederate Government should show some desire for peace on fair terms. To show no sense of responsibility for the terrible conflict then waging, and no desire for peace on any terms, would injure the Confederate Government in the eyes of its own people. The intrinsic difficulties in the way of a fair accommodation were scarcely appreciated, and the desire for change so universal in the human heart was manifest. Many were alarmed at the talk of conscribing negroes, and mothers, who had shrunk from nothing heretofore, were beginning to flinch at the prospect of seeing their boys of sixteen years of age, or under, exposed to the horrors and hardships such as would then be incurred in military service. Accordingly, the President, in January, 1865, determined to appoint three Commissioners and proposed a conference between them and others to be appointed by the United States Government, on the subject of peace, at some place to be agreed upon between the Governments. The persons appointed were A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States, Judge John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War, and R. M. T. Hunter, Confederate Senator from the State of Virginia. These were expected to meet President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at Old Point, and prepare for the conference. General Lee was directed to pass the Commissioners through his lines to City Point, from which place it was supposed that General Grant would transfer them to the place of meeting at Old Point. Instructions were delivered to them directing, among other things, that they were to treat on the basis of "two countries," thus precluding any idea of reunion, a provision which subsequently gave rise to difficulties in arranging the meeting, and it was rumored that Mr. Benjamin, Secretary of State, foreseeing this, had endeavored in vain to have it stricken out. We were dispatched at once to Petersburg, and it having gotten out that a Commission of Peace was on its way to Norfolk, we were received everywhere along the line with marks of great interest and curiosity. Of course we did nothing voluntarily to create expectations; and seeing no prospect of negotiating for a settlement of the difficulties between the parties, under our instructions, we did nothing so well calculated to exasperate the difference as would have been the case had false hopes of peace, wantonly created, been unexpectedly disappointed. But we were not

insensible to the manifestations of interest in the question in Petersburg, or that Judge Joynes, on taking leave of us said, as he shook hands, that if we returned with any fair hope of peace, we would be thanked by every man, woman and child in the city.

When we reached Petersburg an intense state of excitement was soon raised in regard to the Commission. This excitement was increased by unexpected delays in passing the Commissioners over the enemy's line. This delay was the cause of some wonder to ourselves, until. in subsequently passing over, we observed the lean state of General Lee's defences, and how poorly our lines were lined with defenders. The ground between the two armies was covered with spent minnie balls, and it was obvious that if no more carnage had ensued it was not for the want of mutual ill-will and attempts between the combatants. A short time brought us to the river, over which we were conducted to the boat which received us, and subsequently conducted us to the place of meeting. Here we were courteously received by General Grant and his officers, and we had abundant means to compare the resources of the respective and opposing lines. Many of the officers in General Grant's lines loudly expressed their desire for peace, wishes which we did not hesitate to reciprocate. Among them was General Meade, who told us he was near being arrested in Chicago at the commencement of the war for expressing such desires, and the opinion that the contest would result like the Kilkenney cat fight; and who now, said he, will say that such an opinion was absurd? Some of us said he had heard the conjecture that General Lee had already fought as many pitched battles as Napoleon in his Italian campaigns. General Meade said he did not doubt but he had, for many of his skirmishes, as they were called, would have ranked as battles in Napoleon's campaigns. The officers were courteous in their comments on their enemies, and many of them seemed mindful of old acquaintanceship and old ties. But soon General Grant began to receive returns to his telegrams from President Lincoln and Mr. Seward. A copy of our instructions was transmitted to President Lincoln, and now commenced our troubles. The President and his secretary answered promptly that they could not negotiate on the basis of two countries. President Lincoln said he could negotiate on no hypothesis but one of reunion. We were bound by positive instructions on our side, and could make no relaxation of those instructions on that head. As these difficulties seemed to increase by the persistency on both sides, all parties were annoyed by the hitch. Not only

General Grant's officers, but we ourselves were anxious to know if there was any chance of settlement and on what terms. It was interesting to us to know whether the other party was aware of our real situation, but nothing occurred to satisfy us on that point; and yet with the system of spies and deserters on both parts, and the notoriety of our state of destitution at home, it seemed impossible to suppose that the enemy were not sufficiently aware of our condition to make their knowledge in that particular an important element in the negotiation.

As the difficulties of meeting seemed to increase, the impatience of the bystanders to bring the parties together grew very rapidly. One of General Grant's officers assured us that Mrs. Grant had expressed her opinion openly that her husband ought to send us on, and permit no vital difficulties to break up the interview. She said we were known to be good men, and she believed that our intentions were praiseworthy, and she doubted not but that something good would result if we and Mr. Lincoln could be brought together; but that if Mr. Seward were allowed to intervene between us he would break up all prospect of a settlement of the difficulties by his wily tactics. She seemed to have a poor opinion of his purposes or management. She impressed us very favorably by her frankness and good feelings, but somehow the difficulties were removed, and after a delay of about twenty-four hours, steam was gotten up and we were on our way to the place of meeting. We all moved under some excitement; we were all desirous of a fair settlement, and neither expected nor wished unequal advantages or an unfair adjustment. We were no diplomatists, unused in the practices of negotiation; immense events might be in store for us; great possibilities of change ahead of us, and possibly through us seeds might be sown from which new destinies might spring or changes effected which might alter the course of empire itself. We would probably soon know what would be the effect of our own action or how it would result for our country. These were dreary thoughts to any men, but particularly to those who felt the load of a peculiar responsibility for the turn which events might take. We had formed no particular scheme of negotiation, no definite line of policy by which exciting dispositions on both sides might be molded to satisfactory results. Mr. Stephens seemed possessed with the opinion that secession might be recognized as a conservative remedy by the Northern population, as subsequent conversation proved. He made it evident, too, that he believed the Monroe doctrine might be made the cement of union among our populations. He acted on the principle that

by a union to drive the French out of Mexico, our people could be reunited at home. The extent to which he carried these opinions was strange indeed. Judge Campbell seemed to repose his hopes on an armistice to be formed by General Grant and General Lee, and certain conditions to be declared between them on which this armistice should exist. The intercourse which would subsist during the armistice, it was thought, would hurry about peace and good feeling and the renewal of old habits of communion, and profitable trade would restore good feeling and the old habits of trade, and bring on old feelings generated by the intercourse dictated by self-interest and old association. It was believed, too, that arrangements brought on by General Grant and General Lee to restore old intercourse would be tolerated, which would be rejected if proposed by any one else.

We met Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward aboard the steamer, and soon the conference was commenced by Mr. Stephens, who seemed impressed with the idea that secession was the true conservative remedy for sectional difference, and appeared to be animated by the hope that he could convince the President and Secretary of the truth of this view. Never was hope more mistaken. Although polite, neither countenanced the idea for a moment. He next proposed another subject upon which he seemed to rely with even more confidence. He revived the old Monroe doctrine, and suggested that a reunion might be formed on the basis of uniting to drive the French out of America, and uniting to organize this continent for Americans. This was received with even less favor than I expected. Both expressed their aversion to any occupancy of Mexico by the French, but if they felt any doubt, expressed none as to the capacity of the United States Government to drive the French away. Mr. Blair, while in Richmond, talked of this as a probable basis of reunion. Mr. Lincoln was evidently afraid that he had uttered sentiments for which he could not be responsible, and earnestly disclaimed having authorized his mission—whether this was true I had my doubts then and now. It is impossible but that Mr. Lincoln must have felt anxiety on the subject of peace. If he knew of our destitution he gave no sign of it, but he did not press the peace as I had supposed he would. He distinctly affirmed that he would not treat except on the basis of reunion and the abolition of slavery. Neither Lincoln nor Seward showed any wise or considerate regard for the whole country, or any desire to make the war as little disastrous to the whole country as possible. If they entertained any such desires they made no exhibition. Their whole object seemed to be to force

a reunion and an abolition of slavery. If this could be done, they seemed to feel little care for the distress and suffering of the beaten party. Mr. Lincoln, it is true, said that a politician on his side had declared that $400,000,000 ought to be given by way of compensation to the slaveholders, and in this opinion he expressed his concurrence. Upon this Mr. Seward exhibited some impatience and got up to walk across the floor, exclaiming, as he moved, that in his opinion the United States had done enough in expending so much money on the war for the abolition of slavery, and had suffered enough in enduring the losses necessary to carry on the war. "Ah, Mr. Seward," said Mr. Lincoln, "you may talk so about slavery, if you will; but if it was wrong in the South to hold slaves, it was wrong in the North to carry on the slave trade and sell them to the South (as it is notorious that they did, he might have added), and to have held on to the money thus procured without compensation, if the slaves were to be taken by them again." Mr. Lincoln said, however, that he was not authorized to make such a proposition, nor did he make it. It was evident that both the President and Secretary were afraid of the extreme men of their party. Certain objects were to be secured, and when once obtained it was no consideration with their party whether the sufferings of the conquered party were to be mitigated or any relief was to be afforded. And yet to statesmen and benevolent men, it was obvious that both parties were to be benefited by affording the conquered party some relief for their prostration. The reaction of the sufferings of the South upon the North has been obvious enough for many years. The English Government in its scheme of West India emancipation saw the necessity of some relief to all parts of the country. It ought to have been obvious enough to wise and considerate statesmen that some relief was the policy here, too. But the North, when placed in power, seemed to be insensible to these views, and desired to punish those who had been defeated in the contest. To do this they seemed willing to make their losses irretrievable.

The armistice was promptly opposed by the President and Secretary of State. If the only objects were to re-establish the Union and abolish slavery, they were right. If, however, they had any desire for the general good, and to procure relief for parties suffering, as ought to have been felt by men fit to govern such a country and to understand its wants, their views would have been different. We had tried to intimate to General Grant before we reached Old Point, that a settlement generally satisfactory to both sides could be more easily effected through him

and General Lee by an armistice than in any other way. The attempt was in vain. Lee had too much principle probably to have yielded to such a suggestion, and if Grant would have suffered no principle to restrain him if he had seen his way clear, he had not the ability to weigh truly his responsibility or to understand his opportunities. Generals who are so often accused and blamed for usurping power often see the best way out of difficulties. Had Caesar or Napoleon been in command of the Union forces there is little doubt but that some settlement would have been made to have relieved us of much of our difficulty. When a general knows what to do he is often more reliable than the politicians in civil war. England, probably, was better managed by Cromwell than would have been done by the general voice of her civilians. Politicians often make more fatal inroads on the bulwarks of national liberty than military commanders. It is doubtful whether a Government formed by the Roman Senate would have been better than Scylla's, and Napoleon's constitutions were probably preferable to what the civilians would have given them. Civil wars often produce emergencies which create new and unexpected wants, and in these I have no doubt but that Napoleon was a more reliable counsellor than Lieges. Complications are sometimes produced by the sword that can only be cut by the sword. In this very case some compensation for the negroes taken away would have been both just and politic. Through a truce or armistice it might have been effected, but otherwise it seems not.

With regard to the Monroe doctrine, out of which I feared some complications might arise, as Blair had seemed to favor it very much, I took occasion to say to Mr. Lincoln that I differed much from Mr. Stephens, and so in my opinion did many of our people, who would be found unwilling to kindle a new war with the French on any such pretence. That for one I laid no such claims to the right of exclusive possession of the American continent for the American people, as had been done by others. That many of us would be found unwilling to have a war upon a mere question of policy rather than of honor or right. That although we would hear and communicate whatever was said to us on this question, we were not instructed to treat upon it. Nor for one was I prepared to do so. I asked him, however, to communicate the terms, if any, upon which he would negotiate with us. He said he could not treat with us with arms in our hands; in rebellion, as it were, against the Government.

I did not advert to the fact that we were with arms in our

hands upon this occasion when we came to treat with him, but I replied this had been often done, especially by Charles I, when at civil war with the British Parliament. He laughed, and said that "Seward could talk with me about Charles I, he only knew that Charles I had lost his head." I said not for that, but because he made no satisfactory settlement at all. But it was of no use to talk with him upon this subject. It was evident that both he and Seward were terribly afraid of their constituents. They would hint at nothing but unconditional submission, although professing to disclaim any such demand. Reunion and submission seemed their sole conditions. Upon the subject of a forfeiture of lands, Mr. Lincoln said it was well known that he was humane and not disposed to exact severe terms. It was then that I expressed myself more freely on the subject of the negotiation and the condition of affairs. It seemed, I said, that nothing was left us but absolute submission both as to rights and property, a wish to impose no unnecessary sacrifice on us as to landed property on the part of one branch of our Government, but no absolute assurance as to this. I might have said it was the expression of an absolute determination not to treat at all, but to demand a submission as absolute as if we were passing through the Caudine forks.

Such a rebuke to negotiation after a civil war of half this magnitude in any European nation, probably would have called down the intervention of its neighbors; nor is it probable that the parties to a civil war in any civilized European nation could have met for purposes of adjustment without some plan of relief or amelioration on the part of the stronger in favor of the weaker. Mr. Seward, it is true, disclaimed all demand for unconditional submission. But what else was the demand for reunion and abolition of slavery, without any compensation for negroes or even absolute safety for property proclaimed to have been forfeited?

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

My Dear Sir: Lynchburg, March 28th, 1878.

Your letter of the 27th ultimo has remained unanswered a good deal longer than I intended, and than ought to have been the case. When it arrived I was engaged in some writing on which I was very much intent, and as I could give no satisfactory information, in reply to your request for my views and recol-

lections in regard to the failure of the Army of the Potomac, under General Johnston, to increase in proportion to the reinforcements sent it between the 21st of July 1861 and the 20th of October of that year, I laid your letter aside to be answered when I was at leisure, and more time has elapsed without my doing so, than I intended.

I am not able to give any views or speculations on the subject, but the most general ones, and they will be of little value to you.

At that day I was in the habit of attending to my own command, with full reliance upon those above me to do everything that was proper and necessary for the good of the service and the cause, and I never presumed to question or scan closely any of their proceedings. In fact that course I prescribed to myself during the whole war, though as my work and command increased I, of course, knew more of the practical operations of the army, and the experience gained enabled me to form, with more reliance on my capacity to do so, my own views with regard to what was transpiring.

If in the manuscripts I have furnished you, you find often a free expression of my own opinions about measures that were adopted, you must not think that even if those opinions were entertained at the time, I presumed to promulgate them or to oppose my opinions to those of the commanders whose business it was to judge for me and all others.

My recollection of events was very distinct, however, and when, after the war I undertook to commit to paper what I knew, as the effort to "wash our dirty linen" for the public entertainment had begun, I could not refrain from giving my own views in many cases, without however undertaking to enter as a partisan into any of the quarrels that originated during the war.

During the war I did not take sides in any of the disputes, but sincerely regretted them; and now I am friendly with all the parties to them, though ever ready to give my recollections of the facts as they came within my knowledge. The same manuscripts furnished you have been furnished General Johnston and General Beauregard, so far as they affect them respectively; and about the facts and opinions therein expressed I have no concealments.

In regard to the particular points upon which you now want my views, I was really not in a position to enable me to form any opinions that are of any value. I attended strictly to my own brigade, and had no occasion to know the real strength of the

army. I know that there was a great deal more laxity in granting permissions to be absent in other brigades than in mine, for my officers took occasion to bring it to my notice as a complaint against me. I believe that mine was the only brigade in that army in which a chain of sentinels was placed around the camp so as to prevent men from leaving it without permission, and requiring officers even to report at the guards according to the regulations. But absenteeism to any great extent had not begun I think by the date you last mention (the 20th of October). I imagine that you are impressed with the opinion that more troops were really sent to that army than were sent. I have no exact knowledge on the subject, but I have some general recollections as to Beauregard's part of the army. In my own brigade there was one regiment the 23rd N.C. which came immediately after; the others were at the battle, until the 20th Georgia was added to my brigade about the 1st of October. It had been with the army some time, but came after the battle. In Rode's brigade (Ewell's, that was) one regiment, the 12th Alabama, came after the battle. In Bonham's all I believe were at the battle; so it was with Longstreet's and Cooke's brigades. D. R. Jones' brigade, as reorganized after the battle, was composed of at least one South Carolina regiment that was at the battle, and perhaps the others were there also. These brigades were organized into the two divisions of which the 1st corps of the Army of the Potomac (Beauregard's) was composed, towit Van Dorn's, and Longstreet's. I think two Louisiana regiments came after the battle, which being united with the two and Wheat's battalion that were at the battle made one of the brigades in Kirby Smith's division of the 2nd corps. Elzey's brigade, another brigade of that division, was at the battle, and Trimble's, the third brigade, was composed of some regiments that had been at the battle and some not.

Three other brigades constituting the other division of that corps (G. W. Smith's) were composed of the troops that had come with Johnston from the Valley and new regiments that came after the battle, the greater part probably being new regiments. You know Jackson's brigade, that was afterwards, sent to the Valley had been at the battle.

I don't think a third of that army as it existed at the last of October could have come after the battle, perhaps not a fourth. I think that it was not until about the last of the Fall, that anything like desertion began, and then to a very limited extent. I recollect to have heard of a case or two in one of my North Carolina regiments about that time.

I know of nothing whatever in the management of the army to cause its strength to be really less than it ought to have been. Of course it was not to be expected that new troops like ours were should be kept as rigidly to their places as experienced and disciplined soldiers. I was a little more rigid than some others, but that was a matter of particular management by brigade commanders, and I never had any reason to complain that my efforts to enforce discipline and a rigid compliance with the regulations were not supported at head-quarters.

After the date of which you speak, I could give some speculations as to the increase of absenteeism in the army, but it would affect the management in Richmond and not at army head-quarters.

In the first place, I never thought it judicious to brigade the troops by States. In the next place when desertions began, the penalty was not enforced with sufficient rigor,—there being frequent cases of suspension of sentence, and finally of commuting it. So fully was I impressed with the evil effects of the interference that when, afterwards, I had a separate command, and had to pass upon the sentences of courts-martial, I ordered the execution to take place so speedily as to prevent an application being made for suspension. This was General Jackson's course, and the first execution I ever saw, was under his orders. General Lee always gave a man ten days to prepare for his latter end, and the consequence generally was that no execution took place. My idea was that when a man was hurried into eternity with all his sins upon him, the example was more terrible to others, than when he was given time to repent and then was shot with the hope of going to a better place than the army was; and on one occasion I convinced two chaplains of the correctness of my theory, when they were pleading for more time for a man in order that he might repent.

Of course you will understand that I fully appreciated the humane motives that actuated General Lee and the authorities at Richmond, but I thought that humanity to the suffering women and children and justice to the army required that those who abandoned their colors should suffer the penalty, in order to deter others from following their example.

Another source of great mischief and dissatisfaction in the army during the winter of 1861-2, was the granting of permission, by Mr. Benjamin as secretary of War, to officers, and sometimes to privates, to recruit new commands from among the soldiers already in the army. This did great harm, and I ordered every officer who came into my command to recruit for

such a purpose, to be put in the guard house. In one case where an officer had surreptitiously procured an order transferring a man from one of my regiments to his company, that he had permission to convert into an artillery company, I went to Colonel Jordan, and peremptorily demanded a revocation of the order, which was done,—it having been issued by his brother who was his assistant. That officer never came into my camp afterwards.

The ignoring of such permissions, which was afterwards rendered absolutely necessary, created great dissatisfaction with the men thus recruited; and at Yorktown there were four companies in Pryor's regiment, temporarily attached to my command, who laid down their arms and refused to do duty, when the conscript act became a law, because they had re-enlisted in a new regiment for which permission had been granted. The most peremptory measures had to be taken with them, and one of them was not reduced to submission, until I had made it work in the trenches under a provost guard for two or three days, when the men were brought to their senses.

The interference by State judges under the *habeas corpus* afterwards became a source of great mischief, and I could give you an instance in which I could have balked a judge who issued a writ for 19 men in my command at one time, if on his representation, without ascertaining the facts, Mr. Seddon had not issued a peremptory order to have the men, all under charges for deserting, discharged the service.

I had an opinion that the State Courts had no jurisdiction and wrote to Mr. Watts, the attorney general, for his opinion, but he declined to give it, because of some precedent set by Mr. Wirt as attorney general of the United States.

I mention all these things, not because they have any direct bearing on the inquiries you make of me, but to show that when the subject of the cause of absenteeism from our army is broached, a very wide field is opened. I never supposed, of course, that there was any improper motive or purpose on the part of those in authority in taking the steps I mention, but my own position enabled me to judge of their effects.

You will observe in the return for February 1862, given in a table furnished by Swinton and copied by me in an article which appears in the July number of the Va. Historical Papers for 1876, that in the Department of Northern Virginia, embracing the Army of the Potomac, the Valley District, and the Aquia District, there were present 56,396, and present and absent 84,226. The returns after that time show a much greater proportion absent.

Now, I cannot conceive how, out of the 84,226, present and absent, in all the troops that were in the Department of Northern Virginia, supposing all those troops to have been there at the time, there could have been enough men for duty, to warrant an advance against McClellan about the 20th of October 1861. You must bear in mind that when General Johnston says "effective total," that embraces only the enlisted men for duty, who were given under that head, and excluded officers, men on extra duty, sick and in arrest. At that time and afterwards, we had to take our teamsters from the army, which made the number of extra duty men unusually large. A stampede of negro teamsters at the first battle of Manassas had rendered it necessary to detail soldiers.

McClellan's report, page 10, shows that on the 15th of October 1861, the troops under his control, about Washington and its dependencies, amounted to 133,201 present for duty, and by the 1st of December they had increased to 160,452 present for duty; some of them were in Baltimore and some at the Potomac, but all available to resist a forward movement by us.

Since the exceedingly cold spell just after my return, we have had an unusually warm winter and spring, and I fear the consequence will be a general loss of our fruit. Instead of March's coming in "like a lamb and going out like a lion," according to the old saying, it has very much the appearance now of going out like a very tame sheep.

Present my best regards to Mrs. Dorsey and believe me always Very truly and faithfully, yours,

J. A. Early.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.
endorsed: Genl. Early about reinforcements at Manassas &c. ansd. 9th April 1878.

Jefferson Davis to Crafts J. Wright.

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Missi. City,
29th March 1878

My dear friend,

Your letter and Mss. have been received. Your exhaustive examination of the slander of Wilson and others places me under great obligations as showing how deep your interest in my good name continues to be. After making some alterations such as will be suggested to you by the article I sent to you recently,

in the "So. Hist. papers" I gave the Mss. to Maj. Walthall to have a fair copy made, and to send it to the Secty. Dr. Jones. The unfairness of the Philad. Times is I suppose known to Dr. Jones by his correspondence with you, and if stated by him editorially will give additional weight to your article in the feature prominent in it of a desire by a Northern man to do justice, as the best remedy for sectional wounds.

I write in the midst of interruption, which interferes with composition, but not with the current of my affection which flows ever and with undiminished force to you.

I am faithfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Genl. C. J. Wright

P. S. I do not regret delay in the publication of your article, because I think you will have the So. vote without it and it might prevent the No. members from supporting your petition.

J. D.

Crafts J. Wright to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

U. S. Marine Hospital,
Chicago Mch. 30/78

Maj. W. T. Walthall,
Mississippi City, Miss.

Major,

I am very much obliged for your kind letter of Mch. 27/78 in regard to my manuscript as to my friend Mr. Davis, and for your kind expressions and references. I note your criticisms as to inaccuracies and shall be very glad to have all errors corrected if any use is to be made of what I have written.

The amnesty confined itself to the armies under the commands of Gen. Johnson and Gen. Sherman. Neither of them could control any other command and as Gen. Sherman could not bind Mr. Lincoln or Johnson, so neither could Gen. Johnson in any way affect President Davis, neither executive could be punished for any violation, but any officer of the command could.

The Congressional Dictionary containing the biography of President Davis records him as being born in 1805, not 8. And I always supposed him some three years my senior.

Mr. Reagan's statement leaves the inference to be drawn that President Davis was not at church. Mr. R. started for Mr. D's

residence, with the news and found him on the pavement on his way to the War Dept. whither they both went. Mr. R. also says Mrs. D. and her children had not been in Washington for a week or so—confirming what Mr. Jones' Diary relates.

Most of my quotations are from official reports, copies sent me from Washington from the adj. gen. office and the Treasury.

I wrote my article for immediate publication as promised but it was delayed so long as to destroy the pith of it. They say at the Times office they had previous engagements and could not help it; and of course I cannot blame them. They recommended the Richmond papers. I should when fresh have had it published here, but cannot now, when the dailies have urgent and fresh news.

I have no relation of my own name except my individual family—all others have passed away. In 1839 I had a brother and a sister who passed the winter in Florida for their health. He went thence to N. Orleans and France and died at sea.

The rules of war were not observed by Gen. Wilson. Mr. Davis though after, under the order of the President Johnsons subject to capture—his property and that of his family not liable to seizure nor confiscation without act of court, and should be returned.

The Act War being admitted, contestant not violating the rules of war not liable to be held and all at the surrender stood alike; though civil officers and executive officers not liable to capture and punishable only for offences against articles of war.

Acts during war, necessary for the success of arms are legal whilst it exists, not after.

I have a strong desire that all my statements shall be corrected so far as made and seen from my point of view. I may be in error as to things I could not know.

My desire has been to have the captured garments restored or their value. The exhibit stopped and this disability removed; the latter, in the shape things are taking may not be accomplished.

I regret not to increase your respect by Mr. Wright of Pensacola not probably being the one you and your good wife knew.

Respectfully,

Crafts J. Wright.

endorsed; Gen. C. J. Wright; Chicago, Illinois, 30 March 1878 recd. 4 April 1878.

Wm. Preston Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

1103 G Street Washington, D. C.
March 31, 1878.

My Dear Friend,

Your favor of March 26th is at hand. I knew of course that you would not willingly censure any of your people; and I knew that Major Walthall meant to do justice to all, and so wrote Breckinridge. Your remarks fully meet my own views, except in one matter.

Of course, I may be mistaken, but I thought—indeed, felt certain—that you were my informant. I thought you had summoned Dibrell and the other cavalry commanders to Mr. Burt's just after dark, and that there had been a sounding of them, and they agreed that their men would *charge,* but would not stand *pursuit.* Dibrell is here in Congress. I have not seen him, but will try to find an opportunity to talk with him. I wrote quite confidently to Major Walthall that you told me this. Such has been my impression. But, of course, your own recollection must prevail. I remember very vividly all that *occurred* to me that day and the next. What I *heard* is of course different.

The Appletons proceed with my work very slowly. I have not been at all satisfied with their treatment. I hope you are in a position to exact your rights from them. They have sent me about two thirds of my proof—some 475 pages. But they proceed with a sublime indifference to my interests or convenience.

I have already written to Major Walthall suggesting a correspondence with the cavalry officers. My only interest is that conference, not controversy should settle any difference of opinion among friends. With affectionate regards to your family, I am,

Very Sincerely, Your friend,
Wm. Preston Johnston

Hon. Jeffn. Davis.

Endorsed: W. P. Johnston about conference at Abbeville, S.C. ansd. 5th April '78.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.)
Mch. 31st, 1878.

My dear Davis,

I am very glad to receive the assurance of your confidence in the perpetuity of my friendship for you. The estrangement to which you allude was anterior to my removal from office, by the act of Congress cunningly devised to gratify spite, by bringing my name before it for confirmation. You believed that the cause was not hopeless, and therefore desired to avoid useless contest with Congress. Your not conferring with me *then* on the subject was attributable to the estrangement *then* existing, and which had arisen from our last interview in your office (respecting an endorsement of mine)—and the correspondence which followed. Your noble treatment of my son in Memphis was conclusive of the matter.

Beauregard's imbecility at Drury Bluffs was not justified by Whiting's non appearance, when the enemy had been flying in confusion for many hours, in fact since 10 o'clock A. M.; that failure confirmed my opinion that our cause was lost, and that with such a Congress, and such generals, you could accomplish nothing. You could not have got rid of them, unless Genl. Lee had supported you in doing it instead of supporting them, as he did, by advising the reassignment to commands of Johnston and Beauregard and even R. B. Lee was reassigned to mischief by his influence. Bd. and Jn. were the toots of the political factions (false and inimical to your every action) they were not fitted to command regiments. Lee was a good general, but too careful of his reputation and popularity to take the responsibility of acting up to the powers of the supreme command conferred on him.

Last night after going to bed, I began thinking over these things and was so disgusted by the picture which arose to my vision, that I could not dismiss it, and lay awake till near daybreak. I very much fear that your undertaking will worry you to death.

You ask if I have any memoranda which might aid you. I do not know the plan of your work, what you wish to comprise or exclude. The victory of Manassas was due to your penetration, that there was to be a feint on the peninsula and a true attack

from Alexandria. Beauregard's left was turned and the battle saved by Johnston's advance under Kirby Smith, but I know that you intended the evacuating of Harper's ferry long before it was made, and that Johnston ought to have chosen his ground on the retreat and disabled Patterson; instead of which he claimed merit for the blunder of urging that he should join Beauregard on the 13th, *before* Patterson had started round, and it can be proved that he did not know *when* P. had started, nor that he *had* gone off at all, neither did Stuart, both denied it when it was reported to them by an accidental discoverer.

Remember his letter protesting against the date of Beauregard's commission, as crediting him with the victory. It is due to you that he did not start too soon,—you won the victory and saved the confederacy from a sudden extinction.

Johnston that winter destroyed his horses, demoralised his troops, and abandoned his supplies without a reason. I sent Noland to him in time to plan their complete safety. He would not give information or cooperate and threw them away. He was nearly cut in two at the White House, and lost the fruits at Seven Pines, and was swept at Fair Oaks by delays, which he and Longstreet laid on Huger. He lost Vicksburg and then in spite of truth attributed it to his being controlled from Richmond, and laid the blame on Pemberton,—a better man; his retreat to Georgia was a bombastic and fatal fiasco. He was a charlatan, and never did anything but work ruin from the first to the last. Beauregard lost his head both at Manassas and Shiloh, and ruined his army in North Miss. and lost largely in supplies and cars in retreat. At Manassas he complained of deficiencies when he detained 130 cars for weeks unloaded, even cannon,—called for, remained on the trucks and blocked up the depot. He and Johnston could not understand that if any pieces were given, because things were near the army, all system was destroyed, and that it was better to consume the beef of Fauquier and Loudon than bacon from Kentucky and Missouri that had been acquired, or that gardens could not be improvised, sent enquiries to every regiment asking what they had been accustomed to eat and what they wanted. Napoleon would have shot both of them. Both declared in their reports that it was not possible to have gone to Washington—they did not have the head even to pursue the flying, and have allowed you to be abused to this day for not allowing that "certainly to be achieved capture of Washington." The politicians all knew this, and allowed the whole people to be fooled into blaming you.

On one of my endorsements I stated that when people were in

trouble, they wanted somebody to abuse, and somebody to adore, and that that was the substance of the matter referred to me. You and Genl. Lee were then in my mind; I tried to persuade Lee to act up to his powers, by two letters and a special messenger, offering to act as his commissary with my whole organisation, stating that plenty could be got, with his authority as commander in chief for every army or body of men. He replied that it was not his place to get provisions. What you say of my Dept. is true, but it will be attributed to partiality, unless you sustain it by adding, as was fully established by repeated congressional examinations and by the declaration in Congress of Mr. Baldwin the chairman of a committee appointed to examine into the resources and condition of the War Dept. who substantially and emphatically stated the same. I am indifferent about the matter. I did my part from no love of the people or any patriotic ardour, but from duty.

I wish you were over with your work, and fear you are too weak and worn-out for the annoying task, which must revolt you. Of course the ravens will croak and lie and distort. Will you rejoin? My wife sends love. I pray God speed you. I admired your fortitude in enduring as well as your fidelity.

Affectionately yours,

L. B. Northrop.

endorsed:
Col. L. B. Northrop; ansd. 11th April '78

G. G. Dibrell[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Copy.

Washington, D. C., 3d April, 1878.

Maj. W. T. Walthall,

Dear Sir:

Your article in reply to Genl. Wilson's account of the capture of President Davis in the March No. of the Southern H. S.

[1] Dibrell, George Gibbs (1822-1883), a soldier, was born at Sparta, White county, Tenn., April 12, 1822; attended the common schools and East Tennessee University. He became a farmer and merchant. He was opposed to secession in the Tennessee convention of 1861, but submitted to the will of the majority, entered the Confederate military service, was soon made colonel of cavalry in Forrest's command; and, in 1864, was made brigadier general. At the end of the war he was for a time in charge of the Confederate archives. He was a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1875, to March 3, 1885. He died at Sparta, Tenn., May 9, 1888.

Papers, was kindly furnished me by Col. Preston Johnston to-day.

I have refrained from publishing anything in regard to our surrender, because I had no disposition to keep the thing alive. But certain inaccuracies in your reply, does injustice to the Cavalry and especially my own command, which I desire corrected, and to that end have addressed this note to you, also one to Mr. Davis.

On page 104 you say No Council of War was held at Abbeville, Genl. Bragg was not at Abbeville. No Cavalry commander was a member &c.

In all this you are mistaken. There was a Conference held in the house of Col. Burt, in Abbeville, at which Mr. Davis, Genl. Breckinridge, Genl. Bragg, Genl. Vaughan, Genl. Ferguson, Genl. Duke, Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge and myself were present.

My command was first ordered from Raleigh on the 12th Apl. to report to Mr. Davis at Greensboro, N. C., which I did on the 14th Apl., and left there with Mr. D. and remained with him until the 2d May.

In the above Conference it was agreed that certain specie, then in *my wagons,* should be equally divided amongst *all* the troops along, and Genl. Breckinridge was to superintend it the next morning. And such troops as wanted to go across the Miss. River were to join Gen.l. Duke, Col. Breckinridge and others and follow on after the President, and the balance were expected to receive their paroles and return to their homes. Genl. Breckinridge took quarters at a house some distance from the river, to which the specie train was driven and unloaded. I was present with my chief Qr. Master, Maj. E. C. White, of Ann Arundel county, Md., and all the Qr. Masters present.

The officers made out the rolls, including *all soldiers* present, and the balance was struck and each soldier officer &c received $26.25. Genl. Breckinridge and staff each the same.

Your statement on page 108 is all wrong. The above program was agreed upon the night before in the Conference at Abbeville and there was no specie sent back, because it had never been sent forward, and here is where great injustice is done my command. When you stopped near Washington, Mr. Davis did write back to Genl. Vaughan, saying the enemy was reported in his front, and asking that a force move at once to Washington to see. Genl. Vaughan brought this to my camp and we talked it over. We had told our men of the surrender of Genl. Johnston, that we had stopped to surrender, and had let those who wanted to surrender and those who did not, all decide, and they were then

preparing for a final payment of the specie on hand, over $108,000.00 And Vaughan and me concluded it would be wrong to force our men into service again and notified Mr. Davis by return, of our action. This was talked over next morning (3d May) in Genl. Breckinridge's presence, and our action was approved of by him.

Genl. Forrest and Genl. Taylor's defeat in Alabama was discussed and known at Col. Burt's house. After the division of the $108,000.00 Genl. Duke, Genl. Ferguson, and Col. Breckinridge and such men as had decided not to surrender, then started on. Ferguson's men nearly all left him the first night. Duke, Breckinridge, and most of their men went direct to Augusta and were paroled. Me and Vaughan with our commands remained together near Washington, Ga., until 11th May when we were paroled and started home.

We had Vaughan's brigade, my brigade commanded by Col. McLemore, Williams' brigade commanded by Col. Breckinridge, and a large part of Duke's brigade, in all over 3000 men.

Yours truly,
(signed) G. G. Dibrell.

(A correct copy
W. T. Walthall)

endorsed:
Copy. Gen. G. G. Dibrell. Complaining of inaccuracies in account of events on the Savannah River &c.
Washington, D. C. April 3d, 1881.

G. G. Dibrell to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.
3d April, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis
Dear Sir,

Our mutual Friend Col. W. Preston Johnston, read me some extracts from a recent letter of yours, and has shown me the recent article of Maj. Walthall in reply to Genl. Wilson, in which it seems you and Maj. Walthall have forgotten some important facts, in regard to the Conference at the House of Col. Burt in Abbeville, S. C. on the night of the 1st May 1865.

I was present at that Conference, as was Genl. Breckinridge,

Genl Bragg, Genl. Vaughan, Genl. Ferguson, Genl. Duke and Col. Breckinridge. And it was in Col. Burt's house that Genl. Breckinridge delivered his orders to us, all verbally, to move at 11 P.M. that night, and it was there, that the possibility of reaching the Miss. River was discussed, and finally agreed that certain specie along would be divided the next day. Genl. Ferguson with his command and Genl. Duke and Col. Breckinridge with such men as chose to go, was after the division, to follow on. When we crossed the River and stoped about Sunrise on the morning of the 2d May, Genl. Breckinridge had the specie unloaded and taken to a House where he had stoped and in the presence of my chief Q.M. and all the others $108,000 was divided between all the soldiers present being $26.25 each, Genl. Breckinridge receiving the same. This consumed the whole day. When you wrote back that you had heard of a force in your front, Genl. Vaughan brot. the note to my camp. We had told our men of the surrender and what we had all stoped for and were of opinion we could do no good in trying then to rally them again and did not try, and Genl. Vaughan was to write you the facts. When Ferguson, Duke, Breckinridge and those who had said they were going further were paid off, they all left in your pursuit. Ferguson's men and many of the others scattered and left them the first night after paid. Duke and Breckinridge and most of their men went on direct to Augusta and was paroled. Vaughan with myself and our commands including most of Duke's and Breckinridge's Brigades remained until 11th May before we were paroled and then we marched Home.

The most objectionable part of Maj. Walthall's letter is, that where he says when you sent back to Breckinridge for the cavalry, he replied, "it was impossible to hold the Troops together, that they were demanding money and asked that the secretary of the Treasury send back some &c." This is all wrong. Before you stoped for your Breakfast, Genl. Breckinridge was at work with a corps of Quarter Masters opening and counting the money; none was sent back because it did not go forward. The Troops stoped because it was agreed the night before they should do so. And it was agreed at your own suggestion that Capt. Campbell's Co. was to remain with you.

I will mention a circumstance that occurred at Col. Burt's House. Several Ladies called to pay their respects to you. You declined to leave the Conference. A Lady came around to a Window on the west side of the House where you was siting, raised the window and told you that if you did not come out to see the Ladies they would raid the room. You went and when

you returned Genl. Breckinridge then notified you of the orders he had given us to move at 11 o'clock.

I have never published a line in regard to anything that has occured, but justice to my Command demand that I should set a part of Maj. Walthall's article right.

Your Friend Truly,

endorsed: G. G. Dibrell.

Genl. Dibrell; Abbeville; ansd. x x April 1878.

W. C. P. Breckinridge[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lexington, Ky. April 3d, 1878.

My Dear Sir,

When I read your letter in the March No. of the Southern Historical Society I wrote to my kinsman and intimate friend Col. Wm. Preston Johnston, calling his attention to certain mistakes in your article and to what I conceived to be an entire misconception of the action of part of the cavalry. He has sent me yours of the 26th ult. and I respond directly and frankly as to a brother officer and wholly that the exact truth may be reached. I write that you may know the facts as I remember them and not for publication. I have never seen any more of Gen. Wilson's articles than meagre extracts; and I regretted when I saw your response that you had given opportunity for successful criticism upon matters wholly immaterial to the real issue between you. For convenience I number the errors I noticed:

1. You say (page 104) Genl. Breckinridge was not present &c. Genls. Johnston and Sherman both explicitly say he was present, and Gen. Johnston repeats it in his critique on Sherman's Memoirs just published in Drake's Annals of the Army of Tennessee for April.

2. Gen. Bragg was at Abbeville beyond a peradventure.

3. At Abbeville on May 2nd (as I recollect the date,) Mr. Davis, Gens. Bragg, Breckinridge, S. W. Ferguson, Vaughan,

[1] Breckinridge, William Campbell Preston (1837-1904), a soldier and lawyer, was born near Baltimore, Md., August 28, 1837, graduated from Centre College, Ky., in 1855, and from the law department of the University of Louisville in 1857. He entered the Confederate service in 1861 as a captain of cavalry, was soon promoted to the rank of colonel, and commanded the 9th Kentucky cavalry to the close of the war. He was editor of the *Observer and Reporter* of Lexington, Ky., 1865-1866; was subsequently professor of law in Kentucky University, and served as a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1885 to March 3, 1895. He died in Lexington, Ky., November 19, 1904.

G. G. Dibrell and Basil W. Duke and myself had a talk, meeting, consultation, or something, lasting a couple of hours. It may not have been technically a "Council of War" and your statement on page 104 may be technically accurate; but substantially it is inaccurate.

4. You say in the same paragraph that "Mr. Davis had no wagon train." This may also be exactly accurate in the sense that *Mr. Davis* had no such train. But there was a very cumbersome, lengthy and valuable train, in his train or following or company. I had occasion to know its length, its unwieldiness and the insubordination of some of its attaches and camp followers.

5. As to the cavalry. The division of Gen. Dibrell, consisting of the Kentucky brigade under my command and a Tennessee brigade under Col. W. S. McLemore was ordered from Raleigh to report to Mr. Davis at Greensboro, and did reach G. on the night of April 17. We found Gen. Gary with a small command (60 to 70) from the Army of Virginia.—Our division about 1300 strong. We marched to Charlotte where we were joined by the brigade of Gen. Duke about 500 or 600 strong and that of Gen. Vaughan about 300 to 350 which brigade had marched from Christianburg Virginia under Gen. Echols; and the brigade of Gen. Ferguson about 700 to 800.

When the Johnston-Sherman treaty was repudiated and the truce terminated, these brigades were ordered to march across the Catawba river and thro South Carolina—Lee's army had surrendered, as had Johnston's. Gen. Bragg disbanded the 2 & 3 South Carolina regiments almost in my camp, and the country was full of disbanded soldiers some paroled, some deserters, some returning home not as deserters but without paroles.

But neither Mr. Mallory nor you draw the distinction between these disbanded men and the five organized commands.

The march through Carolina was exceedingly slow and in some respects resembled a junketing. When I reached Abbeville (I having the rear and delayed by a false alarm at Cokesburg was last to get in) I received orders to post my brigade in camp and report in person to Gen. Breckinridge. Upon reporting I found there all the officers I have named above and Mr. Reagan, Col. Johnston, Col. Lubbock and others. At that meeting a free interchange of views was had. The five cavalry commanders did agree in the expression of opinion that the war was over and that the men knew it and believed it as well as the officers—but all said that the men were in good morale, under good control

and would obey; and that the privates held it to be a point of honor to secure the safety of Mr. Davis.

Gen. Duke's account of the meeting is substantially correct, tho very meagre. At that meeting it was agreed that Mr. Davis should separate himself from the train, command, &c., and with his personal staff and an escort press on and make his escape; that the five brigades should be formed into a command and Gen. Breckinridge assume personal command of it and move on across the Savannah river and then act as seemed best. The escort for Mr. Davis was selected by me—Capt. Given Campbell of St. Louis commanding it; and Mr. Davis did leave us; and I have never seen him since. My brigade was in superb condition and its effective force and condition at Abbeville was in every way equal to what it had been all Spring.

Mr. Mallory's account was never considered by any of us at all worthy of reliance as to the position and movements either of the enemy or of our own men. There never was an hour from Greensboro N. Carolina to Abbeville when Mr. Davis was in the slightest danger from the Federal Cavalry; and neither Mr. Davis nor Mr. Mallory knew what precautions to picketing, scouting, &c, &c, were taken. The country was full of rumors and every hour information was brought of the most alarming nature; but these never rec'd any credence from us. At Greensboro Gen. Breckinridge, Gen. Dibrell and myself had a full talk and arranged the daily order of march and picketing which was continued until we reached Charlotte. There another arrangement was made by which each brigade kept up communication and made scouts &c and this continued to Abbeville. Of all this I presume Mr. Mallory was utterly ignorant as he evidently was of our numbers &c &c. You are I am persuaded in error as to the cause of the small payment made to the cavalry at Savannah river. It was not made to prevent the disintegration of the commands, but because the war was over and the commands were going to surrender.

I know that my men were paid *after* Gen. Breckinridge had said to Dibrell, Duke and myself that he would not *order* the brigades so as to make refusal to move disobedience, and Dibrell had said he would obey any order, but in the absence of peremptory orders he would camp and surrender, and Duke and I said we would go with him until he ordered us to stop, but we would not order unless he did. And when the payment was made the understanding was that the Confederacy preferred her soldiers to have their mite rather than her enemies should. Unless there is written evidence to the contrary, I must be

permitted to believe that Mr. Mallory has been mistaken, and if necessary I think I can demonstrate it.

Pardon this long letter. I have written frankly. There are yet living many who are cognizant of these matters. Gen. Dibrell is now a Member of Congress from Tennessee. Gen. Duke is in Louisville; Maj. W. J. Davis, then with Duke afterwards with Gen. Breckinridge, and many others, who can by some effort recall the facts.

It is perhaps not improper to add that the views of Mr. Davis as expressed at Abbeville were noble, disinterested, and lofty; but they were not shared by many; some of us believed that whatever hope there might have been when we reached Charlotte had been lost by the time we reached Abbeville. The only hope was in an extremely rapid march by Mr. Davis and Gen. Breckinridge with a picked escort to Gen. Forrest and with his aid to cross the Mississippi.

I know that such a movement was suggested at Greensboro—postponed on account of pending negotiations between Johnston and Sherman, renewed at Charlotte within a few hours after the notice of the repudiation by Stanton of those terms—postponed again because of scruple about moving until the truce had expired.

To cut loose from Cabinet, Archives, train &c. and ride at full speed to Forrest was the only hope, if indeed there was any whatever after Appomatox.

Yours truly,

(signed) Wm. C. P. Breckinridge.

compared and found substantially correct.

W. T. Walthall

endorsed: *Copy.* Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge. concerning movements and events in N. & S. Carolina, April and May, 1865. Lexington, Ky. April 3rd, 1878.

Jefferson Davis to P. K. Mayers.[1]

(From Confederate Museum.)

Beauvoir.
3d April, 1878.

Capt. P. K. Mayers,
Dear Sir:

In common with many of your neighbors and friends, I have heard with regret of the existing feud between yourself and Judge Henderson and the Chandlers.

[1] Accompanying this letter is a pencilled article, unsigned, and evidently a first draft of the judgment awarded at the conference mentioned above.

Such relations are injurious to the community and most of all to the welfare and happiness of your wives and children.

I desire to have the controvery composed on terms indisputably proper and becoming to all the parties involved. After much experience in like cases, I feel that I may confidently say, I would advise no man to do that which his sense of honor, and duty would not finally approve.

I now write to propose that if you are willing to have the matter settled otherwise than by an appeal to arms; that is on the basis of neutrality if not amity, then and in such case, that you will on your return from the City, ride over and have a conference with me, looking to that result. I have no right to intrude on your private affairs, and hope you will appreciate the motives which have prompted me to write this letter. It is proper that you should know that Col. J. F. H. Claiborne has written to me on this subject and that Col. R. Seal has conversed with me about it. Also that I should state that Judge Henderson has not mentioned the subject to me and that I have had no intercourse and have no acquaintance with Judge Chandler or his son. I am, Yours respectfully,

(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

Beauvoir. 22 April, 1878.

On this day met, pursuant to agreement, Dr. J. Y. Hollingsworth, representing Judge W. G. Henderson and Major W. T. Walthall, representing Capt. P. K. Mayers, who, proceeded to the consideration of the subject submitted in a circular letter addressed by His Excellency, Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Henderson and Mayers, and after due deliberation and mature consideration of all the facts, so far as known to them, do award as follows:

That, the political differences between Capt. Mayers and Judge Henderson having passed beyond their proper sphere into personal crimination and recrimination, threatening to disturb the public peace and impairing the usefulness of good citizens, are to be both regretted and reprehended; and we being assured that these errors of judgment and of conduct were the result of passion, and not of settled malignity, do on the part of our respective principals, declare that all the personal accusations made by either party against the other are hereby retracted and withdrawn, and do require the parties, henceforth and forever, so far as past causes are concerned, to abstain from any provocative demonstration or act of hostility, one towards the other.

Furthermore, we know no reason why amicable relations should not exist between the said parties, and do recommend that they be restored on the basis of this award.

J. C. Pemberton to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

403 South 22d St. Phila.
April 4th, 1878.

W. T. Walthall Esq.
Mississippi City,

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 26th March yesterday evening. It will give me great satisfaction to aid President Davis and you in the preparation of his Memoirs by every means in my power. For the past three years I have been without a fixed residence, my papers of reference are in consequence a good deal seperated, and I fear it may not always be practicable now, as some years back it would have been, to substantiate by documentary evidence all important statements I may think it necessary to make.

I will endeavor however to obtain from other points where I have left papers those which may be essential to a satisfactory elucidation of the subject particularly noticed by Presdt. Davis and will give the whole matter my immediate attention.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
J. C. PEMBERTON.

endorsed:
Gen. Pemberton, Philadelphia, Pa. 4 April, 1878; recd. 7 April 1878.

Basil W. Duke[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Louisville, April 6, 1878.

Genl.:

I beg you will pardon my delay in answering your letter of the 30th ult. I have not received the copy of your article which you

[1] Duke, Basil Wilson (1838-1916), a soldier, was born in Scott county, Kentucky, May 28, 1838, was educated at Georgetown college, and Danville college, Ky., studied law at the Lexington Law School, and was admitted

promise to send me, nor have I been able to procure a copy here, and I have desired to examine it carefully before responding to your inquiries.

I think I saw your article republished in the Courier-Journal, but fear I may have confounded it with another, written by some one else upon the same subject. In fact I must confess, with some shame, that I have not kept up as closely with the various publications relating to the history of the war, as an Ex-Confederate perhaps ought to do.

I cannot now recall any criticism upon the cavalry commands which accompanied Mr. Davis from Charlotte, N. C., to Washington, Ga., which struck me as being harsh or objectionable—but to speak frankly, I do not remember what was said on that matter in the article which I read. I did notice in one, however, an error which I regretted to see, not only because its exposure might lead to a disbelief in the general accuracy of the account of Mr. Davis' action just previous to his capture, but also because a failure to understand that such a thing had occurred, might lead to a misconception of the conduct of the men and officers of the Cavalry commands in attendance upon Mr. Davis at the date of his arrival at Washington, Ga. I allude to a denial in this article that a council of war was held at Abbeville, S. C., at which Mr. Davis and Genls. Bragg and Breckinridge were present, and at which the commanders of the five cavalry brigades—viz.: Genl. Ferguson of Mississippi, Genls. Dibrell and Vaughan of Tennessee, and Col. Breckinridge and myself of Ky., attended. A meeting or conference at which we were invited to assist was certainly held. It was certainly styled a council of war by Mr. Davis himself—whether pleasantly, I know not, but every one seemed to consider it such a council. Mr. Davis presided, and Genl. Bragg was not only in Abbeville, but was at this meeting and participated in the discussion which arose.

Mr. Davis announced that his purpose in calling us together was that we might deliberate and determine upon a plan of

to the bar in 1853. He was settled at St. Louis at the opening of the war, enlisted as a private in the Morgan regiment, and was closely associated with General Morgan, his brother-in-law, whom he succeeded in the command of the brigade, in September 1864. He was severely wounded in the battle of Shiloh. General Duke was in charge of Jefferson Davis's escort from Virginia to Georgia. Settling at Louisville, Ky., for the practice of his profession, he was for many years a member of the legislature. His literary abilities were marked. He wrote Morgan's Cavalry, 441 pp., N. Y., 1906; and Reminiscences, 512 pp., N. Y., 1911. He died at his home in Louisville in 1916.

future operations, and concert measures looking to a further prosecution of the war.

At that time Genl. Johnston had surrendered, and we knew of no organized Confederate force, east of the Mississippi river, in arms, save the 5 cavalry brigades we represented—the total effective strength of which was about twenty five hundred men. Of all present, Mr. Davis alone urged, or seemed to think a longer resistance practicable. Every one else expressed the opinion that such a course was futile and impossible, and the cavalry officers announced that they were holding their men together only to prevent his capture and facilitate his escape. After some discussion he quitted the room, apparently disappointed and indignant. Genl. Breckinridge, after a subsequent conference with him during the same afternoon, instructed us to permit all of our men who desired to go no further to leave the column. Perhaps one half of each brigade availed themselves of this privilege. Genl. B. announced that he would assume command in person of those who remained, and proceed in a direction calculated to divert attention from Mr. Davis' movements, who, he said had consented to attempt to escape, escorted by a small body of picked men to the Trans-Mississippi Department. (Mr. Davis, I neglected to say, had declared in the council or conference, that he would listen to no suggestion of escape, nor entertain any proposition seeking to provide for his safety.)

On the next evening a portion of the specie in the trains was distributed to the troops. It is most unjust to characterize this distribution as a bounty or inducement to these men to continue their march, as I gather from your letter it has been represented to you. I did not so understand it—I have never heard such a thing suggested before. If Mr. Reagan says that he so understood it, I must of course believe him, but I shall learn it with profound astonishment. If he was instructed by the President to bribe the men by this donation to march to Washington, then never did envoy more signally fail to make himself and his mission intelligible. This specie was distributed to the men because of their past services, and because it was deemed a juster and better use of it than to allow it to fall into the hands of the enemy.

I should much like to read your article before committing myself to any positive statement regarding your comments on the demoralization of the Cavalry. I will do so, and will also write Col. Breckinridge, who lives at Lexington in this State, and if you desire it, will write you more fully. I must say, however, in justice, not only to the men of my own command, but

those of the other cavalry brigades constituting that escort, that I never saw men less "demoralized," (as the word is generally understood) under better discipline, or more resolutely bent on doing their duty. They conceived it to be their duty, however, after the surrender of Genls. Lee and Johnston, only to protect Mr. Davis from capture. They seemed to think their personal honor involved in securing his safe escape. But while not demoralized, the men were made very impatient by the extremely dilatory pace at which we marched after leaving Charlotte, and by the presence of the most useless and impedimental procession of ambulances and dressing cases on wheels, that I ever witnessed. You must remember that these men belonged to the raiding cavalry of the West, accustomed to rely for security, or obtain advantages, by celerity of movement—rapid marching. Sauntering along at the rate of ten or twelve miles a day, either in retreat or attack, induced them to suspect incapacity or irresolution on the part of those who commanded them. They felt that a quick march and a stripping off of all encumbrances, was necessary to success—whether the object was to place Mr. Davis out of danger, or to reach the Trans-Mississippi. It is true also that their confidence in the "Cabinet" was somewhat impaired by these surroundings.

Mr. Davis' bearing and utterances were at all times spirited and unselfish, but I am compelled to say that I do not think he at all realized the situation.

I formed, and have since entertained a sincere respect for the personal characters of the gentlemen who composed the Cabinet, but—with the exception of Breckinridge—none of them knew what was going on, what was going to be done, or what ought to be done. I do not think that they knew how to preserve the *morale* or conduct the movement of troops of any army.

I have written this letter so very hastily—during an interval of leisure in a very busy week—that I fear you will find it scarcely intelligible. I write rather to acknowledge the receipt of your letter than to furnish information, and I repeat that if you desire, I will write you again, more in detail.

In conclusion, Genl., I beg to declare that I know you too well, although never so fortunate as to meet you, to suspect or believe that you would ever do any one, much less a former comrade, intentional injustice.

I am no doubt, or rather was, the little boy you met with Lieut. Duke of the Navy, on the occasion you mention in your letter, and I regret very much that our acquaintance has never

been renewed. It would afford me great pleasure to know personally one I have known so well and so favorably by reputation.

Very truly yours,
(signed) B. W. DUKE.

Compared and found correct.
W. T. Walthall.

endorsed:
Copy. Louisville, Ky. April 6, 1878. Gen. Basil W. Duke. Movements and Events near the close of the War, &c.

G. G. Dibrell to Wm. Preston Johnston.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington, D. C., 9 Apl. 1878.

Col. Wm. Preston Johnston,
Dear Sir:

I have carefully read the article from Maj. W. T. Walthall published in the March number of the Southern Historical Society Papers upon the subject of the capture of Mr. Davis, and find several errors therein to which I desire to call your attention.

On the evening of the 12th April 1865, as my command composed of a Tennessee brigade of cavalry commanded by Col. W. S. McLemore and a Kentucky brigade commanded by Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge were marching to Raleigh, N. C., I received an order from Maj. Genl. Wheeler to move as rapidly as possible with my command and Hualls Battery to Greensboro, N. C., and report to the Secretary of War, or to Mr. Davis.

We made rapid marches, reaching Greensboro after midnight on about the 13th April, and in company with Col. Breckinridge, I reported in person to Genl. Breckinridge, also to Mr. Davis; during that day we remained at Greensboro, N. C., leaving late in the P.M., with our wagon trains, ambulances and artillery. Marching on to Lexington, N. C. Mr. Davis and his staff stopped over there, and I remained with them until he received a dispatch from Genl. Breckinridge who had gone with Genl. Joseph E. Johnston to meet Genl. Sherman, and negotiate terms of surrender, &c. After receiving the dispatch the whole party moved on to Charlotte N. C., where we remained several days and were joined by Genl. Echols, with Genl. Vaughan's and Genl. Duke's brigades from the department of Western Va. There it was agreed, as there was some feeling manifested by certain officers as to rank, that Genl. Jno. C. Breckinridge, the Secy. of War,

should assume control of all the cavalry, and give orders as to its duties &c., which he did, and I was placed upon the right or north of Charlotte until we were ordered to move across the river into South Carolina when we were joined by Genl. Ferguson with his brigade, and where we expected several South Carolina regiments to join us. But upon inquiry we learned the S. C. regiments had been all furloughed by Genl. Bragg for 30 days with instructions then to report to the nearest Confederate commander.

We marched though South Carolina, my division of Breckinridge's and McLemore's brigades doing most of the picketing and scouting, being better armed and equipped, and in perfect fighting order, never refusing to do duty or obey an order, and without any signs of demoralization, until the night before reaching Cokesbury, S. C. I received an order to cross the entire command and wagon train over a small stream that could only be done by one small flat boat, and to report in person at Cokesbury by 8 A.M. next morning. We worked hard the whole night and did not effect a crossing until after daylight. Leaving Col. Breckinridge in charge and to bring up the rear, I rode on to Cokesbury reaching there about 9 A.M., to find that Mr. Davis with all the troops had gone on to Abbeville. They had left word for me to move my command and everything on to that place, which we did.

Upon arriving at Abbeville, I was first met by Genl. Bragg who read to me the Terms of Genl. Johnston's surrender, and inquired of me particularly as to the condition of my command. I was then notified to attend a meeting or consultation at the house of Col. Burt, that P.M. in Abbeville, which I did, going in company with Col. Breckinridge. At that meeting I remember distinctly that President Davis was present, as were Genl. Breckinridge, Genl. Bragg, Genl. Vaughan, Genl. Ferguson, Genl. Duke, Col. Breckinridge and myself; there may have been others, probably some of the Cabinet or staff of the President.

I remember distinctly that Mr. Davis began by saying in substance that a crisis had arisen, that something must be done, and the first thing was to ascertain whether the condition of the troops, whether they could be depended upon to resist any attack that might be made upon us, or whether they had become demoralized by the great number of paroled and straggling soldiers that had been passing us for days.

I was the first officer interrogated upon the subject, and answered that my command was true as they had always been, that there was no demoralization, that I had heard some com-

plaint of the disbanding the South Carolina regiments, at their own homes; at this Mr. Davis said, that this act was unauthorized and astonished him also; this remark twice brought Genl. Bragg to his feet to explain his reasons for so doing.

The same inquiry made of me, was in turn made of each of the other commanders, each giving his opinion as to the condition of his command, &c., the feasibility of reaching and crossing the Mississippi River, and of being joined by Genls. Forrest and Taylor was discussed. The question of our large wagon train amounting to about 75 wagons was discussed, as was the disposition to be made of the government specie in charge. And after a full and free discussion Mr. Davis decided it was best for him to take the escort furnished him from Col. Breckinridge's command and push on, and that the specie along should be divided equally with all the soldiers along. And then those who desired to follow on and attempt to reach and cross the Mississippi were to do so. This was all agreed to at the Council in Col. Burt's house, and Genl. Breckinridge gave a verbal order to all the officers present to move across the river into Georgia at 11 P.M. that night. He sent for Mr. Davis, who had repaired to another room to pay his respects to quite a number of ladies who had called to see him, and notified him of his orders to the cavalry. Accordingly at 11 P.M. precisely, the whole command moved across the river upon a pontoon bridge, and went into camp about sunrise. Mr. Davis and staff and escort passed us after we had camped.

Genl. Breckinridge took quarters at the nearest house, to which he ordered the wagon train containing the specie moved, and then summoning different officers together, he directed that muster rolls of all the soldiers present, including *all commands,* should be made out, whilst he directed my chief Quarter Master, Maj. E. C. White, and his assistants to ascertain the amount of specie for division, which was announced to be $108,000.00, and when paid out was to each soldier and officer $26.25, Genl. Breckinridge receiving the same.

After this division of money, Genls. Ferguson and Duke and Col. Breckinridge, started on in the direction Mr. Davis had went, with a number of men; the next day Genl. Ferguson passed my camp *en route* for S. C., and I learned that Duke and Breckinridge and most of their men had gone into Augusta and had been paroled. Genl. Vaughan and myself sent to Augusta for a Provost Marshal to parole our commands, when Capt. Lot Abrahams, 4th Iowa Cavalry, was sent up for that purpose. Owing to his instructions in regard to the horses and private

property of the soldiers, we refused to accept our paroles, until we sent back to Augusta and telegraphed to Genl. Wilson, and upon receiving instructions from him we were paroled on the 11th May, 1865, and marched in a body to Chattanooga, where we separated and marched to our homes, receiving the utmost kindness from all Union officers and soldiers until we reached Cleveland, Tennessee, where the Provost Marshal, an unprincipled upstart, placed my command under guard, and after instituting a thorough search of the men, until stopped by Col. Smith of the 154th Illinois Regiment, a real gentleman; at Chattanooga a Lt. Sargent, a contemptible bigot, claimed to have orders from Genl. Thomas to dismount all private soldiers. I remonstrated and appealed to Genl. Judah, commanding post, who was too busily engaged in a game of chess to afford any relief, and the order of the lying Provost Marshall was executed, the horses of all the privates taken. Genl. John S. Williams of Ky., who joined us and was paroled with us, went immediately to Genl. Thomas who ordered the horses returned, but before we could get a detail, and send back to Chattanooga, the officers and soldiers there had appropriated 250 to 300 of our horses and starved the rest almost to death. These are facts that came under my own observation, and are correct.

The statement of Maj. Walthall that Mr. Davis sent back for the troops to move to Washington, and Genl. Breckinridge's reply that they were demoralized and wanting money, and asking that money be sent back, is incorrect. The money had not been sent forward. Mr. Davis did write back saying reports had been received that the enemy was in his front, and asked that troops be sent forward. This request was brought to my quarters by Genl. Vaughan. After consulting we declined to move our commands, because we had told them after we had gone into camp what we had stopped for, our officers were then counting the money and making up the pay-rolls for a final settlement, and to have moved them forward then would have deranged the whole plan agreed upon. As we had announced to the men that we had decided to accept the terms of Genl. Johnston's surrender, and return to our homes.

On the following morning in company with Genl. Vaughan, I repaired to Genl. Breckinridge's quarters to bid him farewell, and in this farewell interview Genl. Breckinridge expressed himself highly pleased with the course we had taken, and said he trusted the time was not far distant when he could, and would, return to his own Kentucky home.

I have been repeatedly asked to publish statements in regard

to our final surrender, but have always declined, but justice to the gallant men composing my division, and who surrendered in Georgia, demands that they be set right.

You may have seen an article in regard to my command published in the Banner of the South at Augusta, Ga., in 1865, which dispelled all charges of demoralization.

Yours truly
(signed) G. G. DIBRELL.

compared and found correct.
W. T. Walthall.

endorsed:
Copy. Washington, D. C., 9 April, 1865. Gen. G. G. Dibrell Concerning Cavalry Movements and Operations near the Savannah River at the close of the War.

Jefferson Davis to Memorial Association.

(From Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. V, pp. 302-304.)

Mississippi City, Miss., *April* 11, 1878.

GENTLEMEN: I sincerely regret my inability to be present at the laying of the corner-stone of "a monument to be erected in Macon, Ga., in honor of our dead Confederate soldiers."

The event possesses every attraction to me; it is inspired by the Ladies' Memorial Association; the monument is to be located in the keystone State of the Confederate arch, and to commemorate the sacrifices of those who died in the defence of our inherited and "inalienable" rights.

What though we were overborne by numbers and accessories not less efficient, truth is not to be measured by success in maintaining it against force; nor is the glory less of him who upholds it in the face of unequal odds, but is it not rather more to his credit that he counted all else as dust in the balance when weighed with honor and duty? On many a stricken field our soldiers stood few and faint, but fearless still, for they wore the panoply of unquestioning confidence in the rectitude of their cause, and knew how to die but not to surrender. Let not any of their survivors impugn their faith by offering the penitential plea that "they believed they were right."

It is meet that this monument should have originated with the ladies of the land, whose self-denial was conspicuous through all the trials and sufferings of war, whose gentle ministrations in

the hospitals and at the wayside refectories so largely contributed to relieve the sick and the wounded, and whose unfaltering devotion to their country's cause in the darkest hours of our struggle illustrated the fidelity of the sex which was last at the cross and first at the sepulchre.

I am profoundly thankful to them for inviting me to represent them as their orator on the approaching occasion. Had it been practicable to accept, their request would have been to me a command, obeyed with no other reluctance than the consciousness of inability to do justice to the theme.

Thanks to the merits of our Confederate dead, they need neither orator nor bard to commend their deeds to the present generation of their countrymen. Many fell far from home and kindred, and sleep in unmarked graves, but all are gathered in the love of those for whom they died, and their memories are hallowed in the hearts of all true Confederates.

By the pious efforts of our people many humble cemeteries—such as, in their impoverishment, were possible—have been prepared, and the Confederate dead have been collected in them from the neighboring battlefields. There annually, with reverential affection, the graves alike of the known and unknown are decked with vernal flowers, expressive of gratitude renewable forever, and typical of the hope of a resurrection and reunion "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

To be remembered, honored, beloved by their people, is the reward bestowed on our Confederate dead. It is the highest which a good and purely patriotic man could desire. Should it be asked, Why, then, build this monument? the answer is, They do not need it, but posterity may. It is not their reward, but our debt. If the greatest gift a hero gives his race is to have been a hero in order that this gift may be utilized to coming generations, its appreciation by cotemporaries should be rendered as visible and enduring as possible. Let the monument, rising from earth toward heaven, lift the minds of those who come after us to a higher standard than the common test of success. Let it teach that man is born for duty, not for expediency; that when an attack is made on the community to which he belongs, by which he is protected, and to which his allegiance is due, his first obligation is to defend that community; and that under such conditions it is better to have "fought and lost than never to have fought at all." Let posterity learn by this monument that you commemorate men who died in a defensive war; that they did not, as has been idly stated, submit to the arbitrament of arms

the question at issue—questions which involved the inalienable rights inherited from their ancestors and held in trust for their posterity; but that they strove to maintain the State sovereignty which their fathers left them and which it was their duty, if possible, to transmit to their children.

Away, then, with such feeble excuses for the abandonment of principles which may be crushed for awhile, but which, possessing the eternal vitality of truth, must in its own good time prevail over punishable error.

Let this monument teach that heroism derives its lustre from the justice of the cause in which it is displayed, and let it mark the difference between a war waged for the robber-like purpose of conquest and one to repel invasion—to defend a people's hearths and altars, and to maintain their laws and liberties. Such was the war in which our heroes fell, and theirs is the crown which sparkles with the gems of patriotism and righteousness, with a glory undimmed by any motive of aggrandizement or intent to inflict ruin on others. We present them to posterity as examples to be followed, and wait securely for the verdict of mankind when knowledge shall have dispelled misrepresentation and delusion. Is it unreasonable to hope that mature reflection and a closer study of the political history of the Union may yet restore the rights prostrated by the passions developed in our long and bloody war? If, however, it should be otherwise, then from our heroes' graves shall come in mournful tones the

"Answer fit:
And if our children must obey,
They must, but thinking on our day,
'Twill less debase them to submit."

Yours faithfully, JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, 11th April 1878.

Maj. W. T. Walthall

Dear Sir.

I send you a letter I have written to Genl. Duke. It is left open in order that you may read it before mailing it—also return the letter of Genl. Early to you & send you the proof-sheets of that part of Col Johnston's book, for which you asked.

I have answered Col. Northrup & pointed out to him the sort

of information, which he could furnish probably & which would be useful in the preparation of my reminiscences—

With kindest regards to Mrs Walthall & your children I am

Ever truly your friend

No Signature.

G. C. Chandler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Mo., April 13, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Sir:

Your favor of the 9th instant has this moment reached me at this place. I learn at the telegraph office that there is no office at your station, and I could get no satisfactory assurance that a message would be promptly delivered to you from Mississippi City, and so my only alternative is to write you.

I have always desired peace with Capt. Mayers, and indeed, with all mankind, and I am ready to do any honorable thing to preserve it. I am perfectly willing to abide by whatever you deem right and honorable; but if the arrangement you contemplate precludes your acting for me then such men as Col. R. Seal, Gen. J. R. Davis, and Col. Stewart, (though I am a stranger to the latter) would do me justice; and, you are authorized to request either of them to act for me, as one or the other may be most accessible to you.

I return to my home at Bay St. Louis in a day or two, and I will remain there, and in New Orleans, until the May term of the Circuit Court of my county is over. So a letter will reach me promptly, if you have occasion to write me, if sent to Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Regretting that I did not receive your welcome letter at an earlier day, and invoking upon you the blessing promised the peacemaker, I am, Very truly and respectfully,

(Signed) G. C. Chandler.

Basil W. Duke to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Louisville April 13 '78.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir,

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. I have been somewhat embarrassed in my correspondence with Major

Walthall by a conflict between the natural desire I feel to correct anything which may seem to be an unjust criticism on the troops I commanded, and an extreme indisposition to even appear to controvert information obtained from you; I may, also, say because of the obvious wish of Major Walthall to be perfectly just. I confess that I was somewhat moved by the suggestion that the distribution of the specie was made upon the demand of the men, and in the way of bargain to induce further service on their part. Such, I inferred from Major Walthall's letter, was the construction which might be placed upon his account of it. His subsequent letters, however, and your own, convince me that he intended to convey no such meaning. I regret the use of the word "bribe" in my letter to Maj. Walthall, especially as it was done in connection with your name. I used it simply that I might place before him in the strongest light the interpretation to which his article might be exposed. The difference of recollection about the conference held at Abbeville may be accounted for upon the supposition that the cavalry officers misunderstood you, and attached greater importance to the expression of opinion which you asked of them than was intended. You may have meant to simply inquire concerning the morale and condition of the troops, but they all believed that you desired to consult them regarding the feasibility of a further prosecution of the war. With regard to the policy of rapid marching under the circumstances then attending you and the command escorting you, I must frankly own that I have hitherto looked at the matter entirely from my own standpoint. From your's it presents quite a different aspect.

It recalls, by the way, a remark made at the time by Capt. Calvin Morgan, then serving on my staff.

I was expressing, on one occasion during the march, some impatience at our slow progress, and predicting that it would defeat any purpose that might be aimed at. Capt. Morgan replied that you were at least "travelling like a president and not like a fugitive."

So far from for a moment supposing that you would ever authorize a harsh or illfounded reflection on any one who served the Confederacy, I have on the contrary always felt sure that you would far sooner submit to have injustice done yourself. Your memory may be at variance with mine upon some matters, upon which I may be compelled to think my own the more accurate, but the day will never come when I shall doubt your wish to treat all these matters in a spirit of perfect candor and fairness.

I will say before I quit this subject that I thought you were in

error, in not acceding to our wishes, urged at Abbeville, to make your escape from the Country. The impossibility of reorganizing an army or of reanimating the people, even if we had possessed the means of supporting war, I thought should have reconciled you to escape, especially when your capture was sure to be a bitter humiliation to your own people, a source of insolent triumph to the enemy, and an additional cause of exasperation to both. The men who then urged you to escape would have never advised anything which they thought could affect your honor, and every Southern soldier would have exulted in the knowledge that you, at least, had escaped captivity, and even surrender. Nevertheless I appreciated then, as I do now, the feeling which induced you to reject, and in some degree rebuke our counsel, and I remember with very great pride and pleasure, that it was because your every thought was given to the South and her interests, that you refused to listen to any matter personal to your self.

I have given very little attention to attacks made upon you by Northern men, for they were to be expected, and in some sense are excusable; but the infamous spirit which has dictated some malignant aspersions upon your conduct, emanating from Southern sources, has so disgusted me, that I am very anxious not to appear in print as expressing any difference or dissent from the account Major Walthall has published at your instance; and shall be glad therefore if he will make any correction—provided you and he shall deem any necessary or proper without mentioning that it has been in any wise induced by me.

With my best wishes I am

Very respectfully and sincerely
Your friend,
Basil W. Duke.

P.S. I do not think that the proposition to distribute the specie was broached in the Council at Abbeville. It was suggested next day, and carried into effect the same day.

endorsed:
Genl. Duke, Abbeville conference; specie.

W. G. Henderson to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Custom House, Shieldsborough, Miss.
Collector's Office.

April 15th, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson, Davis,
Mississippi City, Miss.

My dear Sir:

Owing to my absence from here, for the past week, yours of the 9th inst. was not received until today and I hasten to reply.

As I have always desired "to be at peace with all men, as much as lieth in me," and for the reasons mentioned in your communication I willingly yield to the wishes of my friends and neighbors, and submit to the terms proposed in your letter.

Feeling that my honor and reputation would not suffer in your hands; if agreeable, I request and authorise you to act as my friend in the matter on any day the other parties may select. If your relation to all parties concerned precludes you from acting for me, I would suggest Genl. Joe Davis or any one *you* may choose, as a substitute.

With my sincere thanks for the interest you have manifested in me and mine, I remain,

Very truly your friend,
(Signed) W. G. HENDERSON.

B. W. Duke to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Louisville, Ky., April 15th, 1878.

Major W. T. Walthall,
Dear Sir,

My letter to you of the other day was, it is true, written under the impression that *you were Genl. Walthall,* nevertheless, I used no expression of confidence or respect under that misapprehension, which I cannot sincerely reiterate now, since it has been explained. Independently of a more general acquaintance with you as a Confederate and soldier, I need only say that I have known you through our mutual friend Dr. Blackburn, that you may understand how perfectly assured I feel that you are heartily willing to represent a Confederate fairly.

Your article reached me just after I had mailed my letter to you, and I have also received the second copy, for which I thank

you. I cannot discern anything in it which can be called censorious, but the account of the payment of the specie may be liable to the misconstruction which I have indicated.

You will perceive, also, that the result of the conference at Abbeville, inducing a partial disbandment of the commands composing the escort, explained a condition which might otherwise be attributed to demoralization. I have requested Major W. J. Davis, who for a long time served on my staff, but who at that date was acting as A. A. General for Genl. Breckinridge, to write you all that he remembers upon the subject, and he will doubtless do so very soon. I have never previously learned of the dispatch from Mr. Davis, received by Genl. Vaughan, or if so, have totally forgotten it. I *do not think* I ever heard of it before.

I received a letter from Mr. Davis on the same day with your last, in which he tells me that he fails entirely to remember the conference at Abbeville.

In this connection I will explain what I meant when I said Mr. Davis did not seem to realize the situation.

Mr. Davis seemed overwhelmed with a sense of the national calamity; he at times exhibited some impatience and irascibility, but I never witnessed in any man a more entire abnegation of self, or selfish considerations. He seemed to cling obstinately to the hope of continuing the struggle in order to accomplish the great end of Southern independence—his whole soul was given to that thought, and an appearance of slackness upon the part of others seemed to arouse his indignation. But no thought of himself, his safety, or his own position, was mingled with it, and to characterize a sentiment so heroic as "fatuity" would be simply infamous. Still I think the very ardor of his resolution prevented him from properly estimating the resources at his command. I am very much opposed to any publication upon this subject by any other person, and prefer that you shall, if you deem it proper, make any correction required. I am satisfied to leave the matter in your hands. Very truly,

(signed) B. W. Duke.

A correct copy.
W. T. Walthall.

endorsed:
Copy. Louisville, Ky., April 15th, 1878. Gen. B. W. Duke. Additional explanations concerning events at Abbeville and near the Savannah River.

G. G. Dibrell to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C. 15th April 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dr Sir

Yours of the 9th Instant as well as a letter from Maj. Walthall were duly recd. My only object is to protect the good name my Command had earned by gallantry and much hard fighting, and which it bore to the day they were paroled. And under no circumstances could I be induced to say or write a word that could be construed as aiding Genl. Wilson and others who have been wilfully slandering and misrepresenting you, and doing so, they slander and misrepresent all who were adherents to your Government.

I felt somewhat aggrieved at some remarks in Maj. Walthall's publication and took it as a reflection upon the Cavalry, which included my Command. And alluded to other errors in his article to convince him, that being mistaken in several, he was certainly mistaken so far as my command was concerned. I do not remember seeing Genl. Bragg until we got into S. Carolina. He was certainly present at Col. Burt's house in Abbeville, and was *reproved by you,* for Furloughing several S. C. Regmts. of cavalry that we had expected to join us, when we crossed into that State. But his presence or not, does not concern me or my Command.

I may have been mistaken in the day. I have a diary at home with dates &c. It took all day and night to count the money, make out pay rolls &c.

I do not think now that you was in the room, when the agreement was made or an understanding had, as to the distribution of the money paid the troops. I think you first said some thing about it, and was then called out. I remember remarks made upon that subject by the Secy. of War, Genl. Duke myself and others.

I heard the Secy. of War tell you he had ordered us to move at 11 P.M.

The Conference at Abbeville was *not* a council of war, but only a consultation as to the condition and sentiments of the troops. The reason I did not try to rally the troops and go on, was because of what I considered the understanding the night previous.

and which my men had been informed of, that we had decided to surrender.

If I publish anything, it shall only be a plain story of the part my Command took, from the day they were ordered to report to you, until we reached home, A copy of which I will send Maj. Walthall before publication.

Under no circumstances as said before would I say or do anything, that would give the vile slanderers that have been traducing you, the slightest aid or information in any shape or form.

My high regard and appreciation for you is *unabated.*

Yours Truly

G. G. DIBRELL

endorsed:
Genl. Dibbrell Abbeville specie

T. L. Snead[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

New York 16th April 187(8)

My dear Major

Yours of Apl: 1, reached me here a few days ago, in the midst of the trial of a suit, and I have not been able to answer it till now.

I hardly know to what particular matters you refer, but I presume to the efforts which were made in the Confederate Congress in the winter of 1864-5 to force Mr. Davis to treat for peace, and failing then, to either revolutionize the Govt: or to open negotiations thro' Commissioners appointed by Congress itself—

I was at that time a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee to which these were refered. The committee consisted of 13 members. Mr. Rives was chairman. I can recall the names of only other members, Atkins of Tenn, and Judge Perkins of Louisiana. My recollection is distinct as to only a few leading facts— Early in the Session, after Mr. Stephens' return to Virginia. Atkins offered a long series of Resolutions, looking I think to a practical subversion of the Govt! They met with but little favor at first—but Mr. Rives was sent to Gen. Lee's Head Qrs to see whether he would consent to be invested with dictatorial powers. He reported a very affecting and solemn interview, which Gen. Lee terminated by declaring that his

[1] (1828-1891) Soldier, editor, lawyer, Confederate Congressman 1864; organized Missouri division C.S.A.; managing editor New York "Daily News" 1865-66; published several books; died in St. Louis, 1891.

duties as General in Command were even too weighty for him, and that nothing could induce him to listen for an instant to the proposition to enlarge his duties, and responsibilities— Then Adkins' resolutions, (which were said to have been written by Mr. Stephens) were pressed more vigorously, by Mr. S. and others, and finally all of the Committee were won over to them except Judge Perkins and myself. I think that they looked to negotiations by Congress, without reference to the President. They were reported by Mr. Rives, I submitted a minority Report on the part of Judge Perkins and myself—and spoke on the question, Mr. Rives replied to me, and of course came off victor without any trouble, and the Resolutions were adopted —Then followed the Hampton Roads Conference which checked the proposed Congressional usurpation—

This is a very meagre, and possibly a very mistaken statement of the affair, but it may suffice to put you in the way of ascertaining the truth. Adkins is in Congress—Judge Perkins is in La. I think. Are the Confederate Records, (proceedings in Secret Session) in existence? If this is the matter to which you refer, I shall be glad to try to recollect other particulars.

Please present my very kindest regards to President Davis.

Yrs very sincerely

Address (Signed) THOMAS L. SNEAD.

P.O. Box 4710, New York City.

Jefferson Davis to G. W. C. Lee.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Beauvoir, Missi.
17th, April, 1878.

Dear Custis:

After the receipt of your letter informing me that you had sent by express an English dressing gown for my use, so long a time elapsed without hearing further of it, that I began to fear the old habit of considering every thing addressed to me as fair subject of appropriation by the finder had deprived me of the pleasure of seeing this additional evidence of your kind consideration. Yesterday I was informed that there was a box at the express office in Missi. City, and today have received the box containing your present. Had it been less valuable it would not have been less valued by me.

Maj. Walthall has sent to me your letter to him, by which it appears that you have been deceived by the newspaper re-

port that my wife and self were in Mexico. If there was any foundation for the story, it must have been the fact that I am temporarily residing on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. As a general rule it may be taken for granted that whatever the Northern Newspapers state of me is the reverse of true. This story is a mild example.

My present abode is very retired, five miles from the village bearing the pretentious name of Mississippi City, and the quiet of the place was one of its chief attractions for me. It has been my policy and personal desire to keep apart from the political agitations of the day. My opinions were deliberately formed, and I have passed the age when men change their creed from conviction. The tide of affairs is adverse to my opinions, and I am willing to leave it to time to settle the question of right between the new and the old creeds. Confidence in the power of truth, and faith in the capacity of the people to judge, when their intellects are excited and their passions are allayed, have kept me hopeful of a restoration of the principles for which our people nobly strove. It will not probably be for me to see that day, but I hope you may.

If your sisters are with you, please give to each of them my affectionate remembrance, and when you see them to your brothers also.

Occasionally reports have reached me that you were in bad health, and I would be glad to know if those ill tidings were exaggerated or unfounded. I am as ever,

Cordially your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Genl. G. W. C. Lee,
W. & L. University,
Lexington, Va.

P.S. Please give my kindest regard to my good friend Genl. Pendleton.

Jefferson Davis to Crafts J. Wright.

(From Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Miss
April 18th, 1878.

Dear Friend,

I have just received yours of the 2nd and 4th inst. together with the Chicago Tribune which you inclosed to me. I thank you for the affectionate zeal you manifest in my behalf. Mrs.

Davis is now in Memphis and I have not the advantage of availing myself of her recollection of events. So as you ask me to answer at once, I can only give you at this time my own recollections to be filled out as soon as may be with what I may learn from her.

As has been heretofore stated, our little encampment was surprised by the firing across the creek, being a combat of the federal brigade with the other. It was then as stated so dark that the troops did not recognize each other. My coachman woke me up and told me there was firing across the creek; as I had lain down fully dressed, I immediately arose, stepped out, and saw some cavalry deployed at large intervals advancing upon the camp; it was not light enough to distinguish anything distinctly, but the manner of the movement convinced me that it was not by the marauders who were expected but by troopers; and I stepped back so to inform my wife. She urged me to leave them believing that troops would not injure them but that I would be in danger by remaining. She threw over my shoulders her own waterproof cloak and a shawl also, and sent her servant girl, a colored woman, with me, as if going to the Branch for water. There were no sentinels around the tent, but a horseman advanced toward me, ordered me to halt and dropped his carbine on me. I instantly threw the shawl and cloak off so as to be unencumbered and answering his demand for a surrender with a defiance, advanced toward him. My wife seeing this, for I was still very near the tent, ran after me and threw her arms around my neck; I then turned back, led her to the tent and passed around to the rear of it, to a fire which was burning there. The colored woman picked up the cloak and shawl and returned with them to the tent. All statements not in keeping with this are *false!* Some time elapsed after this before I saw Col. Pritchard, he afterwards told me that he was sent in pursuit of the wagon train, that he had no expectation of finding me with it and did not know for three hours after that I was in the camp,—which time he has however now reduced to ten minutes! With the addition, the purpose of which is evident, that he also thus early learned, that I was "disguised when captured". The pillage of the camp commenced immediately and my servants, who were preparing some breakfast for my children had it snatched from the fire when it was partly cooked and *this* was the thieving which provoked my angry language to Col. Pritchard when he at length came and told me he was a commanding officer. I cannot with accuracy answer your inquiry as to how much was

lost by the members of the party at the time. I only know that the pillage was general, rapidly and expertly executed—for example—my horse was seized, the water-proof cloak strapped behind the saddle (similar to the one Mrs. Davis threw over my shoulders, which I had been in the habit of wearing in Richmond) was taken from the saddle, the saddle taken from the horse, one girth taken off, saddle, blanket and one rein of the bridle, so that the horse and his equipment were soon in different places, even down to the minute division I have stated. When I noticed this I remarked—"You are an expert set of thieves" One of the men with admirable coolness laughingly replied—"You think so! Do you?" I have no recollection of Col. Pritchard ever having proposed to "divide our supplies", but I do remember that Mrs. Davis had some little delicacies, such as were needed for the children, and that she complained to Col. Pritchard of their seizure and that he promised to have all requisites supplied when we got to Macon. 'Tis *quite* absurd for him, now to pretend that they were necessary for an issue of provision to a Brigade—and I also remember that they were never replaced but that myself and family and staff when on the ship were served at the second table and provided only with the coarsest food. As to his report of a conversation with me, in which he said the garments worn by me when captured were not particularly adapted to rapid locomotion or the use of fire-arms—I can only regard it as an attempt to bolster up the falsehood he may have vauntingly told at some other time to Gen. Wilson or another and will only add that if he had perpetrated such insolence he would have received an answer he could not have forgotten. Though minute in describing the expedition and the transport ship on which my wife and children were held in captivity, after I had been immured in fortress Monroe Col. Pritchard only gives the result of a waterproof cloak and a black woolen shawl omitting, probably as unimportant, the fact that the trunks of my family were broken open and robbed of every article tempting to the sight, including the clothes of my infant daughter, photographic albums, medals, etc. etc. One of these albums by the assistance of an honest man in New York was traced to Iowa, where a personal friend of mine recovered it, though many of the most valued family portraits had in the meantime been extracted from it. With a cool assurance which is really laughable, a man in New York, who acquired one of the medals, wrote to me sending photographs of the front and reverse and asking me to give him its history! I weary of these disgusting details, to men like your-

self it must be a mortification to know that your countrymen have behaved so meanly. So far as I know, never in the annals of civilized war did a commanding officer treat a prisoner of high rank among his own people in a manner so little in accordance with the usages of a soldier and the instincts of a gentleman, as Col. B. D. Pritchard treated me while in his power. Yet had he limited himself to his official report or had he afterwards stated only the truth I should not probably have thus recorded his meanness and dishonesty.

Truly your friend,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

P. S. The plea if made that the pillage of my family's trunks at Hampton Roads, were instituted to look for effects belonging to me personally, would be answered by the fact that my luggage, consisting of a valise, had been already taken to the Fort, and that it was known that I had not been traveling with the wagon train, except for the short time after I went to protect my wife and children from robber bands, and was about to leave them when captured.

Not only were my horses taken as booty, but also two, which were the property of my Wife, and those of all the gentlemen who were with our party, some of whom were parolled soldiers riding their own horses and acting as helps to my Wife and children before I joined them. Col. Pritchard announced his purpose to take my saddle horse and said he would like to say he had my horse after he went home, etc., etc.

To C. J. W. Truly, J. D.

P. K. Mayers to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Handsboro, Miss., April 18, 1878.

Mr. Jefferson Davis:

Dear Sir:

Your note of the 17th was handed me by Maj. Walthall. After our interview last week I did expect you to act for me in the adjustment of the Chandler-Henderson affair, but your note explains all so satisfactorily, so I therefore have appointed Major Walthall to represent me at the meeting to take place at your cottage Friday noon.

Yours Respectfully,
(Signed) P. K. MAYERS.

Wm. P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

1103 G Street, Washington, D.C.
April 19, 1878.

My dear Friend:

Your letter reached me this morning containing a most judicious criticism on the plate of my father for the Memoir, with which I entirely concur. If I had been a wealthier man I could have managed much better about this; but poverty has its limitations.

In regard to Dibrell and Breckinridge, I can say of the former, from several conversations with him on the subject that he has very little feeling about the matter and, I think it likely, will let it drop. If he writes a sketch of his command, he says he will submit it to me or Major Walthall. If he submits it to me, I will get him to send it to Walthall. He agrees that it is all *a side issue.*

Breckinridge is naturally both controversial and *amiable*—unlike his father in the latter respect. He is a little sensitive about this matter. He is very decided in his respect and regard for you. I shall write him today.

I am still kept here. It is not a pleasant place for me.

With unvarying regard and affection, I am,

Yours truly,

(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville)
Albemarle Co. (Va.) Apl. 21 '78

My dear Davis,

Yours of the 11th brings your image back to my heart. I wish it could have been answered at once. Only on Sunday had I leisure to hunt over all old papers, and last Sunday we had mass at Chtte. Your letter is an accurate mirror, and with the orange cane shall be left to Bernaben as a souvenir of the

last of the Chevaliers of the south,—for whose soul we will pray if he goes before us.

I received your letter respecting Pio Nono in a paper directed by you. You did not understand all the significance of his kindly act. He claimed his position as a representative of the God man in his human chieftancy, and delicately invited you to come to him as his vicar, and centre of unity.

Your allusion to the solicitude of my children in that reference recalls something similar. My practise was to be cheerful in my office. One day several enquired, "what was the matter? that I seemed gloomy." At last one said to another "Oh I know The President was confirmed yesterday and the Col. can't get over it." It grieved me then, and still does, that the key which opens the mysteries of life is not in your possession, and that the veil of doubts which hang over every one outside the R. C. Church still invests you. This is not intrusion. Your own allusion and generous appreciation invites my expression of relevant feeling.

You ask if Holmes explained your construction of the law. He did, but that was not the point of trouble, as I have explained. I thought you doubted my sincerity,—that has been exploded, and I love you as of old. Now to your question of data to support your opinion. After my release Judge Campbell wrote advising that I should prepare an account of my administration, asking if I had ever heard St. John's reply to the question: "if the army could be fed?" which was "Yes, if large named areas of country in N. C. and Va. could be kept open, if local and general transportation could be provided, and gold to purchase adequately furnished." A special record in my office consolidated bi-weekly reports from every district of the country of all supplies on hand, and in the hands of holders and farmers, that could be bought by gold or barter or could be impressed with due authority furnished his answer.

Hence my urgent appeals to Lee which had been shown to Judge Campbell, and pressed on Seddon. Had it been Benjamin, our best Secretary of War,—he would not have shrunk from pressing Lee who would have moved if spurred vigorously. He came to my office some months after. I renewed the subject. After a while he remarked "some morning you will be awakened by the enemy at Richmond." I replied "I am glad Genl. Lee that you are at last awakened." He did not respond, but got up and went away.

I was never rude but conciliatory and sympathetic with every upright intention. But when people can neither persuade se-

duce or terrify others into their measures or interests, or find a flaw in their conduct, they attack their manners. Conrad of La. failed to persuade me to reassign an inefficient officer; he insinuated a threat of Congress. I defied him, and during near 4 years he abused me in Congress, and on the passage of the "law" declared I was the worst officer in the service. He did not believe it. Other cases similar in principle occurred. The selfish ambition of the officers and politicians, and the rash judgement and calumnious temper of the people,—excluding the true leaders of the land—rendered success impossible.

The *existing* institutions of government,—and so called education of the free schools, and multiplicity of creeds obscures the sense of truth and justice. Having no respect for the judgement of the people I was indifferent to their opinions of me, and replied accordingly to Judge C.

My letter books and endorsement books had to be left in the office and were ordered to be burned. I brought off a few papers which had no public relevancy, and copies of some controversies involving falseness and folly in Generals, other cases I forgot or despised.

From the beginning I knew that failures in all other Depts. would by reflex action cripple mine, so I ever tried to get unity and co-operation, and to keep out and get rid of inefficient officers. That law by which unassigned staff officers fell out of office, was due to me, and I alone tried to execute it; members of Congress tried to get every one restored to duty, and all found some body to urge it. Every time a general was moved, he wanted a new staff and the multiplication was ever increasing. Even when I forced the decision that Jordan was not a general, he was allowed to continue. Beauregard applied for R. B. Lee, then applied to have him superseded and lied by writing him letters for you to read, that he acted to secure his more valuable services as inspector Genl. and to command a brigade. Bragg participated in this by publishing an order relieving him at his own request when he was relieved by Bd. application approved by me and ordered by Gen. Cooper I have reason to think that many of Johnston's damaging acts proceeded from drink superadded to envy and loose principles and want of resolution.

At Montgomery, I began to draw supplies from St. Louis, Cincinnati and Louisville, contracted for deliveries of cattle from Ky. I arranged for buying and curing hogs in Ten. and S. W. Va. and tide water. I had arranged to know of and controll the cattle of Fla. a year before Genl. Lee announced to

you that he had heard of vast herds there which I ought to obtain.

Long before he told you of the cattle in Fauquier and Loudon which I ought to get, I had applied to him to send a force to divert Gary while I got all the cattle. He referred Noland to Jackson; Jackson promised and did nothing and Thomas Foster, my agent, got them out without their aid, or knowledge.

So of the wheat in Carolina and Culpepper,—I had bought and hauled it to depot; Lee kept cars idle, waiting his impending call to move troops. I could not get them for some time, at last he had no further occasion to detain the cars, all the wheat was secured and the *special* agents discharged; then long after, Lee wrote to you that I ought to get that wheat and you referred his letter to me. Even Sidney Johnston forced my hog packing agent in Ten. to forward large quantities of supplies to Bowling Green though I forbid it positively, insisting that he was obliged to keep ready to fall back, and could always bring up what was not attainable around him by Lieut. Jackson, his commissary who was directed by me before he went out, to purchase,—much was abandoned, and Johnston's order was forwarded to me.

I arranged to buy up all the sugar and molasses in La. and Miss., cattle and flour in Texas, and from thence supplied Bd. Pemberton and the troops in Miss. The generals continually thwarting, not having the sense to see the beauty of *uniform united* action, and their conceited staff commissaries always seeking excuses to interfere with my business men. My system was to establish uniform principles of buying at fixed rates, never deviated from, *thus* avoiding competition and getting possession of every thing, and distributing inside, while fixing up terra culae to dwell in from without. I had Broadwell buying all over the S. West and to Texas I sent an efficient officer in Dallas for the wheat growing districts. And I could in 5 minutes tell what was every where located. In the beginning I urged Myers to try and arrange harmony between all the R. Rds. and often tried to prevent any private freight from moving, except on special announced days. Once I succeeded, in less than a week plenty succeeded want, but members of Congress remonstrated and the Sec. yielded. Q'mrs. men bribed; private freight moved under C. S. marks. I seized every thing thus marked and several times had to surrender it by *Decision* of Sec. of War. Gorgas with Heyliger (?) and Col. Bayne got the better of me in blockading, for provisions were bulky, and unpleasant to handle compared with goods of greater specific

value. Meminger was troublesome, Trenholm promised and did not keep, with the exception of Benjamin, the Secretaries of War were so slow in deciding that opportune action would be lost. Joe Johnston required for his army when retreating to Atlanta 1500 more rations than he had men present for duty. Cummings supplied him.

I forgot to say that in the beginning I urged Meminger to give me money without limit, that I might buy up every thing as fast as possible, but could not get it done by him. You alone believed in a "long war." Wm. H. Fowle 1st Commissary at Manassas was I am confident interested with R. Beverly in butchering cattle for the 5th quarter and was interested in a mill and was buying flour, liable to be lost, at Alexandria rates. Such a precedent at the opening of the war, had to be stopped. I directed market rates less transportation to be paid to all willing thus to sell, and had agents ready to buy up every bl. on those terms. I arranged with a respectable man Mr. Bonst to butcher at ½ the 5 qr. and to cure the Govt. ½ which was done and compelled Fowle to annul a sale from his mill of 600 bbls. The people came to my terms, and but for the Genls. and R. B. Lee all would have gone right. I had to send flour from Rhd. till then; the complaints were groundless and so proved. The organisation of my bureau was most effective but each Genl. wanted to rule every thing in his country, even sometimes trying to prevent my agents from purchasing at all.

The best statement of a system is the expression of its practice by those acting under it, such I have.

23rd. You ask about buying out of our lines. Arrangements for trading for cotton with the enemy were made in several quarters with Lincoln's consent I doubt not. He wished to satisfy the north and quiet England from uniting with France in recognising us and breaking the blockade, 2000000 are said to have been [starving] in England. One of these plans in Randolph's time I think perhaps Seddon's was specially referred to you on account of its magnitude. I recommended it, it was not permitted on the policy I think of increasing the want of cotton in England and the north.

With power to impress sufficiently, it could probably have been maintained for a time. The endorsements were recorded, and the paper filed of course. Pollard's book I think has that paper published; I know not how he got it. I have heard of a man at Ivy depot who is said to have it, and a friendly man will try and get it for me, when I will give you further in-

formation about it. Perhaps you can get the book. You had better let this point rest until you see that paper. I was anxious at the time to have that operation effected, but do not remember the points of it, and do not recall its connection with the obstructions in Deer creek of which you write, and which I have forgotten. Your memory is far better than mine.

I have waited answering you until I could see about Pollard's book.

It is late, I have to rise at daylight every morning if I have forgotten any thing or can furnish you any information let me know and what I can do, I will.

I have tried since the war to avoid dwelling on a period of life which was most harassing, and my time has been occupied in trying to take care of my family. I am contented, and have settled in my mind consistently all the problems of the present and the future life. In fact an intelligent honest catholic can't be unhappy or disquieted. I don't know if Holmes is alive or not, do you?

I hope you will not overtask yourself. I have heard that Hunter is broken down. It is unbecoming that he should make such points, on matters of policy of the Government. Remember me to Mrs. D. and Jeff. My wife sends you love.

I am affectionately,

L. B. Northrop.

24th. If you know where Major Dameron is he can give you information about trading with the enemy in his quarter. I think he may aid in setting forth the point of Hunter's allegation.

Burton Harrison wrote me a letter respecting Cummings who had been sued by Le Moine I think. I replied and have heard no more. People accused Cummings, but he was a most efficient man and fed Johnston's army in Ga. He can establish the facts of the waste in that Army due to J. if you should have occasion to refer to things of that nature.

Hunter's attack indicates I think that your book will be assailed by details, calculated to divert from a calm comprehensive estimate. The American mind is pettifogging, liking prejudice better than truth.

Adios.

L.B.N.

endorsed:
Northrop; ansd. 29th April '78

Jefferson Davis to G. T. Beauregard.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Mississippi City P. O.
27th April 1878.

Genl. G. T. Beauregard
New Orleans

My dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 24th Inst. with its enclosure, in answer to my inquiry as to the conference between Genl. Johnston, yourself and myself in the night after the battle of Manassas. I regret to find that my remembrance materially differs from yours. That you may distinctly understand in what the difference consists, I will make a brief statement of my recollections, & with the hope that they may refresh yours and bring us into nearer accord. Without claiming infallibility for my memory, I do however claim that it is very distinct as to those events.

In the evening of that day being on the extreme left of our line of battle, I found a number of the troops who had recently arrived, and who therefore were in a fit condition for pursuit of the enemy; and as I thought, in a proper position from which to move for that purpose. There was general complaint among them of hunger and want of provisions. I addressed several of the commands, stating to them the importance of remaining where they were, and promised that when I reached the Head-quarters, I would have rations sent to them. Night closed in immediately thereafter, and I rode back in the dark to your Head-quarters.

Upon inquiring for you, and hearing that you had not returned, from the field, I directed an officer of your staff to have the promised rations sent out to the troops on the extreme left.

Some time elapsed when, say about midnight, meeting you, I informed you of the order I had given, and then learned that what proved to be a false alarm, had caused you to move the troops in question from the extreme left to the right flank.

In the conference which followed with yourself and Genl. Johnston, my inquiry as to whether any troops had been sent in pursuit of the enemy was answered in the negative, and upon further inquiry as to what troops would be most available for that purpose, you replied, Genl. Bonham's Brigade, and to my answer, let Genl. Bonham's Brigade be sent, a pause ensued;

after a time, your Adjt. Genl. Col. Thos. Jordan, who sat opposite to me, asked if I would dictate the order, which was done, in terms directing immediate pursuit. Some conversation followed regarding the hazard of the night march by a single Brigade, and I dictated a modification of the order, to the effect that the movement should begin at early dawn. Col. Jordan looking across the table towards me, said—I believe I remember his very words—"If you will issue the order as it was first dictated, the enemy will not stop until they get into the Potomac."

The deluging rain which commenced before day light, and the dispersion of the men in most of the commands, rendered it impracticable, during that day, to do more than reassemble the commands, collect the spoils of the fugitive enemy, and with the cavalry follow the lines of retreat to, or perhaps beyond, the Fairfax Court House.

On the proximate night our conference was resumed, when the question of following up the enemy was presented by me. Adverse opinions prevailed, because of reported fortifications on the South side of the Potomac, with garrisons not demoralized, by the defeat of the army at Mannassas, they not having been with it; and also because of the unwillingness of Genl. Johnston, under these circumstances, to attempt offensive operations, as is stated in the letter you enclosed to me, from your former Adjt. Genl. Jordan.

Thanking you for your prompt and courteous attention to my request, I am very respectfully yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Endorsed: rec^{d} April 30 1878

N. O. April 30, 1878—

My dear General—

Will you please read the above letter carefully & send me your recollections by the return of Mail if possible—for I am going to the country in a few days & I w^{d} like to answer it as soon as practicable.

Your friend
G. T. BEAUREGARD

Gen. Thos. Jordan
New York
N. Y.

P. S. Please return this letter also for I have kept no copy of it.

G. T. B.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.
(From The New York Sun of June 22, 1890.[1])

Mississippi City, 29th April, 1878.

Our enemies in the Senate overreached themselves, and there was another spring to the trap—it had been stated that you acknowledged your inability to provide for the army, concealing the other part of the admission that while the General Commanding would not exercise the power to impress, and the Congress would not confer that power upon you, it was impracticable to buy with Confederate money, and so obtain the necessary supplies. So the dead fall was intended for us both, and Orr had provided for it by perverting a complimentary remark I made in regard to you as a soldier into a desire on my part to put you in command of the army. I no more doubted your sincerity than I did your existence, and therefore could not have touched that point. I mentioned in my previous letter the burning of your packing establishment at Thoroughfare Gap by J. E. Johnston, when, like the wicked, he fled, though no man pursued. The waste in every department by the army under Johnston was one of the evils of his injurious career.

W. C. P. Breckinridge to W. T. Walthall.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lexington, Ky., May 3rd, 1878.

My Dear Sir:

I found yours of the 18th ult. here on my return after a week's absence.

1. I failed to note the distinction you drew between the armistice of the 18th of April and the surrender of the 26th. Certainly Genl. Breckinridge had no part in the latter.
2. I see a cause for the peculiar mode in which you denied that Mr. Davis had a wagon train, which in my ignorance of Genl. Wilson's article I did not understand.
3. I have no recollection of having heretofore ever heard of an order from Mr. Davis to Genl. Vaughan after leaving Abbeville. However I was in Genl. Dibrell's command, and in the extreme rear.

[1] The above excerpt of a letter from Mr. Davis to Col. Northrop appears in a special from Baltimore to the New York Sun written by Eugene L. Didier, who states that the original letter was in his possession at the time the special was sent. The present whereabouts of the original is not known.

4. As to whether the consultation at Abbeville was a council, consultation, or mere reporting by subaltern officers to Mr. Davis, is in itself and of itself of no moment. I presume none of us then present care to claim that we were there either entitled to be invited to any consultation or desired to be.

The real point at issue between Mr. Davis and the cavalry is more real and important. The passages in your article which grated upon me are upon page 108, and the possible construction which might be put upon them. These passages commence at the third line with the words "Arriving at Washington" etc., and end near the bottom of the page with the words "there was no intention to invade."

As you well put it in your letter, the condition of the troops "was a most momentous factor in determining the subsequent movements of the President," and in these passages you have stated that "*under these circumstances the President determined to abandon the design of taking the troops with him, and endeavor to make his own way*" etc. What were these circumstances which caused this change of design? That the troops were hopelessly demoralized, and though paid in the hope that they would thereby keep their organization and *morale,* "they did not come forward."

I beg you to re-read these grave and weighty sentences, and answer if they do not admit the construction that now Mr. Davis charges that at the last moment—the final turning point—he was abandoned by his cavalry when their obedience and fidelity might have rendered successful the design he had; and to this is added some complication about the payment. The cavalry respond with the statement that all this matter was fully discussed at Abbeville in a meeting at which the President presided and a programme agreed upon wholly inconsistent with any abandonment of the President by the troops at Vienna. It is therefore important to ascertain what was done at Abbeville.

When the five brigades concentrated at Abbeville, the armies of Lee and Johnston had surrendered, the President had approved the terms of the armistice or capitulation or treaty of peace of April 18th; Genl. Wilson had ridden over Forrest and was at Macon; the whole coast-line, the line from the Tennessee River by Atlanta, Athens, Lexington and Augusta, and the whole country east were guarded by Federal troops at liberty to concentrate at any point; the munitions of war were in the hands of the enemy, and there remained no resources, and, so far as could be ascertained, no people. At Charlotte Cabinet officers, Generals, staff officers, &c &c had remained to make

peace or accept terms or flee the country. From Charlotte to Abbeville troops had been formally disbanded by Genl. Bragg and other officers and civilians of rank and public position drop out of the columns to accept terms. Mobile had surrendered and the Army of Genl. Taylor was unable to make head against the forces opposed to it. The Trans-Mississippi Department had barely been able to maintain an interior show of resistance. Under these circumstances a meeting was held at Abbeville. I recall these disastrous and unhappy days because it is now easy to speculate upon what might have been if we forget the actual state of affairs.

There is no doubt that a meeting was held. For what purpose and with what result? The persons present indicate that it was not a mere accidental or informal gathering.

The President presided; the Secretary of War, Genl. Breckenridge, and the senior General of the Army Genl. Bragg, (Lee, Johnston, and Beauregard having surrendered, and Cooper dropped out,) and the commanders of all the organized troops in the field east of Alabama sat with closed doors. This meeting or conference lasted several hours. Surely at this time and place Mr. Davis must have come to some understanding with these officers—who were the only men he had remaining to build any hope upon. What was that understanding? Genls. Duke and Dibrell and myself agree in our recollection that the result was that Mr. Davis with a small escort should immediately push on, and that Genl. Breckinridge should assume personal command of such troops as were willing to go with him to facilitate the escape of Mr. Davis. By escape I mean his safe arrival to the Mississippi River or Texas. The subsequent events seem to bear this out; viz.:

a. That afternoon an escort (Capt. Campbell's company) was selected for Mr. Davis, and with it he pushed on to Washington.

b. Official announcement was made that afternoon to the troops that such as desired to remain might do so. Genl. Dibrell and Genl. Duke, and Major William Davis can give you all the particulars of this announcement. My recollection is that I withheld it from my brigade until next morning, at Vienna.

c. The former wagon guard was replaced by Duke's brigade.

d. At Vienna the treasure wagons halted until payment was made.

e. At Vienna the reorganization agreed upon at Abbeville was effected, *and in accordance with that agreement the reorganized commands did go forward;* consisting of a command

under Duke, Ferguson's brigade, and a small command under me. Ferguson's brigade leaving him some hours after Mr. Davis left Washington; and Duke's and my reorganized commands remaining in the field until Genl. Breckinridge left us and ordered us to surrender or disband.

f. At Abbeville quite a number of officers of various ranks, and men, remained in accordance with the understanding that the end was reached.

I could add other corroborative facts, but forbear.

We therefore insist that so far as the cavalry and their commanders were informed, that *at Abbeville* "the President determined to abandon the designs of taking the troops and to endeavor to make his own way with only a small party" to the Trans-Mississippi; that as to the great bulk of them they were to be paid and surrendered, and as to them the war was over; that as to the remainder they were to remain under the orders of Genl. Breckinridge, and these latter did so remain until ordered by him to quit upon a day subsequent to Mr. Davis's departure from Washington. Mr. Davis came to these conclusions with painful reluctance, and you may see in Gen. Duke's History, somewhat of the physical suffering manifested by him at Abbeville. There were reasons after the war in 1865-66-67-68, why the full details of that conference and subsequent events were not published; and now there are reasons why, for one, I shall not do more than furnish whatever information I have. I feel confident that when all the orders, letters, &c. of those days be gathered, it will be found that Mr. Davis did, to the end, speak, write, urge, and perhaps order, with a view to make further resistance; but that at Abbeville was the conclusion reached to abandon all the hope of effecting any other purpose than Mr. Davis's successful escape to the West. When you obtain copies of all of Genl. Breckinridge's papers and of Mr. Davis' letters to him, you may be able to reconcile difficulties apparently insoluble.

You speak of the Cabinet at Abbeville. I was under the impression that Breckinridge, Reagan and Mallory only were there, and why Reagan and Mallory were not present, and Bragg and Breckinridge were, I know not, unless it were that our naval forces were not available at Abbeville and we had not time to require postal facilities.

Permit me to suggest that while *at the time* there may have been some misunderstanding as to the real design of the President and Cabinet, may it not be that Mr. Davis having forgotten what occurred at Abbeville and vividly recalling the intense

convictions of his own heart that further resistance was possible, has confused what occurred at Abbeville with what occurred at Washington. Genl. Breckinridge's letter of *8 P. M.* May 3rd shows that "on yesterday" an object had been spoken of and suggestions made, which he "respectfully and earnestly repeats." "Yesterday" was May 2d at Abbeville. What was the "object", and what the "suggestions"?

This letter further shows that the silver was being paid out, although Genl Breckinridge had not gone forward and had not received answer to *his note of that day;* was not the payment in pursuance of what had occurred "yesterday"?

Of course it need not be suggested to you that after the announcement made to the troops at Abbeville, it would have been impossible to restore the *morale* and discipline existing before that.

5. It is due to candor to say that the *morale* of all the brigades was by no means the same; but on this point each commander would perhaps speak more favorably of his own brigade. Duke's men were very badly mounted, but in high and fine tone. Vaughan's men were badly mounted, worse armed and not under good discipline. Ferguson's brigade was on the road home, and I laughingly told Ferguson, who was a gallant and attractive officer, that they were induced to remain because we Kentuckians made a good guard home. I put less confidence, from what I saw, in Vaughan's and Ferguson's brigades, than in the others; though apparently Ferguson's was in excellent temper and appearance. Some of Dibrell's men were in superb order—some shaky. My own brigade was never in a more satisfactory condition—never had any cause since the dawn of time a nobler, truer corps of defenders. The men were intelligent, and when at Hillsboro, North Carolina, we received news of Lee's surrender, they knew that the war was over; but from there to Vienna no Kentuckian deserted or left my brigade—while wounded invalid men on detached duty and on furlough daily rejoined their companies; so that at Vienna the brigade was over 100 stronger than at Raleigh. Mixed up with almost every company, I presume, in the cavalry were stragglers from Lee and Johnston's cavalry; and the country was full of wanderers —some paroled, some not; all armed, penniless, and many desperate—and often in squads; and these often robbed in our name.

6. Ferguson, Duke and myself were determined to go on until ordered to stop. Dibrell and Vaughan to stop unless ordered to go on. I think this is a just statement of any apparent

difference in our opinions and purposes. But we all agreed with Dibrell, as did Genls. Breckinridge and Bragg (as I then understood), that Mr. Davis's views were wholly erroneous; or as Duke puts it—"We were silent, for we could not agree with him, and respected him too much to reply." Duke and I too, were much younger—were already cut off from our homes; and had agreed to go to Texas, Mexico, or any other hotter climate, if Genl. Breckinridge would command us, or Mr. Davis desired our services. I proposed at Abbeville to take personal command of the escort for Mr. Davis, but it was thought by Gen. Breckinridge that my duty was still to command the brigade.

7. It is proper to add that Mr. Davis left the room without (as I recall the scene) adjourning the meeting, or any explanation; and that Genl. Breckinridge accompanied him; the others remaining in the room for some time in conversation, when Genl. Breckinridge rejoined us and the conversation continued some time longer.

It may be impossible for me or any one at this time accurately to separate what was said in the presence of Mr. Davis from that said in his absence. During that afternoon and night I received orders personally from Genl. Breckinridge, from him through staff officers, and from Genl. Dibrell. And you may find that those present may disagree as to what occurred because of these breaks in our conversation. But my recollection of much that occurred in the presence of Mr. Davis is very distinct.

8. You write that "the question" (as to the presence of Genl. Bragg and the conference at Abbeville) "are really of no importance except as concerns Genl. Wilson." etc. May I express my dissent. The history of those early days in May can never be rightly understood except as read in the light of what occurred at Abbeville. And it is here that the possibility of painful difference finds root. I beg your careful and forbearing and patient examination before you make public the additional article you contemplate.

The exalted virtues of Mr. Davis far more than his exalted position and great services have endeared him to us; and the possibility of even an apparent difference has been and is painful. I know he is anxious to be accurate and just, yea, generous to all who served under that flag, and I beg that you will submit to him such testimony as you may obtain.

I beg pardon for so long a letter. I have written hurriedly and with absolute frankness, leaving unwritten many things which might throw some light on these matters. Thirteen years

of labor in other pursuits may have obscured my memory, and I speak of those days with great hesitation, and am ready to acknowledge any error I have fallen into. I find that as to some minor matters Dibrell and Duke and I do not agree.

If there is any particular event about which you think I can render you any assistance, command me.

Believe me, with sincere respect,
Yours very truly,

Maj. Walthall. (Signed) Wm C. P. Breckinridge.

(Correct copy, W. T. Walthall.)

endorsed:
Copy. Lexington, Ky. May 3rd, 1878. Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge. Recollections, Discussions, &c. concerning events at Abbeville and Vienna; April and May, 1865.

Jefferson Davis to Maj. W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

4th May 1878

Maj. Walthall
Dear Sir

I have not found Genl. Chestnut's letter but will continue the search for it.

The Telegrams and report of Genl. Breckenridge herewith enclosed were sent to me by Col. J. Stoddard Johnston with a request that he should be allowed the privilege of making the first publication of them, in the Frankfort Ky. "Yeoman." I have notified him that I had prepared copies for you and that he was at liberty to publish at his pleasure. I will leave as soon as well enough to travel, say in two or three days D. V.

Truly yours
Jefferson Davis

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(From The New York Sun of June 22, 1890.[1])

The unsatisfactory answer of the Century publishers is but a part of the general injustice which has pursued every true-hearted Confederate from the time of our failure. Nothing has succeeded like treason to the cause for which our people pledged

[1] The above excerpt of a letter from Mr. Davis to Col. Northrop appears in a special from Baltimore to the New York Sun written by Eugene L. Didier, who states that the original letter was in his possession at the time the special was sent. The present whereabouts of the original is not known.

their lives and honor. I have never read Beauregard's book, but can well understand it to be a tissue of falsehoods, springing partly from vanity and largely from malice. In the review of it by Gayarre, published in the Southern historical papers, he represents Beauregard as having as his leading idea concentration of our forces, and the Administration as failing his wise purpose by dispersion. In the beginning, when he asked re-enforcements from Johnston, and as soon as practicable a junction was ordered and made by Johnston moving down the Manassas Gap Railroad, Beauregard entered into an unauthorized correspondence with Johnston by requesting him to move so as to fall upon the enemy rear and flank, which would have been to give the enemy an advantage of a position between our forces, and would certainly have resulted in our defeat, which was only prevented by Johnston's forces moving as was ordered, and thus concentrating our whole force to resist the advance of the enemy. Again, at Drury's Bluff, instead of executing my order and bringing Whiting up by the Chesterfield road, he ordered Whiting to move up the direct road, and so put Butler between our forces and lost the victory which ought to have been won. Again, in his retreat from Columbia he had headed his column toward the road leading toward Wilmington, while the expected re-enforcements were marching from the West, and seeing that he would thus enable Sherman to move up from Columbia and interpose between Beauregard's forces and the re-enforcements which were marching to him, I sent Gen. Gilmer with a letter to Beauregard ordering him to keep on the direct road to Charlotte, and gave Gilmer another letter instructing him if Beauregard did not immediately conform to the order he would present to him the authority I gave to relieve him on the spot. These are cases which readily occur to me, and others no doubt will occur to you.

I have said nothing succeeded like treachery to our cause, except, perhaps, I should have said, lying, and I have been equally the victim of both. . . . In regard to H., I think at the time of our retreat through North Carolina he was in some manner connected with the Richmond Bank treasure, and having a large check by one of the banks which had been given for plate, jewelery, and horses I had sold in Richmond to eke out my salary, which had ceased to be an adequate support, I hoped he would be able to collect the check; but it was never done, and I have really forgotten why or wherefor. I have one of the checks still in my possession, thus given, but I believe it is worthless, the money of the banks having been seized by

the United States Government and otherwise stolen. . . . I wish it could be known that the Century was so partisan as not to accept your articles. Joe Johnston, I see, is to have an office under the new Administration, so that rewards for treachery have not ceased with radical rule.

I am yet ill, unable to walk, though not otherwise suffering particularly. Like you, I have no tie to parties, and have come to distrust politicians, yet believe in the mass of the Southern people, and love them still. It may be possible to expose fraud, though you and I are not likely to get justice in this world, may God grant us peace and happiness in the next.

Ever faithfully your friend,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. C. Pemberton to W. T. Walthall.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

403 South 22nd St. Phila.
May 4th, 1878.

My dear Sir,

I shall send by mail on Monday 6th inst. to Missi. City (supposing that to be your address) some thirty five pages of Manuscript relating to Confederate operations in Mississippi during my command of the Dept.

I have about half as much more prepared for my copyist, but have as yet only proceeded as far as the occupation of the entrenchments around Vicksburg. I fear you will find my narrative too diffuse, and uninteresting in the reading, but I saw no other way of stating what appeared to me the most important facts unless I should content myself with the mere assertion that this or that was, or was not, a fact.

I could probably complete what further I shall have to write you within the coming week, but I have been unexpectedly called to Norfolk, Va., and shall be absent until the middle of the month. I will however take with me what I have already prepared in pencil and endeavor to copy and mail it to you from there. I hope the delay will not seriously inconvenience you, should it do so I shall greatly regret it.

With great respect,
Very truly yours,
J. C. PEMBERTON.

W. T. Walthall
Missi. City.

endorsed: Gen. J. C. Pemberton (with Monograph on Vicksburg) Philadelphia, Pa. 4 May, 1878; recd. 10 May, 1878.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

New Orleans, 6th May 1878

My dear Sir,

I fear it will not be in my power to attend the convention on the 9th Inst.

Please let me hear from you at Vicksburg c/o Pittman & Pittman.

Genl. Richard Taylor says he has completed his memoir, having found all his reports and returns in the hands of his Adjt. Genl. Brent. He leaves on Wednesday for Winchester Va. In answer to my expressed wish for information as to the trans-Missi. Dept. finally offered to answer any inquiries. He has not selected a publisher may choose the Blackwoods Edinburg. You will in your reflections be able to arrange points for inquiry before we meet again.

With kindest remembrance to Mrs. Walthall and your children, I am faithfully your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. R. Chalmers[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., May 13th, 1878.

Honl. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir,—

I was greatly astonished to see that a paper in Miss. The Okalona State regarded my reply to Garfield "as a whining

[1] Chalmers, James Ronald (1831-1898), a soldier and legislator, was born in Halifax county, Va., January 11, 1831; removed with the family to Mississippi in 1839; attended school at Holly Springs; graduated at South Carolina college in 1851; and was admitted to the bar in 1853. He was district attorney, seventh judicial district, in 1858; was a member of the Mississippi convention in 1861, and voted for secession; entered the Confederate service as a captain, was soon chosen colonel of the 9th Mississippi; was promoted brigadier-general, February 13, 1862, was transferred to cavalry service in 1863, and at the end of the war was in command of the first division of Forrest's cavalry corps. He was a member of the Mississippi Senate, 1876-1877; and a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1877, to April 29, 1882, and from June 25, 1884, to March 3, 1885. Removing to Memphis, Tenn., he resumed the practice of the law, and died there, April 9, 1898.

admission that we had been whipped and would promise to do better in future." I certainly did not intend any such thing.

I send you a copy of the speech and also my speech on the Pacific R. R. and would be glad to have your opinion of the views expressed.

I have always and still look to you as the embodiment of true Southern sentiment and I especially wish to know whether my speeches seemed to you as in any way lowering our flag. If so I should be grieved.

Yours truly,
J. R. CHALMERS

endorsed:
J. R. Chalmers for opinion of his speech; ansd. 21st of May

Jefferson Davis to J. R. Chalmers.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co.
21st May 1878.

Hon. J. R. Chalmers,
My dear Sir,

On the receipt of yours of the 13th inst. I reread your speech of Feb. 26th in reply to Garfield.

There are several expressions which are not such as I would have had you utter, but nothing which can justify the harsh criticism you quote, or which can be deemed a promise not to do in future as we did in the past. Speaking to an audience accustomed to language inappropriate to our case, it may be readily perceived how you use terms employed by your antagonists in his sense rather than your own.

For instance, you could not mean that Confds. had committed treason, or that any comparison could be drawn between your brave comrades, dead and living, and the knaves who robbed the people of the fruits of their election. See the 3d P. of Page 4.

While Mr. Hayes continues to shield and to reward the knaves who secured for him an office to which he was not chosen, I cannot concur in the opinion you announce in the second paragraph of the sixth page, and agreeing with you as to the magnitude of the crime committed by Wells and Anderson, I would not have wished for Nichols to save them from the penitentiary that Mr. Hayes might keep them in offices of honor and profit.

On Page 8 is concluded a bold and just arraignment of the

"Republican party," by an admission which would put us in a like state of offending, and need of forgiveness,—Is it so? On Page 11 in reference to that act of usurpation by which Mr. Lincoln attempted to rob the people of the South of property which the Constitution guaranteed, and which he by his oath of office was bound to protect, so long as he claimed that secession was a nullity, you term it an act of humanity to the blacks. Would it not have been better to treat it as it was, an act of cruelty to the blacks, of robbery of the whites, in violation of his duty, for the purpose of enslaving men who were born free and who had proved themselves fit to govern? I write to you with the freedom born of cordial love and respect; and from a desire to see you shun the way which has always led ambitious Southerners to the husks of empty applause by those who receive demonstrations of fraternity on our part with such joy as the Trapper feels when he finds the trail of the Beaver is towards his trap. If the victorious North wish peace and forgetfulness let them so speak and act; it better becomes the strong than the weak, the Conqueror than the conquered, to promise peace and Brotherly love. Ever truly your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

(Copy.)

Lewis Cruger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington, May 15th (1878).

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Sir—

I respectfully ask your pardon for the liberty I now take to trouble you on a most unimportant subject, at the request of a particular friend. That friend has a perfect passion for collecting curiosities and amongst others he has collected specimens of all our *Confederate notes* issued during the existence of our Confederacy which he has pasted in a large Album prepared for that purpose. In effecting his purpose of completing his collection he finds he is deficient in two particular notes of which he is most desirous of possessing specimens.

These are two of the notes we issued at Montgomery in 1861, viz.: one note for $1,000 and one for $500. He has requested me to try amongst my Southern friends to obtain, *as a great favor,* specimens of these two notes, and I have promised him

to do so, and now commence with writing to you, and next to Memminger &c &c. If you can possibly furnish this friend with those two specimens, or either of them, or can inform me where it is probable I may procure them, you would confer a particular favor upon

Very Respectfully yrs.
Lewis Cruger 221 E.W.

There is (of course) great excitement here over the proceedings to investigate the Title of Hayes to the Presidency—on this subject I wrote an opinion for one of the daily papers here in which I took (amongst others) the following grounds, 1st, That the *proper* proceeding was to impeach the person who had *completed and perfected* the fraud and inflicted it upon the country, and that was the person called "Aliende Bradly" who perpetrated that fraud by his casting vote and persisted in declaring that they could not go behind the *final action* of a State, when it was notorious that the *final action* of Florida was the declaration by her Govr. and Legislature that the action of their Returning Board was a fraud, and must be set aside, and the vote be given to Tilden; 2, That an investigation (distinctly authorized by the creation of the Electoral Board) had never been made and it was *the duty of Congress* to make it under that authority; 3, That even if (as the Republicans contended) the casting vote of Aliende Bradly had in fact settled the question, the question has often been decided by the highest Courts that a Court of Equity can re-open a case where new and important evidence is discovered *since the last trial* by which decision manifest injustice was inflicted.

(I took several other grounds, but those 3 were the principal ones, and I hope you agree with me.)

I signed my opinion with my usual designation of "Justinian," but gave my real name to the printer.

Please excuse my troubling you with my friend's unimportant request, and please inform us where I can possibly obtain the specimens he wants, and oblige

Mo. Respectfully yrs.
Lewis Cruger 221 E. W.

(Please inform me when you will publish your Book, for which I am most anxiously looking.)

endorsed:
Lewis Cruger; ansd. 20th May '78.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.)
May 17/78

My dear Davis,

I have seen Dr. Randolph three times and find that he has in vain searched his own house and that of his late father. Pollard's "Lost Cause" which he had, has disappeared. I feel confident that the papers sought for were published therein. Also that your objection to trading in that paper, was against letting cotton go to the Federals. That was a question of policy of which you were the judge. A little farm is like housekeeping, I am called on perpetually, and every time I begin to look over papers, am called off. However I find the answers I gave to you on Col. R. B. Lee's complaints, and Beauregard's support of him and Johnston's co-operation, show a purpose to break me down, irrespective of the interests of the government, show their own folly, trickery, and ignorance of the true situation of the country, and of the requirements of that situation and of the treasury Dept. policy, in insisting on the use of bonds in purchasing; also the necessity of starting on a uniform system of dealing with the people, so as to prevent discontent of sellers and to keep down extortion.

These papers with some references show that Lee and B. carried to the west the plan started at Manassas, that both L. and B. lost their heads in north Miss., were groundlessly alarmed on the plea of starvation, when they were even abundantly supplied by me; that they shortly before the retreat seised large supplies unnecessarily and that much meat was spoiled thereby and lost otherwise; that Lee insisted on contracting with a man named Yoakum to butcher and cure beeves furnished by me, on the terms forbidden at Manassas and the beef to be pickled to be received from Yoakum on his own estimate, that they sent an agent to Fla. to compete with my arrangements there, that I enforced harmonious action; that while abundantly supplied they called for 5 millions pounds of the bacon I had collected at Atlanta,—that while I had seen to a most ample supply of funds,—in advance and excess of requisitions untill declined by Major Walker (Lee's executive). He and Bd. concocted a plan with Moses Wick of getting up a banking (?) arrangement. From this must have sprung B's application to get rid of Lee and creating a position for him.

There is also a letter from Molloy, and one from Major Walker showing the advantages and principles of my system. Beauregard charged that Lee was hampered, falsely. I nursed them both, and fed them. Like the application for the Atlanta meat, it was an achor to leeward. Bd. alleged that his army was suffering from scurvy. I proved that they were unusually free from it, and that the desertions attributed to bad fare, must have had other causes. I sent them 7000 beeves from Texas. Some of our generals acted more like orang otangs than like upright men. I attributed in my paper the alleged demoralization to the fact that a victorious army under A. S. Johnston had been converted to one taking up a defensive and then retreating attitude under his successor, and I exposed the trickery about Lee and the banking plan. I defeated B. fully and had again to do the same at Charleston and I witnessed his incompetency at Drury's.

You must get Pollard's "Lost Cause." Examine that paper, and defend your policy about the cotton, and assume that as Lincoln's permit to trade for cotton was essential to its success, it would not have been extended enough to produce permanent good to us.

If our people cared now for any thing but money and pleasure and had a love for truth, your prospect would be bright, but it is not so. The south is demoralized and you are the last Chevalier. If you want any of my papers I can express them to you, addressing them as you may direct. I wish I could get to see you but it is not possible as explained in my last.

Affectionately your friend
L. B. N.

endorsed: L. B. Northrop.

O. R. Singleton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., May 18, 1878.

Hon. Jeffn. Davis,
Dr. Sir,

Enclosed please find copy of a Short Speech made by me in Ho. Reps. some time since, in connection with your letter asking that your name be excepted from the benefits of the Mexican pension bill, if by so doing its passage could be secured. In

that speech, by way of putting you properly before the Country, I spoke of the fact that you did in a certain meeting held in Jackson, in the Fall of 1860, convened at the request of Gov. Pettus, declare that you thought separate State action unwise and dangerous, and that Miss. had better move slowly, until eight or ten States could get ready, and then, all constitutional methods of settling our grievances having failed, these States, then ready, and having corresponded with each other, through their Governors, could and ought to pass each an ordinance of Secession on the same day, and at the same hour of the day, which would give dignity and the promise of success to the movement.

Without pretending to use your exact language, at this distant day, I ask, have I given the substance of your opinions and remarks? If not state them as nearly as you can.

In my speech I further said in substance that after it was ascertained that a majority of said meeting was in favor of Separate State action, that you declared your first and highest allegiance was due to Miss., and that you would share her fate, let her adopt what course she might. Is the substance of this statement correct?

You cannot but believe Dear Sir, that the Speech made by me was intended as an act of friendship to you, and to vindicate the truth of history. I have been wantonly and in a most unjustifiable manner assailed by Col. Barksdale of the Clarion, and charged with making statements contrary to the written history of the times. And for this purpose he publishes a letter addressed by many Southern Senators and Reps. in Congress, and among them yourself and my self to the Southern people, dated Decr. 14th 1860, when Congress had assembled and all of us knew that the only resort was Secession, whereas the meeting refered to in my speech, was held at Jackson in the fall of that year 1860, not less than one and perhaps two months previous to that date.

I have written to Gov. Brown and Genl. Reuben Davis as to their recollection of the facts of said conference, and I hope you will favor me with an immediate answer, which, I may be permitted to print if necessary.

With renewed assurances of friendship, I am Very Truly

O. R. Singleton

P. S. You will remember, that some time last Summer, I wrote to Maj. Walthall who is engaged with you in preparing your memoirs, the same facts which I repeat in the enclosed Speech;

and soon thereafter received a letter from him, now in my possession, at Canton, Miss., thanking me for the valuable information given, but in no wise gainsaying it.

S.

endorsed:
O. R. Singleton; ansd. 24th May '78.

C. R. Breckinridge[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

412 Poplar St., Memphis,
May 18th, 1878.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Your kind acknowledge of the papers I sent you was duly received; and I am pleased to infer that they are of some importance to you. I have not seen the article by Maj. Walthall; but as the events of the period of which he wrote are of special interest to me I will write for that copy of the Times. Indeed I subscribed for that paper last November; but by some mistake they claim never to have received the post-office order for my subscription. Today I am in receipt of an official notification, in answer to my inquiry to the Department, that the order was duly paid in Philadelphia, and as it was payable to their *order*, I shall now move on them with very good proofs. Those people are still talking about seeing their way clear to "good times." I do not see with their eyes. It seems to me they will not see good times until the policy of the Govt. is radically changed. The present depression is the logical result of a long continued policy of class legislation, sectionalism, and narrow minded avarice. As it took time for these violations of Nature's laws to break down the strong constitution of America, it will likewise take some time under even the best regimen for the Country to regain its strength and vigor. At best we are only slowly and with great difficulty and friction getting into the right course.

Thank God our section, after all its sufferings, is now suffer-

[1] Breckinridge, Clifton Rhodes (1846-), a politician and diplomatist, was born at Lexington, Ky., November 22, 1846, was educated at Lexington, and at the age of fifteen entered the Confederate Army, and then joined the navy. After the war he was a student at Washington (now Washington and Lee) college, Va. From 1870 to 1883 he was a cotton planter in Arkansas, and represented that State in Congress from 1883 to 1894, when he resigned his seat, having been appointed Minister to Russia. He held that office until 1897.

ing the least. It is useless for men to say that the root of the trouble lies in the tariff, or in the civil service, or in sectional legislation, or in bad financial legislation or management, whether public or private management, or in the dishonesty of a few or many officials;—it lies in every one of these. Each is only a branch, and all have been shockingly at fault ever since, especially, the close of the war. But because I started to write you a few lines of acknowledgement I am not bound to bore you with any of my opinions.

If Mrs. Breckinridge knew of my writing to you she would unite with me in sincere good wishes to you.

With great respect I have the honor to be

Your obt. servt.

C. R. Breckinridge.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

P.S. I think your last reply, to Mr. Hunter, a very convincing and conclusive proof of your position.

endorsed:
C. R. Breckenridge; kindly and political; rec. May 23rd 1878.

S. D. Lee to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Columbus, Miss. May 20, 1878.

Major W. T. Walthall,

My Dear Sir,

Yours of May 16th received, in which you ask for Mr. Davis, that I give my recollections and opinions with regard to the retreat from Dalton to Atlanta, and its effect on the "Morale" of the Army. Whether this was improved or not by the events which immediately followed the Fall of Atlanta? What in your opinion would have been the result if the Army had followed Sherman on his March to the Sea instead of going into Tennessee? What you may know of the decision at Palmetto as to his future movements of the Army in case of Genl. Shermans moving from Atlanta to the Sea?

I did not serve with the Army of Tennessee till after the battles of July 20 and 22 fought after Genl. Hood was its commander. Was with the Army then till the close of the war. From my own observation, combined with what I learned from others, my opinion was that the "Morale" of the Army de-

clined from the date of the battle order issued by Genl. Johnston on the Etowah. The army never understood why battle was not delivered after the issuance of that order, and settled into the belief that there would be no general battle to drive Sherman back. Being educated in the belief that their entrenchments could not be carried, the Army hesitated in taking the works of the enemy. This was shown in the battles around Atlanta, and is in marked contrast with that same army on the bloody field of Franklin, when they did not hesitate a moment. The spirit of the army after Hood's forward or aggressive movement was much improved, and had that army fought at Spring Hill instead of Franklin, Hood's Tennessee campaign would have been a brilliant success. No army ever displayed more gallantry in any field than did the Army of Tennessee on the ill chosen field of Franklin. The spirit of the army in the Tennessee campaign till after the battle of Franklin, was far better than when it was before Atlanta just previous to its fall.

After the battles around Atlanta and the Fall of that city, the army was not at all in good condition. Its spirit was in a measure broken. It had fallen steadily back from Dalton to the Chattahoochee, without fighting a general battle. After a change of commanders a more aggressive policy was pursued in trying to check the flank movements of Genl. Sherman. This policy was not successful in the battles of July 20, 22 and 28th and Aug. 30 at Jonesboro. In each instance the army was repulsed. Sherman though more cautious nevertheless carried his point on each occasion. In view of these facts it is my opinion: That had Sherman gone on his March to the Sea, and the Army followed him, instead of going on his communications as it did, the result would have been very much the same. His progress might have been delayed, but could not have been prevented with the "Morale" which the army had just after the fall of Atlanta.

As to any decision at Palmetto Station as to the future movement of the army in case Genl. Sherman moved from Atlanta towards the sea, I am not aware that any decision was arrived at. The leading idea as I understood it was that the spirit of the army was not good; a change of campaign was to be adopted; the army was to move on Sherman's communications, hoping a forward or aggressive movement might reinspire the troops, and an opportunity be offered of striking the enemy when divided if possible; it was hoped Sherman would be compelled to fall back on account of not being able to keep his communications open. I did not even know that Genl. Hood contemplated a movement into Tennessee till his arival at Gadsden Ala. This

is my recollection now. I think I wrote Mr. Davis on this matter once before. He has my reports I know of the battles around Atlanta. My opinion of the "Morale" of the Army is given in my report of offensive operations commencing with the movement from Palmetto Station Geo. (report in So. Hist. Society papers for Feb. 1877).

Yours Respecty.
S. D. Lee

F. Stringfellow to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

P.O. "Sublett's Tavern" Powhatan Co.
May 22d, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis:

Dear Sir:

I have just returned from a Church Council held in Lynchburg where I met Genl. Early. In the course of our conversation I asked for you, and he told me that you had been inquiring for my address. It is not surprising that I should often think of you, Mr. President, but that you should think of me is.

I do not think that our people have forgotten you, and although many seemed to consider it a religious duty to criticise each official act during the time of your administration they are at present very prompt to resent even an insinuation that you were not the very best President in the world.

So far as your reputation abroad is concerned I am sure that success would have been best for you, but so far as the *love* of your own people is concerned you are more beloved today than if you had carried our victorious banners through every Northern State.

Personally I have always been a Davis man, and could see but one blunder in your administration. I told you of it during the war. I wanted you to *take the field.* If you had assumed command of the Southern army the result might have been quite different. I do not mean to say one word against the Generals who commanded them, in turn, for I am sure that each one did his best, and they were good soldiers, but in my admiration for you, and your peculiar qualifications for a commander, I was satisfied that our Congress made a blunder in not requesting you to take command of Johnston's army at the time that Sherman began his march, or better still, before his plans were formed.

It is easy to see how things might have been otherwise, but it is hard to see why we did not succeed. I know that we were right, and I know that God permitted our overthrow, but I do not know how to harmonize these facts. I am sure that you have not thought any more on this subject than I have, but doubtless you have thought more *clearly*.

I still have your picture sent me through Mr. Francis Hopkins, when on yr. way to Europe. To give it prominence it hangs alone in my parlor, no other picture is allowed in the room. We often think of you and wish very much that you could come and visit us. You would find many friends in Va. who wd. do every thing to make you happy.

I understand that you are engaged in writing a history of our late war. Many desire to see the political side of the question. All agree that you are able to make a valuable and interesting contribution to the cause, if I can aid you in collecting materials for your book I will do so very cheerfully. I could help you to present a view of warfare wh. has never yet been noticed by any respectable writer, for want of *information* on the subject. I wish that you could come to see us, but if that is not possible I should like to be able to see you, perhaps I could aid you in yr. *undertaking,* or *pecuniarily*.

My wife and little Ida desire to be very kindly remembered. We can make you very comfortable and wd. be delighted to have you with us as long as you can stay.

Yours very truly,

F. STRINGFELLOW

endorsed:
F. Stringfellow; ansd. 4th June 1878.

Robert Ould[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, Va. May 23rd '78

W. T. Walthall, Esqr.

Dear Sir,

Your note of 20th inst. was received this morning. The journals of the Confederate Congress are nowhere to be found except

[1] Ould, Robert (1820-1882), a lawyer and political leader, was born at Georgetown, D. C., January 31, 1820; attended Jefferson College, Pennsylvania; graduated at Columbian College, D. C., in 1837; studied law at William and Mary College, Va.; was admitted to the bar in 1842; and practised at Washington, D. C., 1842-1861. He edited a revised code of

in our State library, which contains two copies of them. Possibly some copies may be found in Washington. Randolph and English have had an offer to purchase them standing for a long time without avail. If I can be of any service to Mr. Davis in copying extracts from those in the Library, or in any other way, let me know.

All the unprinted matter in the hands of the Public printer (of which I believe there was a large mass) was burned with the buildings which contained it, on the evacuation of Richmond. One document I know was there, the evidence taken before the Senate Committee of which Mr. Watson was Chairman, relating to the treatment of prisoners in the hands of the enemy, especially in the matter of food deprivation. In it was the testimony of parties, most of them men of the highest character, from nearly every Federal prison depot. It is a great pity that such a record was lost. Copies of Mr. Watson's report, based upon the evidence but only referring to it in a general way, were preserved. I think a copy appears in Stevenson's book.

Give my kindest regards to Mr. Davis and tell him I will be very happy to give any assistance in my power and that he and you must not hesitate to call on me.

Yours truly,

Ro: Ould.

endorsed:

Hon. Robert Ould Richmond, Va. 23 May, 1878; recd. 27 May '78.

Lewis Cruger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington (D. C.) May 25th (1878).

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir—

I am (as always) greatly gratified at the receipt of your kind letter of 20th Inst., and would not trouble you to read an un-

the District of Columbia in 1857; was appointed District Attorney, District of Columbia, and held office until after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. He then retired to Virginia and was appointed assistant secretary of War at Richmond. This office he held through Mr. Benjamin's term as Secretary of that department, and rendered especial service as agent for the exchange of prisoners under the cartel of July, 1862. After Lee's surrender he was for a time a prisoner under charge of treason, and then resumed the practice of law at Richmond. He was of counsel for Jefferson Davis. He died at his home in Richmond, Va., December 15, 1882.

necessary line from me, but for my desire to disclaim any possible intention in my previous letter to *criticise* (as you seem to think) the *military* operations of our Confederacy. I assure you that my intention then was (as I expressed it) simply to suggest the hope and desire that you would fully explain your most important reasons for the removal of Johnson, and for the invasion of the Northern States, (as those 2 proceedings have been more criticised than any others).

You remark in your letter that you chiefly desired some information from me as to my views as to the financial policy of our Govt., upon that subject I would simply say that in our crippled and ruined condition I do not think that any better could have been done except as to the great mistake that my old friend Meminger made (*in spite of all my urgent entreaties*) to refuse to purchase all the cotton of our planters and ship to Europe before the Yankee blockade, and to establish there a credit of *at least one thousand million of dollars* to enable us to procure from Europe and maintain a *larger Army* than the Yankees could possibly supply. How entirely different would then have been the result.

In regard to my view of the proper course in the progressing investigation here, you say that you do not see why Bradly should be selected for impeachment, more than the others. My reasons are briefly that it was an admitted and positive fact that his vote was the *casting vote* from his name being the *last on the roll* (as the *last appointee*) ; and 2d that his vote was regarded for some time as uncertain, as he repeatedly declared he was bound (as a *pretended State Rights man*) by the *final action* of every State, and it was then notorious that the *final action* of Florida was the declaration of her Govr. and legislature that the action of their Returning Board was a fraud and must be set aside &c.

But we can only *hope* the fraud will be exposed and that the truth will prevail.

Thanking you for your taking the trouble to refer to the trifling request of my friend as to his desired treasury notes, I remain Mo. Respectfully yrs.

LEWIS CRUGER 221 E.W.

(P.S. It seems a little singular that not one of my friends to whom I have written posseses any of the notes isued at Montgomery.)

J. R. Chalmers to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C. May 25, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Dear Sir,

Yours of 21st inst. received. A letter from you whether of endorsement, friendly criticism, or just censure would always be welcomed by me. I feel great pride in your interest in myself and recognise your right to speak freely to me of my faults.

I recognise for the first time how my speech if viewed with unfriendly eyes might be construed to my prejudice.

But you solve the whole problem when you say I used the language of my opponent in his sense and not my own. I was endeavoring to answer him from his own standpoint and to show that while they might call us traitors they were knaves, robbers and theives and I thought I expressed this as fully as parliamentary usage would allow.

And while I did not intend to admit that I should ask forgiveness of them, I meant to say that they had as real need to ask forgiveness as we. Upon the other point you may be right and I wrong. With kindest regards and highest esteem, I am, as ever,

Yours truly,
J. R. CHALMERS.

endorsed: J. R. Chalmers.

James Lyons to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Richmond. June 10th, 1878

To/
Major W. T. Walthall.
Mississippi.
Dear Sir:

I received in the due course of the mail, your letter of the 20th ulto, in which you say that by direction of Ex-President Davis, (meaning as I understand the Hon. Jefferson Davis, President of the late Confederate States) you address me in order to obtain such information as I can give "in regard to conferences by

members of Congress, with Mr. F. P. Blair, when he came to Richmond, and any information which he accidentally acquired of meetings of the Cabal in Congress to oppose the Administration—His recollection of the proceedings in which Mr. Rives was sent to Genl. Lee to propose conferring on him Dictatorial powers and anything else, which his known friendliness to the President caused him to note and remember.

Your letter should have been answered much sooner, but I have been confined to the house with Rheumatic gout for two years, and with very unsteady working capacity, I have been really very hard at work, and really it has not been in my power to reply to you.

There is not a man in the world, I believe, who entertains a higher opinion of Mr. Davis than I do, or who is more devoted to him, not only for his personal qualities, but for his devotion to—and sufferings for the South—and for the noble manner in which he has borne himself since the South fell. I agree with him that principle is eternal, and the day will come when the thinking and feeling portion of the People will do justice to his motives and conduct and that of the men, who like him, imperilled all for Constitutional Liberty—and if the Southern men then and now in Public affairs had been in accord with his principle and patriotic courage, we would not have the Constitution overturned and the Supreme Court degraded and debauched by the choice of a negro-worshipping President through fraudulent means, and the influence of terror, produced by a display of cannon—and the yet more mortifying fact that Southern Democrats connived at it, and the day of retribution to him and his principles would be at hand— Still, I do not mean to say that Mr. Davis was the best man for a War-President— He had been the head of the War office under the old government and administered it too honestly and fearlessly, and of course incurred many prejudices and formed some— But he would have made and would make, the best Peace and Constitutional President, who has lived since the days of Mr. Jefferson. The very fact that I entertained these opinions and always avowed them makes me the person least apt to furnish Mr. Davis with the information he desires, for I never was in any private meeting of the disaffected, and almost all that I know is, hearsay. As to Francis P. Blair—I know very little; for I always despised him after he became an abolitionist and radical, and was never in his company that I recollect but once—that was at a breakfast at Mrs. Stanard's at the corner of 8th and Franklin Sts—Several gentlemen were at the breakfast but I now recollect only Mr. Blair

and Mr. Stephens the Vice-President—I suppose I recollect them because their conversation attracted me most. Mr. Blair did not talk much. He struck me as a man talking to conceal his opinions, and draw out the opinions of others. In other words, like a *spy,* as I believed he was. I recollect that he was not authorized by Lincoln to make any offer or suggestion, but knew his sentiments and we (meaning the Confederates) could make better terms with him now (then) than we would be able to make again. Mr. Stephens also avowed himself as in favor of Peace, but denounced the conduct of the War very much—so much so that I said to him "What is your plan of conducting the War? As you are so decided in your opposition to the present plan of conducting the War, you must have conceived at least a plan which you think better. The very process of the mind, which condemns one plan, necessarily suggests a competing plan, and you owe it to the Country to develop *your* plan—" But he would develop no plan, although he continued to abuse the existing plan of the War. As I went home after breakfast, on Ninth St., near St. Paul's church, I met Mr. Benjamin, Secretary of State—we stopped to speak to each other— He asked if I could tell him where Mr. Stephens was— I replied that I had just left him with Francis P. Blair at the residence of Mrs. Stanard. He then told me he wished to see him, because there was to be a meeting of Commis^{ors} upon the subject of Peace in Hampton Roads—and the President had appointed Mr. Stephens one of the Commis^{ors} and he wished to see and inform him. I was surprised at the appointment and apprehended that the terms if any were agreed upon, would be very bad for us—and after I reached home I wrote to Mr. Stephens telling him what I had heard from Mr. Benjamin and urging him not to agree to any terms, which did not free us from Yankee rule— In reply he wrote— "You may be perfectly certain that you will approve any term, which I may consent to"—

Dagger's Springs. July 31st 1878—

After much interruption from heat and unavoidable business writing, some evidence of which I take the liberty to send you, I was finally struck down on the 17th June and am just now able to resume.

Subsequently I called at the residence of Mr. Stephens, which was diagonally opposite to that of the President—in what was called the Bruce House. I was shown up to his chamber where I found Mr. Lamar—since dead, I believe—and Mr. Stephens

continued his denunciation of the conduct of the War, and I again urged him to disclose his plan, saying that "of necessity you must have a plan and you owe it to yourself, the President and the Country to disclose it"— He replied that it would do no good to do so, for the President disliked him and would pay no respect to anything he might say and as proof of that he said that he had pulled *three* times at the President's bell, meaning the door bell of his dwelling, and although in the house, the President had taken no notice of him. I replied "I know nothing about *ringing the Bell*, but I know Mr. Davis very well, and I feel sure that he knew nothing about it; and I was sure that the President and Genl. Lee would fairly consider any plan he might submit and if it was the best, would adopt it. Finally being very much pressed he avowed his plan, which was, to allow all the soldiers, who desired to do so, to go home and see their families, and be well fed and rested and they would return in time to fight as much as was necessary— Affecting to put a grave face upon this absurdity, I replied that the plan would doubtless answer very well if Genl. Grant would asent to it—to which he replied "What has Genl. Grant to do with it?" I answered Genl. Lee tells me that his back is now almost broken by the effort to keep Grant out of Richmond with the Army in front of him, and if that Army were dispersed without his consent he would of course march into Richmond immediately— This ended the conversation on that point and I very soon left.

The disaffection of many members of Congress and their hostility to the President was generally known. The most prominent of the disaffected were Messrs Stephens Foote of Tennessee and Baldwin of Virginia— They often expressed it to me as well as to others, and Mr. Foote even suggested in Congress that a Dictator should be appointed in the place of the President— The hostility to the President and the talk of putting some one in his place was the subject of more than one conversation between the President and myself and he always said that he would resign immediately if Mr. Stephens would—but he could never surrender the Government to one who would immediately surrender it to the enemy, as he was sure Mr. Stephens would. I was so impressed by the hostility of Mr. Davis and the danger to our cause attending it that I expressed my feelings and opinions to the President, and offered in the House of Representatives a resolution inviting the President to address the House, giving all his views of the War, and that every member could express his views also, and thus we should find out what the difficulties were, and where they were— One member suggested that it

would not be dignified in the House to invite the President to address the House before it was informed that he wished to do so, another suggested that it might not be safe for the President to come into the House and some said, that they did not wish to be dictated to by the President, finally, the resolution was laid upon the table until I could communicate with the President and report his reply— I did communicate with the President, and he expressed his hearty concurrence in the idea of addressing the House orally, and said he would do so with much pleasure but he must first confer with the Cabinet, which I reported to the House— He did not mention the subject again to me, and delicacy prevented me from renewing it—and he did not address the House and the disaffection to him increased— In justice to President Davis I must say that there never was in my opinion a body of men less fitted for the task which they had undertaken than the first Congress, and I am told the second was worse. Jealousy, selfish ambition and consequent discord prevailed from the commencement, and in a month after I took my seat in it, I would have resigned but for the dissuasion of my wife, who was devoted to the cause, and said that my resignation would be misunderstood and regarded as disaffection to the cause, than which nothing could have been more terrible, for in my mind there never was one more holy, not excepting that which prompted the battles of Salamis, Bunker Hill and Yorktown— In fact it was the same love of liberty and equal rights, with the advantage to us that we fought for Constitutional liberty which Montesquieu tells us in his "Esprit des Lois" furnishes the only safe guard to Liberty. The result of the War has not changed my opinion for the Constitution has been overthrown by Grant and Hayes and their followers—and in my opinion we live under the most corrupt and worst civilized Government in the world—

Of Congress, one of the worst features was that the men, who were most violent, "die in the last ditch men," until they came to the ditch, were men who were as violently opposed to secession, and when they could, defeated all reasonable measures—and among other curious indications denounced the Conscript Laws, as unconstitutional; and yet, voted for them— Another destroying characteristic was that with a number of the extreme Southern men, the love of Cotton was greater than the love of Liberty and therefore no sensible measure, in which cotton was to be a base, could be adopted. Such was the violence upon one occasion of Mr. Wright of Georgia (who afterwards I believe went into the enemy's line) that upon one occasion, when in secret session,

I proposed by a Bill to allow cheap cotton and freedom from duties to all nations, who would bring us specie or munitions of War, that I replied it was obvious that he and those who acted with him loved cotton more than Liberty and if such was the case, they had better open the doors and proclaim the old slang that "Cotton is King" and dissolve the Confederacy thereby, as they would, for the people would fight for Constitutional Liberty—but not for Cotton. The Hon. J. L. M. Curry, who was chairman of the Committee of Commerce from which the Bill came arose like a sensible patriot as he is, and protested against Mr. Wright's doctrines—and many other wise Southern men did the same thing—but the Bill (nevertheless) was laid upon the table and never taken up afterwards. Upon that and similar occasions, the Anti-Secessionists voted with the destructives— Many wanted Peace on any terms, which would restore them to the Union, as it was, and is in my opinion miscalled— for it was and is the most detestable tyranny— History does not afford a parallel in atrocity to the effort of civilized white christians, to subject their brethren of the same caste, to the dominion of unchristianized, uneducated Africans, who had been always their slaves, knowing their passions and habits were brutal, and that they were necessarily utterly unfit for the task of governors, enacting Constitutional provisions and passing Laws to compel the White man to associate with the Africans as equals, if not inferiors, necessarily leading to amalgamation of the Races, which means the degradation and ultimate extinction of the White Race— If the Africans, the lowest of all human races, or even the Indians a much nobler race treat white people who go among them in a similar manner, Northern refinement shrieks and faints, and its christianity groans and grieves over the martyrdom.

I avail myself of the occasion to vindicate Mr. Davis against a charge, widely circulated to his great injury not only by his enemies, but upon the authority of his enemies, by those who would otherwise be his friends— The charge of injustice and prejudice against Genl. Joseph E. Johnston, in his removal from command— The act was a most disastrous one indeed, but I happen to know that instead of being the work of premeditated injustice and prejudice President Davis disapproved it and it would not have been done if President Davis had felt himself at liberty to prevent it. The Hon. Ben Hill of Georgia, who advocated the removal of Genl. Johnston dined en famile with my wife and myself on the day of the removal and informed us of the removal. He said he was admitted to the session of

the Cabinet while the removal was under discussion, and when it was accomplished and the President opposed it and said with great feeling "Gentlemen it is very easy to remove the Genl. but when he is removed his place must be filled and where will you find a man to fill it? That evening the President rode out to my farm and took Tea, as he often did, when visiting the Batteries on my farm and told us of the removal— I expressed my regret at it and asked him why he did it—when he replied, I could not help it— Hill urged it on behalf of the people of Georgia and Benjamin and Seddon were so violent that they would listen to nothing— If I have condemned the opposition of Mr. Stephens to the plan of the War, it is proper to state that I condemned it in some respect—viz. In my opinion it should have been invasive and not defensive. When Genl Lee took command in Virginia I called on him, and having been for many years on the most friendly and familiar terms with him, I ventured to urge him to "carry the war into Africa" and plant his standard on the North bank of the Potomac, saying that a slave-holding nation was the strongest for an invasive war, and the weakest for a defensive, because the colored laborers could stay at home and make food without being affected by the enemy's proclamations, and Maryland would spring to our feet an armed border state, while around his banner an army of half a million of the bravest and best riders and shots would rally immediately; that Washington City would fall and the enemy be compelled to fly to Havre-de-Grace and ultimately to Pennsylvania, upon whose soil, and not ours, the battle would be fought; that Peace would speedily follow, and in any event the possession of the Capitol would be under the Law of Nations, an important fact for us— His reply was "We have not the men"— Subsequently Genl. Magruder telegraphed that he would be in Richmond on a named day and asked me to meet him at the cars— He came and I met him, and took him to our Aulic Council, to whom he said "I have just crossed the Long Bridge, which is guarded by my old Battery—the men recognized me by moonlight and would have cheered me but I repressed them— Give me five thousand men and if I don't take Washington, you may take not only my sword, but my life—" Genl. Lee was called in, and Genl. Magruder made the same statement and I made a speech in support of it. The President of the council, Judge Allen by order of the court called for the opinion of Genl. Lee and he gave the same answer which he had given to me. In vain I said we shall have to fight one to three at least throughout the War and the sooner we do it the better—precipi-

tating our material against their number. I afterwards voted against the first invasion of Pennsylvania to the great surprise of Col. Miles, the chairman of the Military Committee and others who knew I had been for an invasive War and Col. Miles so expressed himself upon the floor. My reply was shut the doors and I will explain. In open session I will not. My reason was that the time for invasion had passed and had not yet come again—and if our Army was then carried into Pennsylvania it would be difficult to get it back again and so it was. I objected also to the conduct of the War in passing the impressment Bill— I told Congress it would destroy our cause and nothing would induce me to vote for it—and I urged the President to veto it— His reply was "Genl. Lee calls for it Congress has passed it— How can I then veto it?" It did more to ruin us than the guns of the enemy—

With great respect
Your friend
(Signed) James Lyons.

E. Barksdale to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

The Clarion Office,
Jackson, Miss. June 19th, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the 13th was received and is published in the Clarion of this date. I am gratified by the friendly assurances it contains; and believed from the tenor of your previous letter to Mr. Singleton's reference to the same matter that it was written without knowledge of all the attending circumstances. I have not expressed before my belief to that effect, but I think the statement of Mr. Singleton on the floor of Congress, unfortunate,—because, while it placed you in an attitude of at least seeming opposition to the course (of many) of your political friends in the South, it failed to appease the animosity of sectional foes who have looked with as little indulgence upon what was called separate State action as cooperation, because both policies tended to the same ending; the establishment of a Southern Confederacy. Not having made anything that savored of a "penitential plea" yourself to propitiate unreasoning and

implacable foes, I did not see the good that would result from such course on the part of a friend, however well meant. In other words, your written record was good enough as it stood without the supplement of an "unwritten" one.

With best wishes for your health and prosperity,

I remain as always,

Your friend,

E. Barksdale.

endorsed; E. Barksdale about Singleton; 19th June 1878.

E. Barksdale to Jefferson Davis.

The Clarion Office,
Jackson, Miss. July 20th 1878

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter in reference to the statement of Mr. Collyar. There was a class of obstructionists in the Confederate Congress who were constantly discouraging the government by the introduction of peace resolutions, and by prophecies of defeat, but I have no distinct recollection of the particular resolutions which he claims to have introduced. The subject of the peace commission engaged my attention especially and I well remember your conversations with me in reference thereto. I am certain that you could have authorized no promise of the kind mentioned by him, and that none was made by your authority in the Congress. A fact so important could not have escaped my knowledge and recollection. My daughter is seriously ill and when she recovers sufficiently to enable me to write as I would wish, I will address a letter to Maj. Walthall in reference to Mr. Collyar's statements, which, if you deem worth while, upon consultation with him, can be forwarded for publication in the Annals of the Army of Tennessee, or otherwise disposed of as may be deemed best.

With kind remembrances to Mrs. Davis, I remain,

Truly your friend,

E. Barksdale

E. B. Thompson to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Marion, Ala. June 25, 1878.

Dear Sir—

I have wished that every friend and admirer of yours would write letters of encouragement and endorsement and express openly to you their love of their political truths and the high stand for patriotic principle which you hold. But I feel that thousands who love you and know you are right are convinced that a more timid policy and acquiescence in the rulings of the successful Robbers is expedient—I know you would rather be the victim of successful Villains than to condone their crime. This is high principle and will make you glorious in History even if it bars you from active participation in the present work of our country.

Our country makes many mistakes, and one of its most unfortunate errors is that of suffering your experience and genius and rare political power to be unused.

It is like putting the Captain in irons in the hold while the ship is in a storm and entrusting the lives of the crew to the care of the "middies."

Your letter to the people of Macon on last "Decoration Day" was full of consolement to those who have the "Conquered Banner" and endorse still the sentiments which it represents—I said to a friend of mine. "How emphatically this letter proves that the 'pen is mightier than the sword.' This letter is of more effect—coming as it does in this way and at this crisis—in establishing the righteousness of the cause for which we fought than did the glorious Battles. This phrase '*inalienable rights*' is more full of truth, than was that dreadful and distructive phrase of Mr. Seeward's '*irrepressible conflict.*' " I hope this Macon letter will be lithographed that I may frame a copy for my own use—

I know you do not need letters or applause—you are as wedded to principle and the true faith as a patriot can be. I only creep our of my humble shell to tell you that I *love you.* You are one of the "Apples of Gold" in the picture of Silver that my youthful heart worshipped.

You have never done one act—nor have your foes added one slander more that did not make you still more glorious to me.

Yours humbly

(Signed) E. B. Thompson.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

TELEGRAM.

Mississippi City, Miss. June 27, 1878

To Maj. W. T. Walthall
180 Canal St. N. O.

My daughter Mrs. Hayes arrives by Jackson road between ten and eleven tomorrow Friday Please meet her at station.

Jefferson Davis

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(276)

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) June 28th, 1878.

My dear Davis,

Yours of the 19th inst. and the package of Orange canes have arrived. My younger son Ximens has asked for one, so each of us have a souvenir of your handicraft and friendship. After I left Charleston for Montgomery, my little Clement took the measles and the worst of the sequaelae. Otitis remained. I thought it had got well; she was sent to school by her Aunt Clara de Bernaben. I was occupied by labour &c &c. About 18 weeks ago I found the oozing of pus from the ear occasionally occurred. I procured a syringe and began treatment; the first time I used it, it made her dizzy and gave pain. I satisfied myself that the influx of the fluid was acting on a part of brain inevitably painful, showing disorganisation, and that death and protracted suffering was before her, and the end not very remote. The whole picture was before me. I warned her mother and herself *then*. She fell comatose last Friday and died in a few hours, never having been in bed. She was without exception the

most beautiful and gracefull creature I have ever seen, and in soul, the most noble and elevated. She never in her life ever manifested fear, or selfishness; she has never murmured, complained or *required* anything; she never talked of her rights, and ever sacrificed herself to others; she was so charitable and true, was never heard to say a hard or unjust thing of another, she read with more profit and appreciation than any of her connections, or other lady except my mother, who was her antitype. She was devoted to me, and I used to look at her with veneration. I have never dealt with any other person in life towards whom there would not be some fluctuations of feeling consequent on human impulse. My love for Clara was absorbing unwavering, and never had such phases. I am content for she is blessed. No heavier blow can fall, so I am impregnable for the future. Your letter arrived the day she fell, or your gifts would have been noticed sooner. The last two months have been dolorous ones, and have detached me very much from ordinary attractions and made me more attentive to deficiencies in myself which her example contrasted with. She was a most pure soul.

I have kept up my search for Pollard's book and have found a copy, which has been loaned me. E. B. Trent & Co. N. Y. were the publishers. As your papers were lost and access to our Confederate records refused, this book of alleged details would be like a list of events, which would thus be useful. He abuses you in a judicial style and spiteful spirit, and lies somewhat, and romances and condemns without supporting his judgements. I thought he had published the paper on which our endorsements were made, but he only gives his construction of it and the endorsements. It is this paper to which Ruffin referred and an endorsement by you is given based solely on political and financial reasons against departing "from the well known policy of our government in relation to cotton."

I will write to Baltimore and see if I can get a copy for you. Adios my friend

faithfully yours,
L. B. N.

P.S. If I fail I will transcribe from the text which appertains to this subject.

endorsed:
L. B. Northrop.

L. Q. C. Lamar[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Oxford Miss. June 29th 1878.

Maj. W. T. Walthall,
Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Miss.

Dear Sir,

In consequence of my detention at Washington and indisposition since my arrival here, I have not been able to answer your letter of 22nd until now.

I have neither the original nor a copy of the letter to which you refer. I will write today to General Gordon to whom the original note was written to send it, or a copy, to you. This note was a mere memorandum left upon his table, of what I called upon him to say orally in reference to a business which had been proposed to be committed to me, but which I knew he would be glad to undertake. A newspaper man having access to his room took note of it without Gen. Gordon's knowledge or authority, as I am assured, and published it. The publication itself was inexact and did justice neither to the substance nor letter of the memorandum.

General Gordon proposed at the time to make a publication in reference to it; but I felt so disgusted that I declined to allow him to do so. It is proper to state, however, that nothing has ever fallen from my lips or pen which, either directly or indirectly, charged Ex President Davis with participation in what is popularly known as the repudiation Acts of Mississippi,

[1] Lamar, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus (1825-1893), a statesman and jurist, was born in Putnam County, Ga., September 17, 1825, graduated at Emory College, Ga., in 1845, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1847. He removed to Oxford, Miss., in 1849; taught mathematics in the State university, 1850-1853; then removed to Covington, Ga., to practise law; was elected a member of the Georgia House of Representatives in 1853; removed to Lafayette County, Mississippi, in 1855; was a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1857, to December, 1860; was a member of the Mississippi Convention of 1861 and drafted the Ordinance of Secession. He was lieutenant colonel of the 19th Mississippi in the Confederate army and served in Virginia. In 1862 he was appointed special commissioner of the Confederacy to Russia, but the Confederate Senate refused to confirm his appointment. In 1864 he was appointed Judge Advocate General of the Confederate Army. For several years after the war he was professor of philosophy and law in the University of Mississippi. In 1872 he was elected to Congress. He served two terms and was then elected to the Senate, from which he resigned in 1885 to become Secretary of the Interior. In 1887 he was appointed associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. Justice Lamar died at Macon, Ga., January 23, 1893. Consult Edward Mayes: Lucius Q. C. Lamar, 820 pp., Nashville, 1896.

nor have I ever, either publicly or privately, attributed to him any act or thought that was not great and heroic.

Very respectfully, L. Q. C. Lamar

(Note; Col. Lamar wrote this letter and by mistake left it in a drawer in my office. I accidentally came across it to day and send it. He and I both thought it had been mailed on the day of its date.

July 22 1878. H. P. Branham.)

endorsed: Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar; 29 June 1878; recd. 24 July 1878.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Major W. T. Walthall
My Dear Sir,

The expected copy of the miniature came today & is sent you herewith. I also send to you some proof sheets forwarded to me by Mr. Cage.—he did not say whether he wished me to return them & I have asked him that question— Before he replies you will have time to examine them. Some of the citations are valuable & the views expressed forcibly sustain our own in the subject of state sovereignty specially & the derivations therefrom which are quite well put in his strictures on Mr. Reeves. It may be well to refer back to Mss. on these subjects to see whether some of the authorities may not be well cited & whether some of the criticisms do not point to rocks and shoals which we may not have sufficiently avoided. I am better today than I was yesterday tho' suffering for a short time as when you were with me regards to Mrs Walthall & your children

I am ever faithfully

Jefferson Davis

James Lingan to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New Orleans, June 30th 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
My dear Sir,

Great interest is manifested in our excursion and more particularly from the effect of your kind promise to Address our

association. The press are on the alert, with considerable rivalry, to give wide circulation to your utterences. From this fact, and from a great desire to avoid, if possible, any chance for misrepresentation or missquoting of your words and sentiments, I have thought that you would not deem it amiss on my part to inform you of the same, and to ask from you any suggestions as to any precautions you may think proper to be taken in the premises. I have been frequently asked if you would write out your Address in advance? If you would do so, and it meets your approval, I can have it printed in advance and submit the proof to you, and have it transmitted *in full verbatim* by the "Associated Press" to the whole press of the country on the evening of the 10th July. Indeed the Agent of the "Associated Press," whom I personally know very well, has assured me that he will willingly have it printed himself and transmit a *full* and *verbatim* report.

Permit me to say, it occurs to me, this is the only way to forestall the misrepresentations of the northern press, and prevent corrections or explanations, and I sincerely hope it may meet your approval and not intrude too much upon your valuable time.

Thanking you again for your great kindness in acceding to our request, assuring you of our desire to avoid, by every precaution, anything that may cause you to regret your indulgence to us, and begging to be kindly remembered with compliments to Mrs. Davis and all of your household, I am,

With great respect and esteem,
Most Sincerely Yours,
JAMES LINGAN.
President A. A. T.

Wm. H. McCardle to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Columbus, Missi. July 2, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Mississippi City, Missi.
My dear Sir,

I wrote to Genl. Wirt Adams, in reference to Genl. Johnston's failure to rebuild the railroad bridge at Jackson in the summer of 1863; he knew nothing about it, but referred me to Col. E. D. Frost, at McComb City, Missi. Col. Frost wrote me a few days

since as follows,—"The military at Jackson would make no move to rebuild without *orders* from Richmond, and no order was ever sent. A safe temporary bridge, strong enough to carry over all railroad property and equipments, could have been built by a detail from the army *in a week's time"!*

Is it usual for a military commander to wait for orders from his government to make a detail to repair a damage to his means of transportation, such as the burning of a bridge on the only railroad open for his use? Please answer.

If you have no objection to telling me, I should like to be informed as to the special mission of Lamar to Europe, its object, and the measure of success, if any, attending that mission? I *have* heard that it was more of a mision of commiseration, a search for health, through the medium of a sea voyage, than anything else. If you have any objection to answering the question *don't do it.* I have an idea that I shall have occasion to apply the scalpel to the gentle Lucius, before the year has passed away, and I want you to answer, if you answer at all, with the knowledge that the *facts* you may communicate will be used unless you enjoin me not to do so.

I wrote, at your suggestion, to J. D. Jr., and received the information sought.

I will be glad to have, at your earliest convenience, your *estimate* of our old friend Genl. Charles Clark, as I wish to finish my sketch of him for Claiborne's history. You can send it to me at *Warrenton,* Virginia, to which place I go in a few days. I shall leave my family there and vibrate between it and Washington.

Very truly your friend,
Wm. H. McCardle

endorsed:
W. H. McCardle; ansd. 25 July 1878.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Maj. Walthall

My dear Sir, I send as you desired the sketch of what I will try to say tomorrow, but it may well be that the language will not be closely followed. The order and ideas will probably be near enough for your use.

Enclosed please find the letter of Col. Lingan mentioned the other day—

Your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS

9th July 1878.

E. C. Walthall[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Grenada Missi. 10 July 1878.

Maj. W. T. Walthall,
Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Missi.
My dear Sir,

I have recd. yrs of 5th inst., and subsequent note, without date, on the same subject. I have an impression about the Ten. campaign which I will give you for what it is worth, and which may be entirely erroneous. If it is, Gen. Hood will be able to set the matter right. Officers of my rank were not often called into councils, and our means of knowing the plans and purposes of the General in chief were limited of course.

I do not believe it was thought Genl. Sherman would move south from Atlanta at the time Gen. Hood removed, or commenced removing his supplies from Blue Mountain to Tuscumbia.

While our base of supplies was Blue Mountain, or near there, and we were lying west of Atlanta watching Sherman's movements, intending, as I think, to fall on his rear, if he did move out, with the Army of Ten. and to oppose him with such State troops and others as could be thrown on his front, Sherman remained in the City. After this state of things had continued some days, Sherman meanwhile manifesting no unmistakable purpose to move out, our supplies were ordered around by rail to Tuscumbia. When the removal had so far progressed that

[1] Walthall, Edward Cary (1831-1898), a soldier and political leader, was born in Richmond, Va., April 4, 1831, removed with his family to Holly Springs, Miss., in 1841, received a literary education at St. Thomas Hall, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1852. He began practising at Coffeeville, Miss., and was district attorney for the tenth judicial district, 1856-1861. At the outbreak of the war he entered the Confederate service as lieutenant, 15th Mississippi, and rose to the rank of major general. His service was especially with the western army. At the battle of Missionary Ridge and after Hood's defeat at Nashville, General Walthal showed conspicuous skill. In 1871 he settled at Grenada, Miss., and was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1868, 1876, 1880, and 1884. In 1885 he succeeded L. Q. C. Lamar in the U. S. Senate, and but for a brief interval in 1894 continued in the Senate until his death in Washington, D. C., April 21, 1898.

we were compelled to move to Tuscumbia to join our supplies, which could not be moved back without at least considerable delay, Sherman moved south and we were forced to move north *to* our supplies, or do worse and pursue Sherman without supplies.

When we reached Tuscumbia it would have been idle, as it seems to me, to have turned and pursued Sherman, for it was too late to effect any thing in that way, and there was nothing left us but the experiment of moving Northward. If we could have waited near Atlanta till Sherman moved out it seems clear that our course would have been to follow him, but after going to Tuscumbia if we had turned back the depressing effect on the Army would have been considerable, not so much because of its being a "retrograde movement", as a movement showing such indecision and apparent want of continuity of purpose or of plans as would have destroyed all faith and confidence in the ability of the Genl. in chief.

My individual opinion (never publicly given because there has been no occasion for it, and because I had not the best opportunity of knowing the facts and was never absolutely certain I understood them correctly) has always been that Sherman got a great advantage over us in delaying his Southward movement until our supplies were removed and we were thus disabled to follow him, and so they were enabled to move thro' Georgia with knowledge that he could not be soon harrassed.

But I think this misfortune of ours could not have been repaired by turning back from Tuscumbia,—first on account of the time lost and next because of the effect of the *vacillation* upon the troops, then barely reconciled to the change of commanders.

What I have written has been very general, without referring to any data, and in the midst of a pressure of professional duties, but I hope it will be intelligible.

Very truly yours,
E. C. Walthall.

Address of Hon. Jefferson Davis

Delivered at Mississippi City July 10, 1878 upon the occasion of the presentation of Army of Tennessee Badge and Certificate of Membership to Mr. Davis.

The gratitude felt for your kindness, and the appreciation of the honor you have conferred, are doubly dear to me. Dear, as

they are an expression of your friendship and esteem, and not less dear as they are an exponent of the magnanimity of those who have much of sorrow and sacrifice to remember in connection with the period of my administration.

The history of the world is full of examples where rewards and honors and public appreciation have waited on the successful, and where condemnation followed failure; with little discrimination in either case as to the merit or demerit of the conduct applauded or condemned. To you, my countrymen, belongs the distinction of presenting an exception to the rule.

You come to-day to confer a badge and order on one endeared to you by our common misfortune, and especially regarded by you because he has been the particular object of the hate and unwearying slander of his and your enemies. I am cordially thankful for this kindness and proud to be enrolled in an association of men whose opinions and friendships do not veer with the changing tides of fortune. Your organization was appropriate, if not needful, to preserve the memories and cherished brotherhoods of your soldier life, and cannot be objectionable to any, unless it be to one who holds your services to have been in an unworthy cause and your conduct such as called for repentance and forgiveness. The weary march, the picket, the ill-supplied camp, the heart-depressing hospital, as well as the battle field, afford numerous occasions to call forth the generosity and fidelity of soldier friends, and of all the tenderest memories and closest and strongest ties these are perhaps the most enduring. But to sanctify these friendships there must be pride as well in the cause as in the conduct. The veteran who shoulders his crutch to show how fields were won must not be ashamed of the battle in which he was wounded. To higher natures success is not the only test of merit; and you, my friends, though you were finally unsuccessful, have the least possible cause to regret the flag under which you marched or the manner in which you upheld it. Under provocation the bitterest and oft-repeated, yours was never the policy of retaliation. While your homes were laid waste and your families often left destitute, the peaceful home of an enemy suffered not at your hands; nor had the non-combatants cause to tremble at your coming, either in their body or estate. There were some who were not with our marching armies that advocated raising the black flag, but you preferred to share your canteen with the wounded enemy and your half ration with a hungry prisoner. In the heat of the conflict, I commended this exhibition of magnanimity on the part of our soldiers in a general order, and remember with pride the chivalry

which called it forth. It were needless to recall the instances of cruel and unmanly conduct of the enemy towards the aged men and helpless women and children of our land; if it were possible to forget, it were well such acts were forgotten. The noblest have most power to forgive, and the meanest are most revengeful. The first is best able to return good for evil; that is your part, and your past conduct shows how well you were able to meet the requirement.

As an original question, the propriety of exercising the State right of secession in 1861 was at least debatable, but the course pursued by the Federal Government, after the war had ceased, vindicates the judgment of those who held separation to be necessary for the safety and freedom of the Southern States. The unsuccessful attempt to separate left those in power to work their will, as it had been manifested when they first got control of the Government. The events are too recent to require recapitulation, and the ruin they have wrought, the depravity they have developed, require no other memorial than the material and moral wreck which the country presents.

Permit me to say of the controverted question of secession by a State from the Union, of which it was a member by compact, voluntarily made, that my faith in that right as an inherent attribute of State sovereignty, was adopted early in life, was confirmed by the study and observation of later years, and has passed, unchanged and unshaken, through the severe ordeal to which it has been subjected.

Without desire for a political future, only anxious for the supremacy of the truths on which the Union was founded, and which I believe to be essential to the prosperity and the liberties of the people, it is little to assume that I shall die, as I have lived, firm in the State rights faith.

In other times and places I have discussed the right of a State to withdraw from the Union, and will not repeat the argument on this occasion.

Suffice it to say, the historical facts from which the right is deducible can only be overthrown by the demolition of the principles on which the government of our fathers was ordained and established. The independence and sovereignty of the State carried with it the obligation of the allegiance of the citizen to his State. To refuse to defend it when invaded would be treason. To respond to its call and go forth with those who "hung the banner on the outer wall," was a legal duty and obligation to his home, and all it held dear—alike binding on the father, the brother, the son and the citizen. The propriety

of engaging in war is a question open to debate; but, when it has been entered on, to shrink from its trials and responsibilities is a crime, which in all ages has been denounced by the patriotic and the brave.

It is questionable whether war is ever justifiable except for defence, and then it is surely a duty. No calling or condition in life exempts the citizen from service where his countrymen think he can be useful. Thus the good Bishop Polk reasoned before entering the army, after solemn meditation and prayer, for he told me, before doing so, that he regarded the war as *pro aris et focis,* and that his calling required rather than excluded him from serving, wherever and however he was most needed. This holy man, with pious thought, buckled on his sword and how heroically he bore himself on many battle fields you the survivors of the Army of Tennessee can best bear witness. Throughout his arduous service he continued his ministerial functions, instructing as well by precept as example, while, ever mindful of Him in whose hands is the destiny of man, he prayerfully invoked God's favor on the righteous cause he righteously supported. When he fell on the field of battle, slain, like pious Abel, by his brother, the earth never drank nobler blood than his, and no purer spirit ever ascended to the Father.

Martyrdom has generally been accepted, and surely with reason, as proof of the sanctity of the cause for which the martyr died. Time would not serve to enumerate even a small part of the examples furnished by your prayerful army, of pious service and pious death in battle, but pride and affection will not allow me to leave them all to silent memory. The Greek who defended the pass and the Roman who held for a time the bridge have been immortalized in song and story. Yet neither of these performed a more heroic deed than did Tilghman, the commander of Fort Henry. To save his command from capture, he and a handful of equally devoted followers served the few guns they had in the fort, and delayed the comparatively vast force and armament attacking them until his brigade, thus covered, could retreat upon Fort Donelson. At last, when his defences were breached, he surrendered with the surviving remnant of the gallant little band, who had offered themselves a willing sacrifice on the altar of their country, and went to that torture, mental and physical, which any of you who had the misfortune to be a prisoner know how to estimate.

Close by in time and space was another example of patriotic and soldierly devotion, which you will not value the less for not having been crowned with victory—the defence of Fort Donel-

son, on which depended the possibility of holding our line in Southern Kentucky and the safety of Nashville.

Relying on constitutional guarantees and restrictions, the South had not prepared for the war before taking the step which led to it. Therefore it was not possible to supply you with the clothing and shelter needful in the extraordinary cold and sleet, nor to garnish the work you defended with an armament and munitions at all comparable to that of your assailants; yet to the world it is known, and will long be remembered, how gallantly you held the position, and the desperate efforts which you made to cut your way through the investing force.

I am sure you will anticipate me in paying a tribute to the soldierly conduct of the true-hearted Buckner, who, when the command devolved upon him, refused to follow the example which had been set him, and declared his purpose to remain and share the fate of the men, whatever it might be. That wise and far-seeing soldier, Sidney Johnston, had correctly measured the value of holding the position of Fort Donelson. From the few troops with which he held the line of Green river, he made a detachment to reinforce the garrison of Fort Donelson. When that fort fell, and the fact became apparent, which he so long skilfully concealed from both friend and foe, of the small number of troops under his immediate command, retreat beyond the Cumberland became inevitable. Time has revealed how nobly you bore those disappointments and reverses, and still remained true to your colors; and I am sure your conduct on that occasion must ever be held in grateful remembrance by your countrymen.

The carpet knights, who, like Job's war horse, snuffed the battle from afar, but, unlike the war horse, neighed not with impatience to engage the enemy, but from afar off criticised and derided every failure, without caring to inquire, and perhaps without capacity to comprehend, the cause thereof, added to your regrets for the unavoidable, and the painful memories of all you had dared, suffered and lost, the bitter sting of unjust censure and ingratitude. Yet it is a memorable fact, that, though leaving your homes and wives and children behind, you closed your ears to their pitiful cries and circled deep around your commander, who richly deserved and had acquired your confidence in his ability to defend the country and his willingness to sacrifice himself for it. Was it that his grand presence inspired you with unmeasured confidence and the hope of happier days when opportunity should offer? or was it that your judgment told you that you followed, as I verily believe you did, the greatest soldier, the ablest man, civil or military, Confederate

or Federal, then living? He seemed about to fulfill these hopes and expectations, when, concentrating all the forces within his reach, he moved forward to the battle of Shiloh. General Johnston sent to me a cipher dispatch, being his plan of battle, and I regret the loss of it the more, because it was the only instance within my knowledge of a plan which was executed as it was devised. How well the tide of battle rose and swept onward in the channels his great arm directed, I need not say to you who saw it. When at last an obstinate resistance stayed the steady progress of our lines, Johnston rode to the point of danger, to lead his men to the capture of what was believed to be the last point to be carried. There, and in the performance of that supreme duty, your great leader received the wound which proved mortal. A prompt attention would have prevented a fatal result, but his heart was all his country's, his only thought was of his duty—he remembered not himself.

(Mr. Davis here read a beautiful tribute to General Johnston, which has been often published.)

There have been those who supposed he had been goaded into recklessness and had thrown away his life. As a friend who had known him intimately through all the years of our manhood, had served with him in barracks and in battle, I lay claim to more than ordinary ability to judge of his motives under any given state of facts, and unhesitatingly reject the supposition as unjust to his nature and refuted by the testimony of his whole life. When he left his command in California to cross the continent on horseback and join the Confederacy, he came without herald, without pretension or claim for high rank from the Confederate Government. He simply offered himself to the cause. When he arrived in Richmond, he came unexpectedly to my residence, where I was ill, confined to my bed and unable to receive visitors. When he entered the hall, I recognized his step and sent to have him shown up. He came and by his accession I felt strengthened and reassured, knowing that a great support had thereby been added to the Confederate cause. When he fell, I realized that our strongest pillar had been broken.

I will not follow you through your long career of honorable service, or pause to exult with you over the battle fields rendered illustrious by your victories, but cannot forbear expressing the hope that some competent person will give to the world a full history of the Army of Tennessee. Yet, before leaving the subject, I wish to mention one of the many proofs I saw of your efficiency and valor. On the field of Chickamauga, where you achieved a brilliant victory under that true patriot and able

soldier, General Bragg, it was noticeable, after the conflict, to see the side of the trees next to the enemy riddled with balls and shot from the ground to a very great height, while on the Confederate side the trees were but little marked and the marks were near to the ground. The number of the killed and wounded show how calmly you selected the object and how well your balls obeyed your will.

Now, let us look further to the South and West, where the great problem was to keep control of the Mississippi river. After New Orleans and Island No. 10 had been captured, the problem was narrowed to preserving the section between Port Hudson and Vicksburg. While this was held, communication was possible with the Trans-Mississippi, upon which we much relied for a supply of provisions. This section was also requisite for co-operation between the troops of the east and the west sides of the river.

Long and well did the little garrison of Port Hudson maintain its position, and the siege of Vicksburg will ever be memorable for the duration of the defence of an unfortified place against a well appointed and numerically vastly superior army. The heroic deeds of the defenders and the long bombardment and frequent assaults on their hastily constructed entrenchments will, when better understood, shed imperishable lustre on General Pemberton and his gallant army; nor less, in time to come, will the unflinching devotion and self-denial of the citizens be gratefully remembered. For a long time after the siege sight-seers came to gaze at the caves which had been dug for the protection of the women and children. However, by such inspection little was to be learned of the privations and dangers voluntarily endured by the gentle but heroic sufferers. Here, and everywhere, the unanimity of our people proved the thoroughness of their conviction of the rectitude of our cause. We have been accustomed, and justly, too, to give unmeasured praise for the sacrifices made by our Revolutionary ancestors for the cause of self-government and the independence which had been declared. But there was no such unanimity among the colonists as was shown by our people in their effort to maintain the liberties their fathers had secured and transmitted to them. Then organized bodies of Tories combated, with doubtful results, the troops of the States in revolution. Among us there was no organized resistance, and but few cases of individual defection. This, at least, shows that our cause was not less dear or less worthy of a people's love than theirs.

Let no one suppose that in thus vindicating our cause, in pay-

ing due tribute to your gallant deeds, and in commending the heroic fortitude of your mothers, your wives, your sisters and your daughters, I am seeking to disturb such peace as we have, or to avoid the logic of events. You have done your duty in the past, and I would ask no more than that you should fulfill equally well the duties of the present and the future. The bravest are, as a rule, the gentlest, and they are also the truest to every obligation assumed by them. You struck for independence and were unsuccessful. You agreed to return to the Union, and abide by the constitution and the laws made in conformity with it. Thus far, no farther, do I understand your promise to extend. It does not require you to accept a fraud in the title to office, nor, because a man calls himself a "statesman," to admit his right to legitimize bribery and perjury.

Wars of conquest, like the convulsive heaving of an earthquake, displace the proper order of constituent elements, and bringing the dregs of society to the surface check both material and moral progress. But this evil in a country where the people rule, must have an inherent remedy. Bad laws, badly administered, impair the prosperity and happiness of the masses, and their interest must teach them that corruption and fraud may enrich the few, but does so by impoverishing the many.

Ignorance and unbridled passion in legislation may not enrich the few, but must make the many poor indeed. To which of these causes is to be referred the extraordinary legislation of the Congresses which followed the war, it is left to others to decide. The tax-payers know that an increased burden was imposed on them by the changes made in the contracts with the bondholders. The merchants and ship-owners know that we have lost the carrying trade; and to what will they assign a policy which prevents the reregistration of an American ship that had changed her flag during the war, which imposes such duties on the raw material as to interfere with ship-building, and prohibits the registration of a foreign built ship, though it be, by purchase, the property of a citizen of the United States?

Will the people, if worthy the source of all power, allow a long continuance of such palpable wrongs to the masses—such ruin to interests which have been equally our pride and means of prosperity?

A form of government must correspond to the character of the people for which it is appropriate. It is therefore that republics have failed whenever corruption entered the body politic and rendered the people unworthy to rule. Then they become the fit subjects of despotism, and a despot is always at hand to re-

spond to the call. A Cæsar could not subjugate a people who were fit to be free; nor could a Brutus save them, if they were fit for subjugation.

The fortitude with which our people have borne the oppression imposed on them since the war was closed; the resolute will with which they have struggled against poverty and official pillage, is their highest glory and gives the best assurance of final triumph.

Well may we rejoice in the regained possession of local self-government, in the power of the people to choose their representatives and to legislate uncontrolled by bayonets. This is the great victory, and promises another as the sequence to it, a total non-interference by the Federal Government with the domestic affairs of the States. The revival of the time-honored doctrine of State sovereignty and the supremacy of the law will secure permanent peace, freedom and prosperity. The constitution of the United States, interpreted as it was by those who made it, is the prophet's rod to sweeten the bitter water from which flowed the strife, the carnage, the misery and the shame of the past, as well as the foils of the present.

Every evil which has befallen our institutions is directly traceable to the perversion of the compact of union and the usurpation by the Federal Government of undelegated powers. Let one memorable example suffice for illustration. When Missouri asked for admission as a State into the Union, to which she had a two-fold right under the constitution and usages of the United States, and also under the terms of the treaty by which the territory was acquired, her application was resisted, and her admission was finally purchased by the unconstitutional concession, miscalled the "Missouri Compromise." When that establishment of a politico-geographical line was announced to the apostle of Democracy, who, full of years and honors, in retirement, watched with profound solicitude the course of the government he had so mainly contributed to inaugurate, his prophetic vision saw the end, of which this was the beginning. The news fell upon his ear "like a fire bell at night."

Men had differed and would differ about measures and public policy, according to their circumstances or mental characteristics. Such differences tended to the elucidation of truth, the triumph of reason over error. Parties so founded would not be sectional; but when the Federal Government made a parallel of latitude a political line, sectional party could not fulfill the ends for which the Union was ordained and established. If the limitations of the constitution had been observed, and its purposes had directed

Federal legislation, no such act could have been passed; the lid of the Pandora box might have remained closed, and the country have escaped the long train of similar aggressions which aggrandized one section, impoverished the other, and, adding insult to injury, finally destroyed the fraternity which had bound them together.

It was no part of my purpose, as has been already shown, to discuss the politics of the day, though the deep interest I must ever feel in the affairs of the country has not allowed me to ignore them, and will not permit me to be unobservant of passing events, or indifferent to the humiliating exposures to which the Federal Government has of late been subjected. Separated from any active participation in public affairs, I may not properly judge of those who have to bear the heat and burden of the day. Representing no one, it would be quite unreasonable to hold any other responsible for the opinions which I may entertain. How or when a restoration of the government to the principles and practices of its earlier period may be accomplished, it is not given to us to foresee. For me it remains only earnestly to hope, and hopefully to believe, though I may not see it, that the restoration will come. To disbelieve this, is to discredit the popular intelligence and integrity on which self-government must necessarily depend. Though severely tried, my faith in the people is not lost, and I prayerfully trust, though I should not live to see the hope realized, that it will be permitted to me to die believing that the principles on which our fathers founded their government will finally prevail throughout the land, and the ends for which it was instituted yet be attained and rendered as perpetual as human institutions may be.

I have said we could not foresee how or when this may be brought to pass, but it is not so difficult to determine what means are needful to secure the result. First in order and importance, for it is the corner stone of the edifice, the elective franchise must be intelligently and honestly exercised. Let there be no class legislation, low taxes, low salaries, no perquisites; and let the official be held to a strict accountability to his constituents. Nepotism and gift taking by a public agent deserves severe censure, and the bestowal of the people's office as a reward for partisan service should be regarded as a gross breach of trust. Let not such offences be condoned; for, in a government of the people there can be no abuses permissible as usefully counteracting each other. Truth and justice and honor presided at the birth of our Federal Union, and its mission can only be performed by their continual attendance upon it. For this there

is not needed a condition of human perfectibility, but only so much of virtue as will control vice and teach the mercenary and self-seeking that power and distinction and honor will be awarded to patriotism, capacity and integrity.

To you, self-sacrificing, self-denying defenders of imperishable truths and inalienable rights, I look for the performance of whatever man can do for the welfare and happiness of his country.

In the language of a gifted poet of Mississippi—

"It is not for thee to falter,
It is not for thee to palter.
In this crisis—for thy mission is the mightiest of Time;
It is thine to lead a legion,
Out of every realm and region,
In the glorious march sunward to the golden heights sublime."

Father Ryan was then called out and made an eloquent address, in which he paid a high tribute to the patriotism, service and personal character of Mr. Davis—saying, among other things, that during his long and distinguished public career he had never once been investigated.

S. D. Lee to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Columbus, Miss. July 15, 1878.

Honble. Jefferson Davis,

My Dear Sir,

As a pleasant incident, (although it displays a father's weakness) I enclose a letter of my little son Blewett Lee giving an account of your speech at Mississippi City. After reading it you will please return it to me. I am glad my son at first sight has joined his father's exalted opinion of you. I hope you are in good health, and making fair progress in your important work.

Please say to Maj. Walthall that I will soon give attention to his last communication.

Your friend,
S. D. Lee.

endorsed:
Genl. S. D. Lee; ansd. 17th July 1878.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.[1]

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Missi.
18th July 1878

Genl. M. J. Wirght[2]

My dear Sir, yours of the 8th inst with enclosed circular, has been received.

I am glad for the sake of truth & courtesy that you have been appointed an agent for the collection and distribution of Docs. relating to the late War, and trust the position may be useful and agreeable to you personally.

Maj. W. T. Walthall who like yourself bore an honorable part in our struggle, is connected with me in the preparation of my work on the war and the causes which led to it. He has most of my own papers, and conducts the correspondence needful to obtain information from actors in the War. I handed your letter to him, and asked him to write to you, and accept your kind offer, with the assurance that you should have any of the reports or records in our possession, which may be wanted to complete your files.

The letters of a private and confidential nature which were written to me by Genls. in the field, have been nearly all lost. Those of an official character were in the office of the Adj't Genl. Cooper and are I suppose among those papers now in Washington.

I am staying at a quiet place, about half way between Missi.

[1] Wright, Marcus Joseph (1831-), a soldier and author, was born in Purdy, McNairy County, Tenn., June 5, 1831, studied law and practised at Memphis, Tenn., until the outbreak of the Civil War. He then entered the Confederate Army with his regiment of Tennessee troops, his rank at the time being that of lieutenant colonel. He was wounded at the battle of Shiloh; was promoted brigadier general in December 1862; fought at Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge, was then assigned to the district and post of Atlanta, and at the end of the war was operating in Northern Mississippi under General Taylor. He returned to Memphis, practised his profession, and in 1878 was commissioned to assemble the Confederate military records for official publication. Besides performing that important task, General Wright has written many books and historical articles, e.g., Life of William Blount, Washington, 1884; Life of Winfield Scott, New York, 1894; Tennessee in the War: 1861-1865, New York, 1908; General Officers of the Confederate Army, New York, 1911. General Wright has made his home in Washington, D. C.

[2] General Wright is now living in Washington and has reached the advanced age of 92 years. He was a gallant brigadier-general from Tennessee in the army of the Confederate States.

City & Biloxi, on the gulf coast, and near to the Mobile and New Orleans R. R. We have a post office at the R. R. Station, "Beauvoir," at which any communication you may be good enough to address to me will be gladly received.

With best wishes for your welfare, I am as ever truly your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jno. Taylor Wood[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Halifax, N. S. July 19/78

My dear Mr. Davis:

An absence from home must account for my seeming neglect to reply to yours of the 23 May. I will answer your questions in the order asked to the best of my recollection.

1st. We left Abbeville for Washington Ga., certainly with the understanding that the Cavalry should follow us at once and with this force and such other detachments as we could pick up move West to Genl. Taylor's Department and then decide upon our future movements.

2d. The above covers the ground of this question.

3rd. At or near the crossing of the Savannah River, I recollect your sending back one or more couriers with orders for the Cavalry to hasten forward that the enemy was reported to advance and near Washington.

4 & 5. My recollection is that Genl. Breckinridge applied for authority to pay the troops with coin, urging that he thought the effect would be good &c. You objected that the effect would be contrary, but finally referred it to the Sec. of the Treasury. That later he reported that the payment had been made, that you sent both verbal and written orders to him and the Comdg. Officer of the Cavalry to join you at once. And finally Genl. B. sent word that the troops required some assurances as to where they were expected to go &c. This was the general tenor of your dispatches, some of which I wrote by your orders.

The dispersion of the troops caused a change in your plans; not being able to collect any, it became necessary to move only with your staff and a few friends.

The above covers I think all your questions. If anything else occurs to you, in relation to this matter or any other, I will be

[1] Colonel A.D.C. to President Davis, gallant officer in Confederate States Navy.

glad always to be of any service and will consider it as a favor if you will call upon me.

Mrs. Wood and the children are all well I am thankful to say and join me in love to yourself, Aunt V. and all with you.

Your ever devoted
Friend
J. Taylor Wood

Samuel B. Adams[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

Savannah, July 20, 1878.

The Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Memphis, Tennessee.

Dear and Honored Sir:

Permit me, if you please, a stranger, equally unknown to you and to fame, to express most respectfully his ardent sympathy with the tone and sentiment of your recent Mississippi City Speech. Were your admiring countrymen able to place you in a position worthy of you, I would not take this liberty, thinking that your time would be uselessly consumed and my motives might be misunderstood. But to the representative of the Lost Cause, to the victim of political persecution, to the maligned ex-President, to the speaker whose utterances have been so generally the subject of newspaper abuse—to you, situated as you are, I trust this letter may convey not unacceptably the assurance of my profound regard and respect.

In these days of political degeneration, of indecent haste to forgive and forget—of even the willing acceptance by some of our people of the appellation of "erring brother," it is indeed encouraging to hear a gentleman of your record proclaim in no uncertain terms the great principle of State Sovereignty and the righteousness of the Southern Cause. Although only eleven years and a few months of age when the war of co-ercion terminated I have nevertheless cherished with unflagging affection the principles for which the South struggled. It has always been a source of regret to me that I was not old enough to participate in that struggle. I am not one of those who would forget the war and its issues, nor would I shut my eyes to the fact that the position of the Southern States is humiliating—no less so than

[1] Lawyer of Savannah.

that of Poland in the Russian Empire. Sugar coat and varnish the matter over as we may, we are a subjugated people, in a Union in which, had the South returned willingly, it would be no honor to remain and where the manner of our return should always stare us in the face—a shame and an outrage.

The "logic of events" settled only the impracticability of secession at the time the right was asserted. As to the future, I believe that the policy of the present generation of Southern young men is to wait, watch and hope—keeping ever in view the glorious principles and rights for which you and your compatriots struggled so heroically.

I fear, however, I have trespassed too long upon your time. Pray pardon any seeming presumptiousness and believe me to be, with the most exalted respect,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) Sam'l B. Adams.

This letter was begun at the date mentioned and its completion postponed by absence from the City. S. B. A.

Jefferson Davis to Wm. H. McCardle.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Missi.
25th July 1878.

Col. W. H. McCardle,
My dear Sir,

Yours of the 2nd inst. has been received, and I ask you to excuse the delay in replying to it; which has been in no wise due to an unwillingness to answer your questions.

1st. You ask "Is it usual for military commanders to wait for orders from his government to make a detail to repair a damage to his means of transportation, such as the burning of a bridge on the only rail road open for his use?" Certainly not. He would be the proper judge of the necessity of having the repair promptly made, and would only be excusable for waiting until such orders were received, by the absence of any military want for such a bridge being foreseen or probable, before the work could be better done by other means. To construct a temporary bridge, such as would serve to remove the public property, and render available for immediate as well as future use, the R. R.

rolling stock which might otherwise fall into the hands of the enemy would be so obviously the duty of a military commander, that it is difficult to imagine on what ground hesitation could be justified. It is true that the degree of dereliction would vary with the circumstances; such as the necessity for the detail of a working party to complete the work by the time its use might be required; the safety with which a detachment could be made from the lines of defence, the proximity or remoteness of the position, from the Hd. Qrs. of his Government, &c &c. You do not indicate that your inquiry presupposes that the commander had reported the case to his Government for instructions, and that either prohibitory orders had been sent to him, or that his recommendation had been unnoticed; if such a case ever did happen, there must have met to make it, an incompetent commander, and a most unworthy government.

2nd. "If you have no objection to telling me, I should like to be informed as to the special mission of Lamar to Europe, its object and the measure of success?" Lt. Col. Lamar, from exposure in camp, near to Richmond, Va. was prostrated by a disease which the attending surgeon said required that the Col. should go to a cold climate for the restoration of his health. I had hopes of a favorable influence in our behalf at the court of Russia, being made available about that time. Col. Lamar was for the time unfit for service in the field, and was believed to be quite suited to the duties of a Commissioner to Russia; the three reasons led to his appointment. From some evidence satisfactory, as I remember to have then thought, he found before reaching his destination that he could effect no good result by going on; and returned via England to America.

His disability for field service was honorably incurred, and had it not existed he would (I believe) have declined a foreign mission. Whatever sins of a subsequent date may justify you in "applying the scalpel," his record at that period was, I think, entirely creditable.

It is so hot and writing is to me so fatiguing, that I have waited for tomorrow, these many days, to give you my recollections and estimate of Genl. Chas. Clark. Did I honor him less or remember him less affectionately, it would be an easier task to comply with your request.

You shall not have to wait much longer.

With kindest and most respectful regard to Mrs. McCardle I am ever faithfully your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Lewis Cruger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, July 30th, 1878.

Dear Sir:

Several weeks ago I wrote to Mr. Walthall at Mobile in reply to his urgent request that I would procure for you (if in any way possible) the vols. of the Congressional Globe from 1845 to 1861, excepting one part of vo. 24 and the vols from 1855 to 1859— I then wrote to Mr. Walthall and soon after devoted myself to searching for them in every way and had fortunately found that I could obtain those vols at 2 of the 2nd hand book stores for the incredulously low price of $1.50 each for those large quarto vols (whilst the chief book stores charge $5.00 per vol, for such as they have. But I then neglected to state that there are 3 persons waiting anxiously for your answer, so as not to sell those vols. to other persons, but to keep them for your answer.

And now my dear Sir, I take this opportunity to entreat you to emphatically state in your intended history the great disparity in the number and the equipment of our troops compared with the Yankee overwhelming and overfed forces, in addition to the vast increase of their number of a thousand emigrants a day arriving in New York, alone, and at once pushed into their Armies and consisting of the very best troops of the world from the then recent battles of Germany and France. I am led to implore you to dwell upon this most important point, from my indignation and vexation at constantly seeing in the numerous Yankee histories of the "Rebellion" the infamously and absurdly false statements that we always had, in every battle more troops than they had, as if such a thing were possible that a poor little starved out Nation of 5 million could have a larger number than an enormous Nation of nearly 40 million in addition to their emigrants and supplies from Europe (so that, in fact, we were fighting against the whole world)!

In the next place I beg you to show the exact truth as to Grant's taking Vicksburg with 120,000 men, by starving out Pemberton with 18,000 men. This boasted glory of Grant is the wonderful victory that made him Gen. in Chief, as well as President of the U. S.

In the next place, I beg of you to show the exact truth of all the various battles of Grant and Lee in Grant's boasted march on Richmond, as to which all his letters declared that he in-

tended to march direct to Richmond (in a straight line) if it took him the whole summer to do it—whilst in place of his boasted straight line Lee actually drove him round an almost entire circle, all the way to Petersburg (making altogether nearly 1000 miles instead of about 200 miles) and yet these repeated repulses and defeats by Lee (with less than 50,000 men against Grant's 200,000) are called, in their false histories Grant's glorious victories, and gave him the Presidency.

In the next place, I beg you to show the true facts as to Sherman's boasted "Glorious march to the sea," when in fact (after Johnston's removal) he had not one man, or woman to oppose him in all his march, and my friends in Savannah assure me that his men and his horses arrived there (after their pleasant walk) so fat they could hardly stand up, from robbing all the hen roosts and pig styes and hay stacks of the whole country. I have some of Sherman's letters in which he says that that great General Johnston destroyed nearly 30,000 of my 180,000 men before I reached Atlanta, and now the fool Hood has carried away that splendid army to try to take the little town of Nashville, I will aid him in every manner to go there whilst I march through the abandoned South.

Please also show the utter falsehood of Sherman in stating that Wade Hampton burnt up his own native and beloved city of Columbia and all his own property and do publish (if you have them) the letters of both Hampton and Beauregard, branding Sherman as an "attainted liar" (to which he has made no reply except to repeat his infamous falsehood in his vainglorious book of his grand campaigns, in which he boasts of his march to the sea as being superior to that of Xenophon) There are other infamous Yankee falsehoods tho' I have neither time nor space to refer to them and which I beg you to call to mind and to expose as they deserve.

And now, my dear Sir, I beg you to bear with me whilst I refer to some of our unfortunate errors which led to our sad failure in achieving our independence. You know the Bible wisely says, "No man can understand his own errors." This of course signifies whilst the errors are being committed. But we all have sense enough to understand them after the events have occurred, but very few will confess them, and my noble Brother-in-law Gov. Hamilton, the great nullifier, was the only one I ever knew that did so when he admitted his great error in having once been a Nationalist. Now, my dear Sir, in utmost confidence, I sometimes admit to my best friends the several errors that we committed in the course of our glorious struggle

for independence and self-government. In this confidence, I regard our chief errors to be,

First—In not having before the blockade purchased all the cotton of all the planters at 7¢ per pound to go to Europe, as they were all urging us to do, and agreeing to take our Bonds in payment (When I urged this at Montgomery upon Memminger, he always declared that the war could not last 6 months after the Yankees found the enormous sum the war would cost them. I told him he was mistaken for every Yankee would become a Contractor and make a fortune, whilst their Government was taking the whole people to pay).

Second—Our next great mistake was the not building as soon as possible all the vessels we possibly could, as well as buying all we could before the Blockade.

Third—Our chief mistake was in not pertinaciously adhering to the only true policy of a small nation, to concentrate all their forces in the heart of their country and whereever attacked (the wise Fabian policy), which would be only carrying out our fundamental principle "to be left alone." In place of which we not only allowed that madman, Hood, to abandon our own country to take the little town of Nashville but also, (often times worse) we sent Gen. Lee to invade an enormous over-fed and over-clothed Nation of near 40 millions, with our trifling armies from our poor starved out little Nation of 5 millions and thereby lost more men at Sharpsburg and Gettysburg than in all the rest of the war, and for what conceivable purpose beyond showing the desperate courage of the South, and then to show how boldly our men could march home again.

Fourth—Another error was our not using our negroes to drive all our waggons, and to dig all our ditches in place of our brave farmers that ought to have been in the ranks, and that had never dug a ditch in their lives, whilst the Yankees had the best ditchers and hardest workers in the world to make their entrenchments. This want of confidence in our good and faithful negroes was the greatest mistake we ever made.

Excuse the liberty I take as a friend to make the above suggestions, and if you will write me that they do not offend you, and that you are willing to receive more, I will send you many more.

I remain,

Your earnest and true friend,

(Signed) Lewis Cruger.

E. Barksdale to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Jackson, Mississippi,
August 3d, 1878.

Maj. W. T. Walthall,
Dear Sir:

A paper is contributed to the Annals of the Army of Tennessee by Hon. A. S. Colyar, a member of the Confederate Congress, containing statements which deserve notice from members of that body interested in the vindication of the truth of history. He states that resolutions were before the House in the latter part of 1864 and '65 instructing President Davis to accredit a commission to the United States to treat for peace, and naming the commissioners in the resolution, and that the resolutions were not pressed to a vote in consequence of a pledge given by the "particular friends of Mr. Davis" that the persons named would be appointed.

Furthermore, that surprise was felt by the advocates of the resolution "when they learned for the first time after the commissioners returned that they had been clothed with no power except to treat on the basis of independence" &c. As the letter of instructions was published at the time, as its contents were well known to Mr. Stephens and others of the Commission and through them were communicated to those who advocated the appointment of the commission, this latter statement of Mr. Colyar's awakens astonishment. It is proper to state, moreover, that while resolutions of enquiry into the resources of the Confederacy were passed by the Congress, none looking to a settlement upon any other than "the basis of independence" would have received respectful consideration by a majority of that body. From the statement that President Davis authorised a pledge that if the resolutions referred to were not pressed he would appoint the commissioners therein designated, I must emphatically dissent, as a member of the body, who participated in its deliberations and was conferred with by the President upon the very subject under discussion. I was fully informed of the deliberations of the President and his Cabinet in reference to the commission, from the beginning—of the motives that influenced his action—and of the persons deemed best suited for the responsible and delicate duties which they would be required to

perform; and I am sure that, if he had authorised the pledge mentioned by Mr. Colyar, I would have been cognizant of the fact. I believe that he will bear me out in saying that no such promise was exacted and that none was made. The Commission was appointed to satisfy a public belief which had been busily propagated by malcontents and obstructionists that an honorable peace could be obtained by negotiation, and in order to leave no ground for the charge that the Commission were not appointed in good faith, Hon. A. H. Stephens, the recognised leader of the peace party, was placed upon it. His associates, Hon. R. M. T. Hunter and Hon. John A. Campbell were also gentlemen of ability and enjoyed the confidence of the Southern people. The mission resulted as had been anticipated, the United States were unwilling to treat for peace. They demanded an unconditional surrender. Any proposition short of this demand would have been rejected; and this the Commission were given to understand. If they had gone with a proposition in their mouths for the establishment of peace on any other terms the result would have been the same, and I am at a loss to know the cause of Mr. Colyar's surprise and regret in view of the determination of the United States government to be satisfied with nothing less than the absolute surrender of the Confederate armies and the submission of the Southern people to such laws as they might choose to dictate.

The opinion has been industriously circulated by a class of persons that Mr. Davis was a bloody-minded, ambitious man, who delighted in the carnage produced by a state of war, and that he discouraged every attempt to establish peace and to put an end to the strife. Nothing could be more untrue. It must be recollected that his duties as the chief Executive Officer of the Confederate States were clearly defined. He had taken an oath to maintain and defend the government of the Confederacy, and he had no power to "treat" it out of existence. He could not have done so without betraying his trust and the people who had confided to him the responsibilities of his high office. But within the limit of his authority, no opportunity was lost to establish peaceful relations with the United States government. Repeated efforts to that end were made by the Confederate authorities. Immediately after the organization of the Confederate government, commissioners were sent to Washington to assure the United States government of the desire of the Confederate States for peace, but they were not received. Soon after the United States commenced hostilities, Mr. Davis again attempted to open communication with the United States government by

addressing a letter to Mr. Lincoln, of which a military officer was the bearer, but Gen. Scott, then in command of the U.S. armies, would not even permit the officer to pass through his lines and no answer to the letter was ever received. The attempt was renewed, when, at the instance of President Davis, Vice-President Stephens sought permission to visit Washington with a view to a conference, but he was not permitted to proceed farther than Fortress Monroe. Unwilling to leave any means untried to restore peace consistent with the honor of his government, in January 1865, he addressed a letter to Mr. F. P. Blair of Maryland, who had been permitted to visit Richmond, designed for President Lincoln, informing him that he would either receive or send commissioners to negotiate for peace.. This communication resulted in the Hampton Roads conference in which the Confederate commissioners were distinctly notified that no treaty or arrangement of any kind would be entered into with the Confederate government or with any separate State—and that no arrangement for a permanent peace would be made except upon the condition of an absolute and unconditional surrender. The attempt to throw upon President Davis the failure to negotiate successfully for peace is as unjust to him as the attempt to make him responsible for secession and the war, when he was but the selected agent of the Southern people for the execution of their will. Mr. Colyar refers to statements which were made to him by Hon. John B. Baldwin, a member of the Confederate Congress from Virginia, designed to throw censure upon the President for obstructing attempts at procuring peace by negotiation. It is not my intention to dispute the statement of Mr. Colyar further than it is contradicted by an address which was signed by Mr. Baldwin, with others, for the instruction and guidance of the people of the Confederate States while the war was in progress. It contained these words: "The course of the United States government has proved that it did not desire peace and *would not consent to it on any terms that we could possibly concede. In proof* of this we refer to the *repeated rejection of all terms of conciliation and compromise;* to their contemptuous refusal to receive the Vice President (Mr. Stephens) who was sent to negotiate for softening the asperities of war, and their scornful rejection of the offer of a neutral power to negotiate between the contending parties. . . . Until some evidence is given of a change of policy on the part of the government of the United States, and until assurance is given that efforts at negotiation will not be spurned, the Congress are of the opinion that any direct overtures of peace would compromise our self-respect, be

fruitless of good, and interpreted by the enemy as an indication of weakness."

This paper Mr. Baldwin, who is cited by Mr. Colyar, signed and sent out to his Southern countrymen.

Very respectfully,

E. BARKSDALE.

M. C. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Congressional Joint Committee
On the Reorganization of the Army.
White Sulphur Springs,
Aug. 9th, 1878.

My Dear Sir—

A day or two before leaving home for this place, I recd. a letter from Maj. Walthal, in reference to a letter which I had written to Genl. Hood of a conversation I had with Genl. Joseph E. Johnston, about the time of the surrender of his army to Genl. Sherman in 1865.

Will you do me the kindness to say to Maj. W. that his letter was mislaid, and I could not therefore answer it, and that I would be obliged if he would repeat the substance of it to me. I prefer not to *appear* to *volunteer* in any controversy, and therefore suggest that Maj. W. send me a copy of my letter, and put what he wants in the form of an enquiry, so that if what I say is to be used in any publication, the whole correspondence may appear.

I am one of those who never was a believer in Genl. Johnston's great abilities as a soldier, and still less in his strategy, as applicable to our condition, and the mode of warfare best suited to Southern people, but my relations with him have always been kindly and I do not desire to have them disturbed, unless it may be necessary in the interest of truth. I have always said that I thought you did right in removing him from command, and made a mistake in restoring him. And I have furthermore sustained the movement made by Hood from Atlanta as the best thing to be done under the peculiar circumstances then surrounding us. Hood's mistake was in fighting the battle of Franklin, and permitting Thomas to concentrate at Nashville. The strategy of Genl. Johnston which drew the enemy into the heart of almost the only portion of the Confederacy which had re-

mained intact was a fatal blunder and terminated in our destruction. Very truly and respectfully yours

M. C. BUTLER

Honl. Jefferson Davis.

endorsed: Gen. M. C. Butler; 9 Aug. 1878; ansd. 15th Aug. 1878.

S. W. Ferguson[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Maj. W. T. Walthall,

Dear Major:

I send as requested the above verbatim extracts from a journal which I kept from Jany. 1st 1865 to April 24th 1865 continuously and then wrote up on May 13th 1865, to embrace the interval between the last named dates.

You are at liberty to make any use of them you wish.

Yours truly

Miss. City, August 12/78. (Signed) S. W. FERGUSON

compared and found correct.

W. T. WALTHALL.

endorsed:

Copy. Miss. City, 12 August, 1878. Gen. S. W. Ferguson; with Extracts from Diary.

(Extracts from Gen. Ferguson's Diary, 1865.)

May 3rd. Had an interview with the President and Genl. Duke about sunrise at the camp of the latter. They moved to Abbeville and I was left to wait at Cokesbury Junction until Genl. Dibbrell should come up, but about an hour later I was ordered by Genl.

[1] Ferguson, Samuel Wragg (1834-), a soldier and engineer, was born at Charleston, S. C., November 3, 1834, and graduated at West Point in 1857. He served in the Utah expedition under Albert Sidney Johnston; resigned from the U. S. army, March 1, 1861; entered the Confederate service as captain; was aide to General Beauregard; and received the formal surrender of Fort Sumter. He was a member of Beauregard's staff until 1863, when he was promoted brigadier-general, and was active in harassing Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta. His command assisted in the escort of Jefferson Davis from Charlotte, N. C., to Washington, Ga. Settling at Greenville, Miss., for the practice of the law, he was appointed, in 1883, U. S. River Commissioner, succeeding Eads. He returned to Charleston in 1894; was employed in Ecuador, on the Guayaquil railroad survey, 1899-1901; and in 1906 was city engineer of Biloxi, Miss.

Bragg to move on to Abbeville, at which place I reported to Genl. Breckinridge, who directed me to camp on the road to the pontoon bridge and to meet the President and General Officers in council at 4:30 P.M. As soon as I got into camp called the Regimental Commanders together, (all except Lt. Graham who had been sent in the morning with his Regiment, the 12th Mississippi, to destroy bridge across Saluda River,) found them much demoralized and representing their Commands as much more so than I was prepared to believe; gave them a very plain and rather severe talk upon their duties.

Met the President, Genl.'s Breckinridge, Bragg, Duke, Vaughan and Dibbrell, and Col. Breckinridge commanding Williams' Kentucky Brigade in council.

It was decided to push on more rapidly starting that night at 11 o'clock, and that Genl. Breckinridge should in person take command of all the cavalry. (Up to this time, from Union C.H. S. C., Genl. Bragg had been in command.) That the specie (silver) we were guarding should be paid out to the men and officers present, and that Brigade Commanders should be allowed to furlough or discharge any officer or private, at once, upon application, or accept the resignation of any officer.

I returned to camp to make a speech to my Brigade to inform them what was agreed upon, found that during my absence a portion of the 2d Alabama Cavalry had deserted, that my old escort Company from that Regiment had upon the refusal of Lt. Thompson to issue ammunition during my absence, charged the ammunition train and helped themselves, their officers making no attempt to stop it. In the condition of affairs I was powerless to punish, but made a speech which seemed to have an excellent effect and the men swore they would all follow me and see the President safe.

May 4th. As I brought up the rear I did not get started until about 2 A.M. Genl. Breckinridge marched with me. We did not cross the river until the morning of the 4th. Went into camp near the river. The specie was here distributed to the different brigades, each of my men and officers got $25.00.

May 5th. Received orders from Genl. Breckinridge to march at 7 A.M. for Washington and started while the other brigades were being paid off, keeping the funds issued for my brigade still in bulk; reached Washington about 1 P.M., and went into camp on the road to Madison, just outside the line. . . .

Re'd. orders from Genl. Breckinridge to move out about six miles on the Madison road, and issued the order, but finding Capt. Rice (my Brigade Quartermaster) had all the specie

spread out ready for payment, determined to pay the troops first and then move.

(Here follows an account of the refusal of the brigade to obey the order to march, and of some of the painful scenes attending its disbanding.)

I called upon all not lost to every sense of duty, to follow me and report to Genl. B. A small number only responded, and the rest went off to find some Yankees to surrender to, I think on the Macon road. Lt. Graham commanding the 12th Mississippi was the only Regimental Commander who followed me. The majority of the regiment under Lt. Acker did the same, and deserve great credit. All my staff proved true as steel. . . .

I moved out with my staff and the command which stuck and camped six miles on the road to Madison.

May 6th. Found that about *forty or fifty* [1] men from the Brigade had stuck to me and that I had about ten wagons and teams left.

Received orders from Genl. Breckinridge to move forward with my brigade and Col. B's command. Galloped up to him and reported what had taken place. He was very kind to me. Good enough to say that he was convinced I had done all in my power to keep my brigade together. Told me that it was no use to sacrifice the small number of men left, that I had better discharge them so that they could repair to their homes. . . .

Returned to my camp and informed my men of Genl. B's orders; had a most affecting parting from them and my old staff; started for Washington, Ga., with Cunningham,[2] Thompson [3] and Tomlinson.[4]

James Lyons to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Dagger's Springs (Va.)
Augt. 20th, 1878.

To Major Walthall,
Lotos, Near Beauvoir, Mississippi,

Dear Sir,

I have received your note with that of Mr. Davis. I was very glad to receive that of Mr. Davis, for I have been at a loss to tell

[1] This is an error: it should be about 120, a list of whom I have at hand.

[2] Lt. Clair Cunningham, a son of Capt. Cunningham U. S. N., who had left Richmond with the President to join my command in Carolina, having been a classmate of mine at West Point

[3] Lt. Thompson, of ordnance Corps C. S. A., and on duty as ordnance officer of my brigade.

[4] Lt. John Tomlinson my aide-de-camp, at that time a paroled prisoner and since deceased, a brother-in-law of Secretary Belknap.

why he never wrote to me except in reply, for I have always supposed his regard for me was similar to mine for him. Equal it could not be, owing to the difference in circumstances and situation. I am glad he wrote it, for its contents, although I intended only to elicit a denial of Mr. Hunter's statement, which has sunk deeply into Genl. Johnston, and it has been often urged by him in reply to my statements that Mr. Davis did not deny him rank over Genl. Lee, nor remove him from command from any personal hostility, but because he considered it his duty to yield to the importunities with which he was assailed. Knowing how Mr. Davis has marked Hunter in his reply to him, I did not intend to give his reply to the public, tho' I asked permission to do so, and now I wish he could give me a simple negation to Hunter's assertion, which I might show to Genl. Johnston alone. We have secured the nomination of Genl. Johnston to Congress I think and a nomination is equivalent to election, and I wish him to go there as Mr. Davis's friend, for I wish all men to be his friend, and would to God I could live to see justice done to Mr. Davis by all men and the Presidency bestowed upon him, at any rate Johnston's election will do much towards taking the name of outcast from Mr. Davis.

You ask me to explain that passage of my letter in which I say that I voted against the first invasion of Pennsylvania. The explanation is this: "The enemies of the President, as I understood, carried a resolution through the Military Committee declaring the opinion of the House that the Army should invade Pennsylvania. I don't pretend to give the exact language, but that was the substance of it; when Col. Miles reported it, I objected to it and called for the yeas and nays. Col. Miles then expressed his surprise at my opposition, saying that of all men in the House my opposition surprised him most, knowing as he did how earnest I had been for an invasive war; and said he wished to hear my reasons, and I think he added that the President was in favour of it, and the Resolution would only support him. I replied that if the President thought proper to order the invasion I had nothing to say, but I never would advise it, and if the Chairman of the Military Committee would move to go into secret session, I would willingly debate the question, but to debate it with open doors would be like writing to the enemy and that I would not do, for if the enemy's country was to be invaded it ought to be done as quietly as possible, and with as little noise, but I would venture one remark, that if the Army marched then into Pennsylvania, we would all be very happy to see it, when it came back. I believe I voted in a minority of six against

the resolution, which not being joint was never sent to the President, as far as I know. I have no doubt that Col. Miles will recollect the occurrence.

There is one fact in the history of the Congress which I did not mention because I did not feel sure that it fell within the scope of Mr. Davis's inquiry, but I have determined upon reflection to state it, and leave you and Mr. Davis to decide what use to make of it. I think it sheds an effective light upon the animus of the House of Representatives, as it most probably sprang from a desire to cover the friends of Secession with obloquy and destroy the Confederacy.

It is this— A Bill was introduced taxing the currency 25 per cent every 90 days until 75 per cent was consumed and then to declare the remaining fourth *to have been paid!!* The die-in-the-last-ditch-men were vehement in support of it, one of whom led the debate for it, backed by another notorious member of that Party. For the first time that I did such a thing, I led the debate against it, when among charges, I charged the speaker with being a repudiator, and wishing to involve our cause in the odium of repudiation and so destroy it, the House manifested great excitement, and he repelled the charge warmly and said he was not a repudiator. I then asked him to define a repudiator,—the question seemed to confound him a little and he replied "A man who repudiates the bonds of the Government, and not one who repudiates its notes or currency." Then said I, if you played cards with some of us tonight and lost more money than it was convenient to pay and gave your bond to one, and your note to another and being sued upon (by) them, plead gaming to the note, would you be less a rascal because you did not plead gaming to the bond? I ask for information! No answer came, the House fermented, and the Bill was rejected by, I think, 25 votes majority. I then told the House that I would not vote for the Bill if I was sure my vote would bring down the Capitol upon me. I will here remark that Mr. Davis may remember that at my house one day, or rather evening, he asked me if I could tell him how it was that while our troops were suffering for food, the Yankees could find it, wherever they obtained foothold. I told him it was the impressment Bill. To avoid it our People buried their meat with the aid of the Negroes, who would not find it for us, but when the Yankees wanted it they paid them to find it, and they did. I wish I could give you more information for everything in relation to the Confederacy stirs my whole nature. I congratulate Mr. Davis upon having so able a coadjutor as yourself in the preparation of his Book, which I hope I may

live to read. It is the one thing needful to the Name and Fame of the Confederacy—to Justice.

With great respect, Very truly yours

James Lyons.

P. S.

Please to add to my letter to you a note at the proper place to the following effect— It so happened that I was able to be the first volunteer offered to the Confederacy. My residence then, was a mile and a half from Richmond and on the day that the ordinance of Secession was passed, I was sick with a very bad cold, but I was informed that night of the passage of the Ordinance of Secession. On the next morning I sent Govr. Letcher a letter by my son in law Robert E. Scott tendering myself and the Regiment under my command to the Governor to serve wherever required. I received a reply from the Adjutant Genl. Wm. H. Richardson, in the following words, as well as my memory serves,—"I am directed by the Governor to say to you that he has received your patriotic letter and that if he has occasion for your services he will inform you." I have filed the letter with the Secretary of the Southern Historical Society.

I had upon my muster roll then 1000 men. I never understood the cause of such conduct by Govr. Letcher unless the fact that I was the brother-in-law of Henry A. Wise, with whom Letcher had a violent quarrel in respect to the Gubernatorial election, and his hostility to our cause, at its commencement of which I had the following proofs subsequently, viz.—first Letcher was an avowed Douglas man and opposed secession; secondly, Richard Booker and others residing at and near Hampton formed a plan to capture Fortress Monroe and Mr. Booker came to Richmond to obtain the passage of a Law to protect them as far as possible, if they failed. Being a friend he developed his plan to me, and told me he was going to see the Governor and obtain his concurrence and aid. I advised him not to do so, because the Governor was opposed to us and would betray him. He did lay his plan before the Governor however, and returned to me very much excited and disgusted saying that the Governor had replied to him that as Virginia had not been received into the Confederacy, the capture of Fortress Monroe would be Treason and if he did not pledge himself to abandon the scheme he would apprise the government of the United States of it!! And Col. George W. Munford, then Secretary of the Commonwealth told me that it took him a day to persuade Govr. Letcher to sign the first Proclamation which he issued.

Subsequently he developed his hostility in a more dangerous form, if possible, and one affecting Mr. Davis.

After the first battle of Manassas, Genl. Johnston asked for 10,000 men to enable him to cross the Potomac and at the instance of Mr. Davis, I carried a resolution upon the subject in the House of Representatives, and one in the Virginia Hall of Delegates, as the troops could not be had in time unless from Virginia. A Committee was appointed in the Virginia House of Delegates, of which Mr. John R. Edmunds of Halifax (the Statistician of the House) was the Chairman. We met in the Custom House in the room to the right (entering) of the passage, which was at first used as the Cabinet room. Mr. Davis appeared before the committee and laid the whole case before us. He stated that Genl. Johnston would advance if he received the troops within 30 days, and if not he would be compelled to fall back, and I recollect perfectly his expression "and Johnston would rather die than fall back." Edmunds and his committee after full examination decided that Virginia could and would furnish the troops, and the Committees severally reported to their respective Houses and the Virginia Legislature passed the necessary Law.

About three weeks afterwards I was returning across the square from Congress about 8 o'clock and I met my old friend, Willoughby Newton and half a dozen other members and being asked by me where they were going at that hour, Newton replied, "Govr. Letcher has given us so much trouble about the Law to raise the troops for Genl. Johnston that no troops have yet been raised and we are going tonight to the House of Delegates to determine whether we shall appoint a Committee of Safety to carry on the Government or not," to which I rejoined, "If any of you have any difficulty upon the subject, let an outsider in, and I will make a motion to commit him to the hands of Genl. Winder, where he ought to be, and sustain it with a speech."

The next day Newton told me that Letcher had given way and would execute, but it was too late, and Johnston fell back.

Pardon bad writing and tedium. I regret to hear of the ravages of the Yellow Fever in Grenada. I sincerely hope it will not reach the families of Mr. Davis and yourself. Let me know if you receive this.

Yours truly,

James Lyons.

Jefferson Davis to James Lyons.

Copy.

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Missi.
Aug. 30th, 1878.

My dear Friend,

In the absence of Maj. Walthall, who is on a mission of mercy to the fever stricken cities of Memphis and Grenada, your letter to him of the 20th inst. has been sent to me. Before proceeding to notice its contents, let me assume that my failure to write to you has been from no want of that affectionate regard and consideration with which I have never failed to remember you.

You ask for a simple negation of Mr. Hunter's assertion which you might show to Genl. Johnston alone. From this I infer that it was some assertion in relation to Gen. Johnston, but I do not recollect, and have not found in looking over Mr. Hunter's letters anything of that character. Please state to me what the assertion is, and I shall be glad to comply as far as I may with your wish on that matter or any other. In relation to the complaint of my giving to Genl. Lee the higher rank, I have only to say that it seems to me quite absurd. Of the two, Genl. Lee had the higher rank as a Cadet, came out of Mexico with a higher brevet, had the higher rank in cavalry of the U. S., had the higher rank in the Army of Virginia from which they both came to join the Confederate Army, and was named first when both were nominated to the Congress for commissions as Brig. Genls. of the Confederacy. It is true Genl. Johnston, as Quartermaster Genl. of the U. S. had the Staff Commission of Brig. Genl. It is equally true, that he was prohibited by virtue of that commission from assuming command of troops. I suppose he knew that when he was nominated to be Qrtr. Mast. Genl. I as Chairman of the Comm. on Military affairs, reported the nomination with the recommendation that it be confirmed; that it met serious opposition, and that all my power and influence were required to prevent its rejection. In that contest, I had no aid from the Senators of Virginia, perhaps because of their want of confidence in Mr. Floyd. If Mason, that man of stern integrity, were living, he could tell more of this than I am disposed to say.

Accept my thanks for your very interesting and useful letter. You will add another to the many favors I have received at your hands, if you will from time to time give me your reminiscences of events during the war; or procure those of any of your friends who will write them for me.

Mrs. Davis joins me in cordial regard to Mrs. Lyons and yourself. Believe me as ever, yours faithfully,

(signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Hon. James Lyons.

John B. Gordon[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Atlanta (Ga.) Aug. 21st, 1878.

Dear Major,

Col. Lamar sends me your letter in reference to charges against Ex President Davis of participation in the "Repudiation" acts of Mississippi. It is evident that both Mr. Davis and yourself are under an entirely erroneous impression as to the character and contents of the note said to have been written by Col. Lamar and to which you refer.

That note was written to me,—a mere pencil memorandum—it was and not a note. I regret that I have no copy of it. It was left as a memorandum on my table and signed "Lamar." I was asked to go to Europe in the interest of the South, and he had been approached also by different parties. This memorandum was left to urge me to go instead of himself and he urged as one inducement the high character of Ga's credit. No language whatever was used connecting Mr. Davis with any act of repudiation, either in that note or in any conversation. Indeed until I read your letter to Col. Lamar I had never heard that any charges of that nature had been made against Mr. Davis. As. for Col. Lamar I can truthfully and positively state that he never remotely hinted at such a thing. On the contrary he has always on all occasions, in general and confidential conversations spoken of Ex President Davis in terms of the highest admiration, and the most loyal and devoted friendship. It would

[1] Gordon, John Brown (1832-1904), a soldier and political leader, was born in Upson county, Ga., February 6, 1832, attended the University of Georgia, studied law, and was admitted to the bar, but had practised only a short time when he entered the Confederate army as a captain of infantry. He was wounded in battle eight times during the war, and at the end had risen to the rank of lieutenant general. He was in command of one wing of Lee's army at Appomattox Court House. He was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Georgia in 1868; was U. S. Senator from March 3, 1873, to May, 1880, and from March 4, 1891, to March 3, 1897; and governor of Georgia, 1886-1890. General Gordon was the commander, from its organization, of the United Confederate Veterans. He died at Miami, Fla., January 9, 1904. See his Reminiscences of the Civil War, 474 pp., New York, 1904.

be the greatest injustice to Col. Lamar or you, or Ex President Davis to suspect him of any act or word inconsistent with this feeling.

How any publication in reference to that memorandum, or so erroneous an impression as to its character could ever have been made, I do not understand. I claim the privilege however of correcting the misunderstanding so far as Mr. Davis is concerned, and beg you will show this letter or give him the substance of it.

Yrs very truly,

J. B. Gordon

Maj. Walthall,
Mobile, Ala.
endorsed:
Genl. J. B. Gordon; on Lamar's letter etc. wrote to Genl. G. 28th Aug. 1878; copy within.

S. Chopin[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New Orleans, Augt. 22d 1878.

Dear Mr. Davis,

Mr. Payne has communicated your letter to me and I send you a few suggestions to begin the treatment of a case of yellow fever before you can obtain the services of a physician.

The onset of yellow fever is more apt to be sudden and violent than that of other fevers which prevail here, and is frequently, but not invariably preceded by a chill. There is violent pain in the forehead at the beginning, soon followed by severe pain in the lower part of the back, the eyes are red and glistening. Under these circumstances I prescribe a hot foot bath, and encourage perspiration by warm drinks (orange leaf tea). I then prescribe a dose of oil to evacuate the bowels. If the attack comes on soon after eating, an emetic of Ipecac or Mustard and water would be advisable. As soon as the oil operates, I administer at once 15 grains of Quinine and 15 drops of Baltley's Sedative or Laudanum together in a tablespoon of orange flower water, which dose I repeat in four hours. The patient should be kept covered with a blanket for forty eight

[1] A skillful physician of New Orleans; an epidemic of yellow fever prevailed at the time.

hours, after which time, a light spread can be substituted for it. The warm drinks should be continued for 48 hours, after that cool drinks such as ice lemonade can be administered.

This is about all that can be prescribed without having the patient under observation. I am preparing a circular which I will send you as soon as printed.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dorsey, and hoping that your health continues good, I remain

Yours truly,

S. CHOPIN

P. S. I will send you a printed circular of instructions which I am preparing as soon as it will be ready.

W. H. McCardle to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington, D.C., Aug. 26, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.
Mississippi City, Missi.

My Dear Sir—

I had an interview today with the Secretary of War, and after a little red tape is used I presume I shall get what I want. It will be ten days though before I am advised.

I also had an interview with the gentleman who is superintending the printing of Confederate Archives. I could find no correspondence with Gen. Joe Johnston's many letters or telegrams from him of the date of 1861 or two.

The letter books of the War Dept. at Richmond are not in possession of the Government, and hence letters and telegrams are scarce, such only as were found loose in a great mass of papers. The letters and telegrams desired by you of a later date, both from Johnston and Beauregard, I may find at a later day. I think however, I can get for you all of Joe Johnston's letters and telegrams and probably your letters to him. You are aware that Genl. Marcus Wright has been appointed an Agent of the War Dept. to collect Confederate documents, and I learn that old Joe has promised to turn over everything in his possession. If he does so I will get a look at them, as Wright will want to get divers papers in my possession, none of which he shall have without full compensation *in kind*. If Johnston surrenders his papers you shall have anything you want out of the

lot. I am glad to hear that his prospects are excellent for *not* being elected to Congress.

I received your letter in reference to Johnston and Lamar, for which accept thanks. Of course, I knew that the Govt. at Richmond had not refused him permission to build the bridge over Pearl River. The supposition would have been absurd. I also knew that his bull-headedness was the only obstacle in the way. His capacity was very great in one direction. He destroyed more public property than the enemy he was eternally flying from ever did. Have you seen Preston Johnston's Memoir of his Father? A letter from Josiah S. Johnston to Albert Sidney in 1833 contains a marvellous and prophetic passage which cannot fail to attract your attention. I have only glanced at the book and cannot speak of its merits or its accuracy, though I have no doubt both are worthy of the subject. I shall read the work at my leisure and with great interest. Genl. J. and myself were born in the same town and I knew him from my boyhood. If he had had one man with a *head* with him when he was wounded, his life would have been saved. The folly of those around him lost his country a noble and invaluable life.

The yellow fever accounts from the South are appalling. I hope that you and yours may escape the scourge.

Please make my most respectful regards to Mrs. Davis, if she is with you. Hope to hear from you soon.

Address me at Warrenton, Va., as usual.

Believe me

Very Truly Your friend

Wm. H. McCardle

endorsed:

W. H. McCardle; about archives; ansd. 27th Sept. 1878.

Wm P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lexington, Va.
Aug. 26, 1878.

My dear Friend:

Your favor of the 21st is at hand. Please accept my thanks for it. I am obliged to you for your mention of Tilghman and Buckner. I gave both cases a very patient study, and, as you know, in Buckner's matter with strong prepossessions in his favor. I still regard him as a good soldier and an excellent gen-

tleman, though I fear I have lost his friendship by my account of Fort Donelson. I submitted it to him for *revision*, and he returned it through a friend—Genl. Preston—without comment.

Is it the facts, or is it some language of mine, that produces the impression of his inadequacy? I should be glad in both his and Tilghman's case (if) you would point out the particular expression you would wish modified or that does injustice. I have in other connections, as you will see by reference to the index done what I could to place Buckner's character and services as high as possible. I must confess to a low estimate of Tilghman's merit, except for gallantry and good intentions. He seems (*by the record*) to have been fussy, quarrelsome and inefficient. But I should be very unfit for a historian if I could not review my literary or critical judgments on any point. I shall be very glad, therefore, to get any new evidence, or light; and I can assure you I esteem your mere opinion *on any Confederate question* as an element of the utmost importance in its settlement. Your decisions were formed often, doubtless, on a *general knowledge* of the case, and from sources of information possibly now forgotten even by yourself. You will permit me to add that you have an extraordinary good faculty for getting at the naked truth, without respect to the clothes in which it is dressed. Such being the case, you will see that my request to review these questions for me is genuine and sincere.

In regard both to the telegram of the 4th received by you from my father, which I have not found, and in regard to papers, documents etc., that may be useful to you in preparing your book, I am going to make a thorough search. For a week or two I will be occupied by some matters of business that I cannot neglect, I will then sift out everything that might even incidentally profit you, and I hope among an accumulation of old papers, I may find some, I believe many—that will be useful to you.

Will you please thank Major Walthall for his reply to "C'y." I think Beauregard has made nothing by his attempt so far. Major Walthall and "Vindex" have annihilated "C'y."

I hope Major Walthall will get his copy of my book after a while. I have written twice to Appleton.

We are all well at Clifton. The weather is pleasant, and we feel a deep sympathy with our Southern friends in the trials of the Yellow Fever.

Praying for every blessing for you, I am as ever,

Your sincere friend,

(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

F. E. Richardson[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Molino, Fla., 8/26, 1878.

Genl. W. T. Walthall,
Beauvoir P.O., Miss.,
Dear Sir:

Your favor of 22d inst. came duly to hand, and it affords me the greatest pleasure to give you all the information I can on the points desired.

I was on Genl. S. W. Ferguson's staff and had been for some time before we left Mississippi in 1863, as picket officer of his brigade, in which capacity I acted until the close of the war.

We camped near Abbeville on or about the 29th or 30th April 1865, about one mile west of the town. On the next morning, just as we had finished breakfast at our Hd. Qrs. a party of gentlemen rode up and spoke to, and entered into conversation with Genl. Ferguson. One in particular attracted my attention from the fact of the plainness of his dress and his general appearance as a gentleman in manners and conversation with Genl. Ferguson, which conversation was short. I was informed by some of our staff officers that it was President Davis. I was struck with the coolness and calm deportment of the great man. It did really appear to me that Mr. Davis wanted to remain with his troops, and share their fate whatever it might be. He did not act to me as a man that had the least fear of what was ahead.

Our brigade moved out in a short time after the departure of Mr. Davis, taking the same road travelled by him; and that morning I learned that Mr. Davis would travel with us. At that time I knew nothing of our movements or the situation of the enemy for the simple reason, I knew the duty of a good soldier —"Obey orders and ask no questions"—which I, as an officer had always endeavoured to do.

Our brigade travelled on that day westward, and, if I mistake not, that evening Genl. Breckinridge fell in with us and travelled at the head of our brigade in company with Genl. Ferguson, I frequently riding with him; at night he (Breckinridge) I presume stopped at some citizen's house. We moved on in this way until we reached the Savannah river, which we crossed, if I

[1] Staff of Brig.-Gen. S. W. Ferguson.

mistake not, on a pontoon bridge, I remaining on the east side with my pickett until the brigade had camped on the west side of the river, some one or two miles from the ferry. The date of our arrival at the river I am unable to give for I have lost some of my papers since the war.

The next morning I heard that some of the troops belonging to other brigades had been paid off in silver, and I think the treasury was turned over to our brigade to take charge of and was guarded by the second Ala. Cavalry Regiment, for it was the best disciplined regiment in the brigade. In fact, our brigade was under good discipline and well armed.

We travelled on in a western direction, arriving at Washington on the evening of the 4th of May, 1865. On arriving there, the orders were to draw rations for our horses and to move out some half-mile or mile, west of the town unsaddle and feed, that our brigade would be paid their share in silver or gold. And as it would take some time to pay off, the orders were, as each regiment was paid off, for the colonels to move on some four miles further with their regiments, and go into camp. During this time and while the first regiment was being paid off, which was about dark, a report reached our Head Quarters, that Col. Boyles who commanded the 56th Ala. cavalry regiments of our brigade, had gotten a late Savannah paper, in which he saw that Genl. Johnston had surrendered all east of the Chattahoochie and that they must be paroled. He, as I was informed, consulted with the other regimental officers, and they determined not to obey Genl. Ferguson any longer, but to return to Augusta or some other point and be paroled. As soon as I heard this report, I ordered my horse saddled, mounted him and galloped back to where Genl. Ferguson with several officers whom I do not remember, were in a small house paying off the men, and informed him of what I had heard. He at once told me to gallop back to Head Quarters and tell Capt. T. R. Irwin, who was acting as his A. A. Genl., to issue an order to the colonels of the brigade to form their regiments on foot in the road as they were paid off, as he wished to address them. The orders were issued and sent to the several colonels commanding, and the officers, with their men, assembled in the road as ordered. As soon as he finished paying off the brigade, which was about 11 or 12 o'clock at night, he came to Head Quarters, and I walked up with him where the officers and men were, and as soon as he arrived there they gathered around us. He commenced by asking the officers what this, or something of the kind meant. Some officer asked him if Genl.

Johnston had not surrendered all east of the Chattahoochie. To this I do not remember Genl. Ferguson's reply. My impression is that he remarked that he had not seen anything of it; and even if Genl. Johnston had surrendered, that he (Johnson) could not surrender him (Ferguson) and his command, for he (Ferguson) was reporting directly to Genl. Breckinridge, the Secty. of War, who was above Genl. Johnston, therefore he (Ferguson) did not consider his command in the surrender. Gen. Ferguson, seeing the excitement of the officers, and their determination not to obey him, made a beautiful appeal or address to the soldiers; telling them what were the intentions of our head officers, being to assist in making our way across the Mississippi, and forming junction on the west side, and to guard and protect Mr. Davis at all hazards. He also pointed out the gross degradation &c to which they would be subjected should they be overpowered by our enemies. At the close of his address he remarked to his soldiers: "Seeing I have no command, and determined not to surrender, will go on, and those who desire to follow me can go." At that moment he and I started for Head Quarters, but few following. Everything seemed to be in perfect confusion. The men did not know what to do. Their officers, no doubt, talked to them beforehand and demoralized them. The Genl. and I returned to our Head Quarters, ordered our horses saddled, mounted and moved on with our Head Quarter wagon and his Ambulance some four miles, near a house, where we camped near a small branch. Next morning the 5th of May, 1865, Genl. Ferguson seeing the condition of his brigade, mounted his horse, rode to Genl. Breckinridge's Head Quarters, and reported the condition of affairs. In a short time he returned, and had those who followed him formed on foot and addressed them, saying he had reported the condition of his brigade to Genl. Breckinridge, and the Genl. desired him (Ferguson) to present his compliments to the men as good soldiers, and ordered him to give to them an honorable discharge; and to say to them to return to their homes and behave themselves. The discharges were then written and delivered to the men, 88, a list of which I now have, names, company and regiment.

Some of the men were paid in silver, some in gold, 25 dollars each. I received my $25 in one dollar pieces. I neither knew nor heard of any understanding when the soldiers were paid off. I presume the object was to let the soldiers have it, as they had not been paid off in some time.

Up to the night of the 4th May, 1865, there was good discipline

as far as Genl. Ferguson's brigade was concerned; and will always believe they would have followed him to any point had it not been for their regimental officers. At the time of Genl. Ferguson's address, the officers acted as though they did not care to follow him any farther, and treated him with disrespect. The truth is they had demoralized the men during the time they were being paid off and formed on foot. I am satisfied that it was all understood, for as soon as Genl. Ferguson closed his address the bugler sounded saddle up, which in my opinion was in the 56th Ala. Cavalry Regiment, commanded by Col. Boyles, and whom I will ever believe was the prime mover in the affair of that long-to-be-remembered night.

I heard of no order sent back by Mr. Davis after he had crossed the Savannah River.

It strikes me that I did hear of some threats to attack the treasury, as it was turned over to our brigade, and the Second Ala. Cavalry Regiment was placed over it as a guard, it being the star regiment. Some of the troops travelling with us had no arms in fact under bad discipline. I had some arrested for misconduct and placed under guard.

Since the war I have been told by Maj. Foster, our Brigade Commissary, that on the morning of the 5th May, 1865, before we departed for our homes, he reported to Gen. Ferguson that there was about $10,000.00 (dollars) in gold left, and then was in one of his wagons, and he desired to know what he must do with it. The Genl. told him to report the same to Genl. Breckinridge, which he did, and Genl. Breckinridge told him to take it back to Washington, Ga., and there deposit it with some good citizen, taking his receipt for it. Maj. Foster remarked to him that he did not know any person living there. Genl. Breckinridge then told him to make inquiry of some good citizen, and he obeyed his order.

We parted with Genl. Ferguson on the morning of the 5th of May, 1865. He divided some of his trinkets with his staff and went in search of his wife, who was in South Carolina, his boy Guss driving his ambulance. We (the 88) moved up on a hill and there we saw Genl. Breckinridge unpacking his valise and dividing his shirts, tobacco &c with his couriers, and packing his saddle-bags with such as he could carry. Then he mounted his horse and rode off through the woods.

I could mention a great deal more relative to our trip to Ala., (my native state) but I fear I have been too lengthy already.

Trusting you will pardon me, but I fully agree with Mr. Davis

in all his doings and sayings, and will defend him at all times. Any other service I can render you will do so with great pleasure.

With best wishes for your success and good health, I am

Respectfully Yours,

(signed) F. E. RICHARDSON.

Compared and found correct.

W. T. WALTHALL.

endorsed:

Copy. Molino, Florida, August 26, 1878. Capt. F. E. Richardson. Recollections of Events near Washington, Ga., &c April and May, 1865.

Jefferson Davis to J. B. Gordon.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Miss.
28th Aug. 1878.

Genl. J. B. Gordon,

My dear Sir,

Maj. Walthall now absent from this vicinity has sent to me your letter of the 21st inst.

There has been an evident misapprehension, in regard to what has been circulated concerning Col. Lamar's expressions and a marked mistake in supposing that I had ever believed him unfriendly to me. The publication of what purported to be a note written by him to you, referred to his annoyance, when on diplomatic service, by frequent questions requiring explanation of the so called repudiation of Missi., and the expression of a belief that but for the fact that I was of Mississippi, the Confederacy would have been recognized by European powers. I do not recollect when or to whom this last expression of belief was said to have been made, but it was reported to have been quoted by a member of the Va. Legislature as evidence that our independence was not secured, because of that objection to me as a Mississippian.

It was not possible for me to believe that Col. Lamar had used language connecting me with any act of repudiation. No one as well informed as he could do so, consistently with regard for truth which characterizes every gentleman, and which even the enemies of Col. Lamar could not fail to accord to him. Had I seen the letter of Maj. Walthall you would not have been left to such an inference as appears to have been formed by

you; and had Col. Lamar seen your letter in reply, I am sure he would have told you that it was quite unnecessary to assure me, that he was not inimical to me; and had not slandered me in connection with the matter of Miss. Bank Bonds; but had in adversity remained my firm friend.

If he had learned while in Europe that my Miss. citizenship was the obstacle to recognition, I will not doubt that he would have reported to me, that most important fact, for whatever others may think, his knowledge of me would have convinced him that the success of our cause was very far dearer to me, than any office.

It is proper to say for Maj. Walthall that he like myself had been led to suppose that you had seen the publication of what was represented to be a letter from Col. Lamar to you.

I regret that the memo. on which the forgery was based was not preserved, not for my satisfaction; your statement requires nothing to sustain it, but for the exposure of the fraud which must have been chiefly designed to injure Col. Lamar.

With affectionate remembrances to Mrs. Gordon, I am ever truly your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS. (signed)

Robert Lowry to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Brandon, Miss. Sept. 5, 1878.

My dear Mr. President:

Enclosed find copy of a paper this day sent Col. Claiborne of Natchez. He was anxious that I, as the surviving Commissioner, should give him in detail as near as I could, the result of our mission. This I have done, but with the *distinct understanding* that he should not use it, or any portion of it, if it was in the *slightest* manner *disagreeable* to you; I advised him by this mail that I would communicate with you in regard to it.

To rescue myself from seeming egotism, I beg to tell you, what you doubtless remember, that Col. Hillyer's appeal to the President was rather in the shape of an address—the language beautiful, and well chosen, but not inviting any reply. I had no speech to make, but wanted Mr. Johnson to do one of two things, grant the pardon at once, or advise the authorities to allow you bail, and if he would do neither, to give me a reason for his refusal; hence the conversation was confined entirely to the President and

myself. Your reply, in your prison quarters to a remark of mine impressed me greatly at the time, and I mentioned it to a number of friends on my return home. If there is anything in the paper that does not meet your approval, have no hesitancy in advising me, that I may promptly notify Col. Claiborne.

While writing, allow me to say, that I trust that the feeble attack of your Speech at Miss. City, by the Editor of the Vicksburg Herald, did not give you the slightest annoyance. The speech was endorsed by nine tenths of your people. The Southern people of all *classes* and *sexes love* you as they do none other.

Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Davis, and believe me

Sincerely and truly yours

Robert Lowry.

Robert Lowry to Col. Claiborne.

(Copy.)

Brandon Aug. 28th '78.

My dear Col.:

At your suggestion, being the survivor of the two Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Mississippi, to visit Washington City, to endeavor to effect the release of Ex President Jefferson Davis, I herewith submit the history of our efforts.

On 30th of October 1866, His Excellency Governor B. G. Humphreys, suggested and recommended, in a message of that date, the appointment of two Commisioners, to visit Washington City and use their exertions for the release from prison of President Davis.

On the same day a joint resolution passed the two Houses of the Legislature authorizing the Governor to make the appointment.—Laws of 1866 p. 214.

Under this resolution the Governor appointed Col. Giles M. Hillyer of Natchez and myself.

We proceded in November to the City of Washington, and after numerous Conferences with friends of Mr. Davis and the Southern people, we sought, and were granted an interview with President Johnson.

Col. Hillyer first addressed President Johnson on the objects of our mission, without inviting interruption. For more than twenty minutes he poured forth a most touching and beautiful appeal in behalf of the distinguished prisoner.

The President then turned to me, and as near as I can remember the following conversation occurred.

I said, Mr. President, we come to you as Commissioners from our State, having credentials from His Excellency the Governor, to ask the release of President Davis. You are not unmindful of the fact, that we regard Mr. Davis as the embodiment of the Southern people, and that he is suffering for us all, and with the present surroundings, and embittered feelings of the Northern people, we can *only* look to you for that relief to which we know Mr. Davis entitled.

The President replied, I do not see how I could act at this time. It is a grave question.

I replied, it is now clear that there will be an issue between the Congress soon to meet, and the Executive, and the prompt pardon of Mr. Davis by yourself, will cement and bind the Southern people to you.

The President replied, I know the great solicitude of the Southern people about Mr. Davis, but the situation of the country, and the gravity of the question, demand the greatest deliberation on the part of the Executive.

I then said Mr. President, I beg to call your attention to the acts of the Congress of the U. States, passed in 1862, (Statutes at large 37 Congress Laws of 1862 sec. 13 p. 592) authorizing the President to extend to all persons that he might deem proper, pardon and amnesty, and I wish to say, that in the present condition of political affairs, my opinion is, that within ten days after Congress meets this law will be repealed, and you will be powerless to grant the pardon that millions of people now ask at your hands.

The President replied, Congress if they see fit can repeal that law, but as Chief Magistrate of the Nation, under the Constitution, if I see proper I can exercise the power of pardon.

I said in reply, It is not my province to discuss your powers, as President under the Constitution, but I venture the opinion, that such power will be denied by Congress, and under the law to which I call your attention, there can be no question as to the exercise of the right.

This character of conversation was followed for some time, when the President said, Gentlemen, I do not see that I can do anything, but I will see you again.

I then said Mr. President, before this interview is ended, allow me to say that, I presume that there is not a well informed man, North, South, East or West, but what knows that Mr. Davis would be at any place, at any time, to answer any charge

that might be preferred against him by the Government of the U. States.

The President replied, I presume not.

Then I said, if this be true, why not advise the authorities, to at least grant him bail, and not let him die by inches. The bail would be promptly given if it did not exceed in amount the value of all the property in the Southern States.

The President said, I cannot control that, but I will see you again.

It was probably ten days afterwards, when we called again to see the President.

He was alone, and as the door closed he arose from his chair, and approached us, seemingly excited, and gesticulating with both arms, and said, don't you see, don't you see, don't you see Gentlemen, that I can't do anything in the matter of Mr. Davis.

I replied, No Mr. President, from my standpoint, I can't see it, but I can see, with a plain statute authorizing it, that you could pardon President Davis, who is made to suffer for us all, and who is no more culpable than the humblest of his many thousand followers. This ended our last interview with President Johnson.

From Washington we went to Fortress Monroe to see President Davis. At Baltimore we were joined by two young ladies, relatives of Col. Hillyer. We arrived at the Fort at 6 o'clock in the morning, at 7 o'clock we were admitted to President Davis' prison quarters. After spending one or two hours together, Col. Hillyer accompanied by the ladies went out to look at the Fort, and remained until probably 4 o'clock in the evening. This interval I spent with the Ex President, and at his request, gave him in detail as near as I could everything that occurred between President Johnson and ourselves, and also referred to the supposed feud that would take place between the President and Congress.

In discussing President Johnson's inclination to exercise the pardon at all, I remarked to Mr. Davis, that President Johnson no doubt found it difficult to divest himself of his wide spread utterance, "Treason is odious and must be punished," The Ex President with more than ordinary earnestness said, "I shall not be surprised if President Johnson is tried for treason before I am." The remark impressed me at the time, and on my return home I mentioned it to a number of friends, among them Judge A. G. Mayers and Cols. J. M. Jayne and Jno. S. Hobson. The remark proved to be almost prophetic. President Johnson was tried for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, and come . . . vote

of being convicted. The Ex President, in prison, was the same courtly Gentleman, that he is in a parlor, or was in the Senate Chamber, or as the great Chosen Chief of millions of struggling people.

The days conversation in his prison quarters impressed me that he was the greatest living American Statesman.

After leaving Mr. Davis, Col. Hillyer and myself went to see Col. Wm. B. Reed of Philadelphia, and Chas. O'Conor of N. York who were of Counsel for our President. After an interview with Mr. O'Conor, who was leading Counsel, we left N. York, impressed with the belief that there was a strong probability that the Government would in the end abandon the prosecution.

While in the City of N. York we were much indebted to Col. Burton N. Harrison, who had been the Private Secty. of President Davis, for many courtesies and attentions shown us.

Your friend truly,

ROBERT LOWRY.

Benj. G. Humphreys to Andrew Johnson.

(Copy.)

Executive Office, Jackson, Missi.
Nov. 5, 1866.

His Excellency
Andrew Johnson,
President of the United States,
Sir:

By a resolution of the State of Mississippi, it was made my duty to appoint two Commissioners to visit you and apply for the enlargement on bail or parole, of Jefferson Davis, at present confined in Fortress Monroe. In performance of that duty, I have appointed and commissioned the Hon. Robert Lowry, and the Hon. Giles M. Hillyer; the former a Senator, and the latter a Representative in the Legislature, who will hand you this communication.

I have chosen in this formal manner to address your Excellency, in aid of the object sought to be accomplished by the resolution of the Legislature. I hope to be pardoned in adding a few reflections which occur to me as not inappropriate.

Prominent amongst the causes which induced the adoption of the resolution, is the fact that seems now to be conceded, that the accused will not be admitted to a trial before the ensuing Spring; owing to the reorganization of the Judicial Districts, under an act of Congress, and the now assignment of the Judges to the Districts thus organized; and the danger apprehended from a winter's imprisonment in his present feeble and precarious state of health.

From such information as they were able to obtain from those who have recently visited Mr. Davis, the Legislature were induced to believe that it would be attended with imminent risk to his life to be detained at Fortress Monroe another winter. They were, moreover, fully persuaded—and I think I can speak with confidence when I say—that there is not a citizen in the State, and I seriously doubt whether there is one in the United States, who is not equally well persuaded, that his imprisonment is not at all necessary to secure his presence at any time and place which may be appointed for his trial. Of this the Government must be the judge. I would not be understood as desiring to dictate, and far less, as presuming for a moment to indulge in reflections upon the Justice of the course hitherto pursued in his imprisonment. Without controverting the wisdom, justice and policy of that course in the past, I confine myself to the present and the future; and then, only, in reference to the effect likely to result to his life and health by longer confinement.

In all that I have said, and may say, my sole purpose is to put your Excellency in possession of what I believe to have been the motives and influences which actuated the Legislature in the adoption of the resolution under consideration. Another fact, doubtless, had weight, and I cannot forbear mentioning it. I do it in a spirit of perfect candor, and believing that your Excellency has the magnanimity to appreciate it.

The fact is historical and incontrovertible, that the people of Mississippi by a majority unprecedently in their annals, inaugurated at the ballot box, and by Ordinance of the Convention which they believed represented the Sovereignty of the State, the policy which resulted in placing Mr. Davis where he is. It was by their mandate, he vacated his seat in the U. S. Senate; and, by the same authority, and that of her Sister States of the South, in vain essaying to establish a separate government, that he was placed at the head of the Government they attempted to organize. I state the fact, without discussing or vindicating it, that the Legislature responding to the popular sentiment in that regard,

consider him neither more or less guilty than those who placed him in that position.

In connection with that fact I desire to say, that the people of Mississippi, with equal, nay greater unanimity, indeed I might say with almost absolute unanimity, have, in perfect good faith, accepted the arbitrament of the forum, to which they referred the controversy, have returned to their allegiance to the Government of the U. States, with a firm purpose to maintain its integrity and promote its prosperity by all the means in their power. The proof of this, if it was not found in the very necessity to which they are shut up, would be in the zeal and unanimity with which they support your administration, in its struggle to preserve and perpetuate the admirable form of Government established by the framers of the Constitution. With one mind and heart, they are united in that support, believing as they do, that upon your success in that struggle is involved the last hope of constitutional freedom, not upon this Continent alone, but throughout the world.

I know of no event which would go further to heal the wounds inflicted by the late sanguinary and fratricidal war, than the gratification by your Excellency of the wish implied in the resolution of the Legislature. It would send a thrill of joy through the hearts of the whole people of the South, irrespective of all past political differences upon the origin and causes of the war. It is believed that it would excite similar emotions in every just and generous bosom, even amongst those so lately arrayed in deadly conflict with us.

As I have before remarked, we do not ask for an unconditional pardon, nor that pending prosecutions shall be dismissed. We do not seek to screen him from trial. Believing that the ends of Justice will be reached, that his imprisonment is not necessary to secure his presence when delivered for trial, and can only be attended with fatal results to his health, I add my earnest entreaty to that of the Legislature, that it may please your Excellency to admit him to bail or enlarge him upon parole.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's

Obedt. Servt.

(Signed) Benj. G. Humphreys

Governor of Mississippi.

endorsed: copy; communication from Gov. Humphreys to President Johnson; Nov. 5th, 1866.

Mrs. Varina Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Missi.
Sep. 8th 1878

My dear Maj. Walthall,

Your kind letter gave us great pleasure as well as a certain sense of security about you.

The Market Street buildings are airy, if they are in the district which has hitherto been considered the most certain to be attacked by the disease. The next morning after the reception of your letter, I sent it up to Mrs. Walthall early, so that she could have it with her coffee. The girls have been down several times, and unfortunately have been twice caught in the rain, once we hoped to keep them all night, but they have their little Mother on their hearts, and could not consent to leave her alone. The only time that I have had any means of going to see Mrs. Walthall, a rain hurried us home, so I have not been able to gather anything from personal observation, however Mr. Davis has ridden there several times, and always found her well, except on the last visit. He noticed then that she wore an electric band about her head, and complained of some neuralgic pain. As we drove by your wharf on the day of the rain between us and the sky, we saw a little covey of children, Elen in the back ground, and Harry bringing up the rear making for the bath house with speed according with their respective ages. Harry looked so small in his small shirt and short trowsers perched up on the wharf above us that the Sea looked more vast than usual. God grant that you may be soon restored to your little ones to guide and comfort them through their chrysalis stage. I feel the responsibilities of a parent so intensely that I thank God that there is a time when the power, and consequently the onus of failure ceases—when the children grow, like Moses, to an age when they may kill a man, or lead a great nation on to victory and possession, and I be only like Moses's Father a dweller in their tents, and in no wise an indicator of anything. The death of my dear friend Butler Anderson, and the probable death of his dear wife have filled me with many sad reflections upon where one's duty lies, and to whom. Pray do not become over fatigued, and care worn if you can avoid it. A former attack does not now seem an adequate protection. Mr. Davis has not done any work since you left, indeed, it has been too warm to work & yet there is a certain feeling of Autumn in the

air. Mrs. Dorsey is busy with many things & among others with Mrs. Polidore's anticipated visit to Memphis. She is only waiting for transportation orders. Is she going. She thinks herself acclimated though she has not had the fever. We went to see Dr. Leacock after service today and found him as well as usual. Mr. Leacock and my sister had gone to Missi. City to Church & afterwards to the hotel to pay visits to the refugees there.

I am entirely satisfied that my children will be prudent, but very anxious about Addison who is naturally much depressed about his friends and their sorrows. Mr. Davis and Mrs. Dorsey unite with me in many anxious thoughts of you, and we all feel proud of Thornton's efficiency.

Believe me dear Sir, with many prayers for your safety

yours sincerely

VARINA DAVIS.

Postscript to letter attached.

Mr. Davis begs me to say that in addition to his solicitude for you he feels your absence seriously and looks hopefully forward to your return at no very distant day. Mr. Lyons has written a long letter to you to which Mr. Davis has replied retaining a copy for your information. T. E. Richardson has also written fully & very satisfactorily about the Cavalry at the Savannah River, more than supports your remark about demoralization.

Wm. P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lexington, Va.
Sept. 9, 1878.

My dear Friend:

Your favor of Augt. 28th is at hand. I have been absent and recently returned. I have not seen Capt. Gift's article, but have written to him for it, and also tried otherwise to secure it. If you have it, I would be glad if you would send it to me, unless you have better use for it. If you need it, I can return it.

"Cy" seemed so effectually answered by friends, Maj. Walthall and others, that I concluded it was best to *begin* the discussion with Beauregard. I have been waiting for him to publish, and do not doubt he will do so. In the meantime I will prepare my *answer* to what *must* be his case. Reagan writes that his claim is "rediculous." Waterson says "he has no case." Other friends are equally pronounced. I have let him off very easily in the Memoir; but the facts put controversially would bear much more heavily on him.

He furnished me "for my information" a letter from Jordan, asserting that Beauregard had difficulty in inducing my father to leave Murfreesboro and concentrate at Corinth, had to send several Staff officers after him and that he showed great unwillingness to move thither. This is a sample of his "evidence."

Appleton writes me that Major Walthall is nursing yellow fever in Memphis. Is that so? Is Maggie at Memphis or has she left?

Albert is out in the Mountains on a deer hunt at present. He killed a fawn last year, and hopes for a buck this year. He is six feet tall and weighs 140 lbs. Is a good, moral, handsome boy, not lazy; but he seems to have an unconquerable aversion to books. I hardly know what to do with him. He is only 17, and it is scarcely wise to throw a boy on the world at that age even if he desires it, and it is very difficult to get him any employment that will help educate him. I am too much straitened to indulge in any fancy schemes about him. Unless I can get some *hard* work for him to do here, I must keep him at home, and get him to read and copy for me. It is not worth while to send boys to College to idle. He says he wishes to work.

My family are all well and seem happy. I hear from my family in California occasionally. Mrs. Pritchard (Maggie) has a daughter. Griffin is writing in the Clerk's office at Los Angeles and said to be doing well. Hancock who has some partnership with his uncle, Dr. Griffin, is under the general business depression, but I think doing very well. We expect my sister Henrietta here next month.

Genl. Custis Lee left for White Sulphur last week. He thinks his heart affected. He has pain there. He looks well, however, and I hope it is not serious.

Sincerely, Your friend,

(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Major Walthall

Dear Sir,

I send you the balance of the letter of my Brother. When I referred to it in Mss. which you have I only recollected it as

being upon the charge of Repudiation I find however that it is also an answer to a charge by Genl. Scott that I had persecuted him. The fact that I was in prison when my brother met this accusation which no doubt made him more indignant at a reflection as false as detrimental and gave more asperity perhaps to the reply than you may deem befitting the change in circumstances. He was personally acquainted with Genl. Scott & sent his letter to him previous to publication—Genl Scott being then in N. Orleans, but Scott did not ask for satisfaction which was perhaps rather hoped for than expected. Please glance over the letter and use your discretion as to the propriety of omitting so much as does not refer to the question of repudiation —but in that event it would be necessary also to omit the quoted clause which charges me with persecution. A correspondence between Scott and myself was printed as a *Con Doc*—and I think fully justifies all that my brother states in regard to his controversy with me about allowances &c for himself. I have not seen the Doc. for many years. When here you kindly offered us some thinner paper which would save postage & be more suitable for pencil. If you did not consider your offer as accepted please so regard it now.

JEFFERSON DAVIS
per
S. A. Dorsey

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Sept. 12th, 1878.

My dear Davis,

I have received your last kind letter and mail the book this morning. Had the endorsement book and other records of my office not been burned up by those who got possession of them, my interest in the subject might have revived by looking over them. My endorsements were always carefully made on the investigation of the pertinent facts; and sometimes amused me, and would interest me now I suppose.

You say your head hurts and impedes effective work at present; without your records, notwithstanding your accurate memory, the task you have undertaken is enough to tangle and confuse the finest brain of a strong and unimpaired physique. I think of Wellington's maxim "Take care of your conduct and your reputation will take care of itself." You can securely

act on it. Lay aside the whole affair untill you feel refreshed, by rest and freedom from the anxiety you must feel about little Maggie's dangerous locality near Memphis, and the other daughter at Carlsruhe.

I have to get up at daylight every morning and see that the small affairs of my life are judiciously fitted into and with each other with the same attention and interest which were formerly given to the workings of my bureau operations throughout the confederacy. It is my nature to do fully and honestly whatever I am about, independent of results, so I am content and free from headache or heartache. In your controversy with Scott, you had the *facts;* I wish you had never undertaken to write a book without any foundation but memory and conscious rectitude in past action. What you have begun is enough to make soft the very hardest cerebral matter. I hope that you will resolutely stop work whenever you feel tired. I know your ability, but you have gone through too much to overtask your vital forces, or the animal tissues of your organisation. Don't run under the spur too long. No blood or courage is invulnerable. On my birthday my mare dropped a filly by Eolus (a fine race horse by Leamington out of Fairy Washington). I could write a page on its anatomy with pleasure, but spare you; from the muscle to the hind hoof the contrasts of delicacy with power and mechanical adaptation are in excellence. I had a work on the disection of English Eclipse, and studied the points. Kind regards to Mrs. Davis in which my wife joins.

Adios, your ever, L. B. N.

P.S. I have never read the book but knowing its source can estimate its tone.

endorsed: L. B. Northrop.

(Bishop) W. M. Green to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Sewanee Tenn. Sept. 23d, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My Dear Friend,

While in Boston a week or two ago, on Church business, I learned that there were several Manuscript Documents, of the date of our late war in possession of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Society"; and was led to believe that they

had not been brought to your notice or to that of any Historiographer of the war. In the hope that they might be of some use, in fixing a date, or in reconciling conflicting statements, I requested and obtained permission to see them. My limited time permitted me only to see that they were carefully preserved, and labelled according to subject. The two members of the "Society" whom I met with assured me that copies of them might be taken by any one whom you might appoint. I was regretting that I had not the time to take a list of them when I received two days since the Pamphlet which accompanies this; in which you will find, pp. 56 and 57, all the information which you may desire. If those papers have not, before this, been brought to your notice, and should prove of any value to you or others in making a fair record of our noble struggle, I shall be thankful and doubly rewarded for my concern about them.

Your Friend and Bishop writes to you with a heavy heart. Yesterday's telegraph told him that his dear and noble boy Duncan was numbered with the countless victims of the prevailing plague. You will know what I feel, and what I have lost, when I tell you that he was my "Willie." There is no memory of his whole life but what is pleasant to me but none more consolatory than the knowledge that he died at his post, among the remnant of his flock, and *ministering* to them, to the last.

Let me hope that I may sometimes be remembered in your prayers. You are often in the thoughts of

Your loving Bishop,
W. M. Green

P.S.
If the Pamphlet mailed with this should not reach you, let me know, and another shall be sent you.

Jefferson Davis to J. F. H. Claiborne.

(From Southern Historical Society Papers.)

Beauvoir, P. O., Harrison County, Mississippi,
September 28th, 1878.

My Dear Sir: I have the pleasure to acknowledge yours of the 13th and 14th inst., and cordially thank you for the kindness manifested in both.

General Lowry sent to me a copy of the paper contributed to you, stating that he would not have it published if objectionable to me. I replied that the only criticism I would make on it

was its too favorable reference to myself. He is entitled to my lasting gratitude for the boldness which characterized his intercourse with President Johnson, and his prompt rejection of the evasive generalities by which Mr. Johnson attempted to conceal his malignity towards me personally. In pleading his want of power, and suggesting his desire to comply with the application of the commissioners, he paved the way to the usurpations of Congress by which he became as powerless as he represented himself to be, but was not when the Commissioners visited him.

Accept my thanks for the privilege you gave, in sending to me an extract from the contribution of my friend, and former colleague, Ex-Senator Brown. He and I served together in trying times, and we have suffered alike, for conscience and duty's sake. May a kind Providence smooth his path for the remainder of his journey.

Your friend,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir P. O. 28th Sept. 1878.

My dear friend,

We are ever anxious about you and desire to hear from you and of you oftener than we do. Realizing the pressure of your engagements it is not expected that you should write often. Your much esteemed son Thornton has written occasionally and his letters have been not only welcome but interesting to us.

Among other letters received since you left, I have one from Mr. Derby proposing that you should go to New York. I have answered that before his letter was received you had gone on a mission of mercy to Memphis.[1]

The fever is now prevailing at Missi City and Biloxi, a few cases also at Handsboro but all of them were of persons who had come from infected localities. Genl. Davis does not see sufficient reason to justify the removal of his printing office. Mrs. Dorsey offered him the Dr. Thomas house for his press and printers. Some of your dear children come here nearly every day. I will (not) attempt to give you news of your family which you no doubt receive more directly & fully.

[1] To nurse yellow fever patients.

I am weaker than when you left and though not positively ill have not been able to write at all on your behalf. Mr. Sage has sent a copy of his work. A copious appendix is added to the proof sheets we read. Mr. Derby offered to send the memoir of Mr. Stephens and I requested him to do so. He also stated that a copy of the Confederate laws had been offered to him for $50. I replied that when you wrote to him it was with the hope of getting a copy on better terms, and as he suggested, proposed to wait for your decision. Also enclosed to him a note to Mr. Harrison requesting the return of my copy which he had retained. I fear it is not complete but the wanting parts may be supplied for less than the cost of a full copy. Remember me affectionately to Thornton and believe me ever cordially yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Maj. W. T. Walthall
Memphis, Tenn.

Jefferson Davis to W. M. Green.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

BEAUVOIR.. .P. O. Harrison Co. Missi.
29th Sept. 1878.

Rt. Revd. and very dear friend,

Your kind letter of the 23d Inst. has been received, and by the same mail came the pamphlets you so thoughtfully procured for me. I will avail myself of the courtesy of the Society, and procure copies of several of the papers named in their catalogue. Always remembering my obligation to you for the privilege granted, with it is admitted a commendable civility.

My beloved & honored Bishop, Mrs. Davis and myself have deeply sympathized with you in your recent domestic affliction. We have learned in sorrow how to feel with you. God knows how to measure, and how to temper such chastisement. You have the consolation of the assurance which belongs to the conviction that the life of him who has gone before, was well spent. To human sight "the proper place for man to die, is where he dies for man." Such was the end of your noble Duncan. You better than the more worldly, can realize that our loss was his gain, and though it may not relieve, it may alleviate a Father's grief. Take my dear friend, the sorrowing communion of one who loves and reveres you as his spiritual Father on earth.

We are surrounded here by the dread scourge, which has this season desolated our land, our children near to Memphis are in like condition; but a merciful Providence has thus far spared us. We ask your prayers for further safety.

Every in faith and love yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Bishop W. M. Green
of Mississippi.

Jefferson Davis to J. C. Derby.

(From collection of Grenville H. Narcross of Boston, Mass.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Missi.
Oct 6th 1878.

J. C. Derby Esqr,

My dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge yours of the 26th Ult, also the two books, and interesting magazines which you had the kindness to send to me. I do not think you have previously mentioned to me anything of "the copy of Confederate Records belonging to Mr Gerry," probably you did so in a letter to Maj. Walthall. I thank you for offering to borrow them for me, and if you will do so, they shall be carefully returned as soon as no longer required for my work.

I seldom hear directly from Maj Walthall, for he has not only been very hard at work, but recently has not been quite well. It is to be hoped that circumstances will soon permit him to return.

The time is near at hand when frost may be expected at Memphis and the effect it produces has usually been felt for several degrees of latitude south of the place where it occurred. We are here, surrounded by it, (the yellow fever epidemic) and the circle steadily narrows, but my residence is so isolated that we may fairly hope not to be invaded by the infection. The disease however has this year some characteristics hitherto unknown, and the suffering has been, and is more general & severe than that of any previous epidemic. The noble generosity of the Northern people in this day of our extreme affliction has been felt with deep gratitude and has done more for the fraternization of which many idly prate, than would many volumes of rhetorical assurance.

Again thanking you for your very kind courtesies I am

Respectfully and Truly yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, Mississippi, 10th Oct. 1878

My dear friend,

I am truly glad to know that you are safely at home and that your good son has also passed through the sea of pestilence by which you have both been surrounded.

As to your quarantine I can only say, you must judge of its necessity, and the extent thereof. I have no fear of you, and take it for granted that you would not expose your family to any danger.

Mrs. Davis is suffering from acute neuralgia, & this keeps me here this morning. I am anxious to see you for personal as well as business considerations.

Ever faithfully yours
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

(Address on outside).
Maj. W. T. Walthall
Present)
)
A. M. Dahlgren Esqr.)

B. H. Hill to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Atlanta, Ga. Oct. 12, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

My dear Sir:

For the first time in this life, I think you have just cause to complain of me. My delay in sending Mr. Walthall certain information, asked at your instance, is shameful. I have some poor excuse to offer,—the main one being the bad health of Mrs. H. which has so troubled me this summer that I have felt indisposed to do anything. But I have no sufficient excuse, and throw myself upon your mercy.

I have forwarded to the address of Mr. W. the facts as I remember them touching the removal of Gen. Johnston. If you think them incomplete or inaccurate in any particular, let me

know, and I will compare recollections with you. All the facts I know touching Mr. Blair's visit to Richmond and the appt. of the Hampton Roads Commissioners, I wrote out some years ago in a controversy with Mr. Stephens. I sent you a copy. If you have lost this I will hunt up another copy.

I left Richmond on the 3rd of February 1865 and never returned. I, therefore, know nothing of what occurred in R. after the return of the Commissioners.

It is painful, I confess, to review our Confederate struggle. I am so fully convinced that our failure was the result of unwise cabals against you by some of our leading men, and notably from Georgia, that it is exceedingly unpleasant to me to think of them.

I trust I shall meet you again, and I do not despair of seeing you once more in the Senate of the Nation.

Mrs. Hill joins me in kindest regards to you and Mrs. Davis.

Ever your friend,

B. H. Hill.

endorsed: B. H. Hill; about removal of J. E. Johnston.

R. S. Ripley[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New York Hotel, Octr. 26th 1878.

My dear Mr. Davis,

You may recollect my reading to you at Richmond in February 1864, a correspondence between the Head Quarters of Gen. Beauregard and myself, concerning the operations of Engineers at Charleston and especially concerning the matter of the forcing of the passage of Light House Inlet by the enemy July 1st 1863 &c &c.

[1] Ripley, Roswell Sabine (1823-1887), was born in Worthington, Ohio, March 14, 1823, graduated at West Point in 1843, and was assigned to the artillery. During the Mexican War he was aide-de-camp to General Pillow; was brevetted captain for gallantry at Cerro Gordo, major for like conduct at Chapultepec, and in 1849 published a history of the war. He resigned from the army March 2, 1853, and went into business at Charleston, S. C. At the bombardment of Fort Sumter he was lieutenant colonel of artillery. He was promoted brigadier general April 13, 1861, and placed in charge of the defenses of Charleston. In 1862 he was ordered to Virginia, and to the end of the war was engaged chiefly under D H. Hill, being severely wounded at Sharpsburg. In 1865 his command was ordered to the defence of Charleston. After the war he lived for several years in Paris, France, but returned to Charleston. He died in New York City March 26, 1887.

I happened to get hold of an odd copy of the correspondence, and that it may not be lost from the record, have had a few reprinted.

I have no desire to stir up a discussion on the subject, but I want to keep the correspondence where it may be referred to, when it may be desired.

I have sent some copies to the Southern Historical Society and take the liberty of enclosing a few to your address at Memphis.

I doubt not you will return so soon as the effects of the fever are dissipated. It has been an awful visitation to our people,—but I hope it is over at last.

I return to Europe in the course of a fortnight. My address there is c/o of Charles J. Abbott Esq. 8 New Tree London W. C.,—and if I can do anything for you there I shall only be too glad to do it.

With my deep sympathy and best wishes,

I remain truly yours,

R. S. Ripley.

The Hon. Jefferson Davis.

endorsed: Genl. Ripley; can answer as to preparations at Charleston and especially as to Artillery, including the bursting of the big gun which Beauregard attributed lately to the fault of the Arty. officer.

Wm. S. Garvin[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Mercer, Pa. June 5, 1879.

Dear Sir,

With this I send you a copy of the western Press, in which I have a little article referring to yourself and Andrew Johnson in the 29th Congress. It so happened that I went through with Johnson in a vote in committee of the whole on the West Point question, from which he inferred that I sympathised with him against that institution, and hence was disposed to make me a kind of confident as to his feelings.

Our acquaintance was so very slight that I doubt whether you remember me. I was a very humble member, and never sought to take the floor.

[1] Born in Mercer, Pa.; member of the 27th Congress.

On the questions at issue in the civil war, much as I deplored that condition of the country, I have never wavered in my faith in the constitutional Rights of the States to seek their own happiness and security in their own way,—hence, in my own region, I have always been denounced as the vilest kind of a copperhead.

Wishing you well, and as much comfort as you can enjoy, with the conviction that history will do you justice.

I am respectfully Yours

Wm. S. Garvin.

Hon. J. Davis,
Beauvoir, Mississippi.

endorsed: W. S. Garvin Ex.M.C. of Pa.—on State sovereignty and a reminiscence of Davis and A. Johnson.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Wednesday Morning

My dear Sir,

Your letter informing me of your presence at Missi. City and of your accidental lameness has just been received.

I supposed you were busy in arranging your new home and expected you to come when you could conveniently do so; am sorry to learn that lameness detained you I would go up to see you today but that two friends sent me notice of their purpose to visit me this forenoon. To morrow I have agreed to go to the Camp Meeting, which is between this and Biloxi.

Hoping to see you soon and in the mean time to have good report of your convalescence I am ever your friend

Jefferson Davis.

Maj. W. T. Walthall.

Address on envelope.
Maj. W. T. Walthall.
Missi. City
Favor of)
Mr. Dahlgren)

C. G. Memminger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Charleston, S. C. Nov. 27, 1878.
No. 17 Broad street.

Hon. Jeff: Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

My Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of 24th Novr. and am sorry that I can personally give you no information about the matter referred to. I have no recollection of having heard of the proposition referred to by Genl. Beauregard. I remember my having written to Mr. Wm. Trenholm one of the firm of John Fraser & Co. to come on to Montgomery to present the advantages of establishing a Depot for Cotton and Munitions of War at Bermuda and some station in the West Indies, and that he came on and appeared before the Cabinet and warmly advocated this plan, and that it met with my cordial approval, but it was not approved by the Cabinet. I remember nothing of any proposal to purchase the Steamers of the India Company. On receipt of your letter, I called on Mr. William Trenholm, to ascertain his recollection. It seems that all documentary evidence on the subject is lost, but he remembers his appearance before the Cabinet in behalf of the scheme above mentioned. His address was confined to that scheme, but he says he made the proposition to the Secretary of War and to Mr. Mallory the Secretary of the Navy to purchase the Steamers of the Oriental Company which he thought might be purchased for a million of dollars which was much below their cost; but that they had many grounds of objection to the purchase,—such as the great draft of water, which would prevent entering Southern Ports,—their construction of Iron and the want of money. To all these objections Mr. Trenholm says he made replies, but the proposals were not accepted.

He has no recollection of ever having spoken to me or you on the subject; nor did it enter into the statement made before the Cabinet, and as to myself I have no recollection of having been consulted by either Mr. Mallory or the Secretary of War.

Mr. Wm. L. Trenholm resides here at Charleston and would readily answer any enquiries. He begged me to present you his kindest and respectful regards.

With much esteem and regard,
Very truly yours,
C. G. Memminger.

W. T. Walthall to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum)

Washington, D. C.
30 Nov. 1878.

My Dear Mr. President:

The Adjutant General of the U. S. Army is acting in accord with the brief canine comparison by which I remember you once indicated his character, rather than with the gushing compliments paid him by our friend Dr. Jones in the December number of the Southern Historical Society Papers, in which de describes him as "a courteous and pleasant gentleman with whom to deal" &c. &c. I presented to him to-day a letter from Dr. Jones, written in behalf of the S. H. Society and requesting him to give me access to the Confederate records, as a member of the Society, in accordance with the agreement. He declined to do this, with a long and vapid explanation of his reasons for refusing, to which I made no answer, except to refer him to the contract. He thereupon disclaimed authority, but said the Secretary of War had full power in the premises. He offered to go with me to see the Secretary, but not wishing to have the case presented by him, I politely declined to give him that trouble. I then saw Col. Scott, who seems to be a very different sort of man, but, as these visits and other delays, which it is not necessary to state in detail, had brought me to the close of the Secretary's reception hours, I was obliged to postpone further effort until Monday—an utterly unnecessary and inexcusable delay of two days (including Sunday.)

Gen. Wright I have not been able to find, as he has been out of his office nearly all day, engaged in some private or other business, but hope to do so before Monday morning, and with his aid, or, if that is not sufficient, with the aid of some of our senators or members of the House, to accomplish the object. The delay, however, is exceedingly annoying.

Cols. W. Preston Johnston and T. L. Snead have just been to see me. Snead explains that he *did* answer my last letter of inquiry, but that it (his letter) was returned to him two or three months afterwards for failure to pay the postage. He could give no information of any value in addition to that already given.

I shall try to see Mr. Wm. H. Trescott, who is here, but fear that I may have forgotten the exact and special points on which you thought it desirable to refer to him.

I met General St. John after writing to you last. He is very obliging, offers to write out his recollections of the events connected with Gen. Lee's retreat, and on my return to go with me to Amelia C. H., or even to Norfolk, if necessary.

Mr. Lyons gave me a stick to take to you. Dining with him, the day before I left Richmond, he brought out some forty-years-old Madeira to drink your health. I was especially glad of it, as Col. John S. Mosby was of the company.

I hope to be on my way home before a letter from you would have time to get here, and therefore hesitate to suggest it, but, as there is a possibility of further delay, and you are willing to incur the risk of its failure to meet me, I would be glad to get any instructions or suggestions which you may consider important. A letter of this sort, if sent here, might be addressed to the care of Gen. Wright.

Please present my kindest regards to Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Dorsey.

Very faithfully and sincerely,
Your friend and servant,
(Signed) W. T. WALTHALL.

His Excellency
Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

W. T. Walthall to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum)

Washington, D. C.
3 Dec., 1878.

My Dear Mr. President:

I have succeeded in obtaining from the Secretary of War an order for admission to the archives for examination of such papers as I may wish to see. Gen. Townsend, however, throws as many obstacles as he can in the way of a free examination. I called on the Secretary this morning in company with a Senator (Gen. Morgan of Alabama), who introduced me and stated my business. It was evident, however, that the Adjutant General had already made this known, and that, while the Secretary was desirous of rendering every facility, he was hampered by the constraint of a certain deference to the Adjutant General. He repeated some of the formal platitudes which the latter had uttered about the necessity for regulations and restrictions in

the matter of research, but ended by giving me an order to Gen. Townsend for permission to examine the papers relating to such subjects as I might specify. On taking this to Townsend, he sent for the head clerk in charge of the Archives office, and asked me to state what papers or subjects I wished to examine. I told him that I could not extemporize a full list of them, but would specify some, (which I did on the instant,) reserving (with his permission) the privilege of adding to the list hereafter, if necessary.

The papers which I asked for were—as nearly as recollected —the following:

1. Letter Books and loose letters of Gen. Lee.
2. Journals of Confederate Congress.
3. Letters of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston to the President and Adj. General of the Confederate States—or perhaps it was specified as *Correspondence between* these parties—prior to 1st July, 1862, and from Dec'r, 1863 to August 1864.
4. Papers relating to the Commissioners sent to the U. States in 1861 and their mission.

There was something else, but I forget exactly what it was—the memorandum was so hastily made.

The Chief Clerk declared that it would take him at least *two days* to make a list of the papers relating to these subjects—an altogether unnecessary and merely obstructive task. This will, however, give me an opportunity to go to New York to-night and spend a day or two there. To accomplish this much has already occupied *four days,* when one half-hour would have been amply sufficient.

I telegraphed you last night, on ascertaining the turn which my efforts were likely to take and the delay that would probably be necessary, to write to me here, to the care of Gen. John T. Morgan of the Senate. This was with the view of getting any instructions or suggestions that might occur to you with regard to subjects which might escape my recollection or attention.

Mr. Trescot, I have been sorry to ascertain, is out of town, but will probably be back before I can get off.

I enclose a note of introduction which I had from Gen. Wright to the Secretary of War, but which I *did not* deliver, but now send it to you, for a reason which I hope you will pardon me for suggesting very frankly. Gen. Wright's position is a peculiar one. His appointment has already been a subject for complaint from some of the more violent Radicals—especially from

the Northwest. His sympathies are no doubt with us, but his duty requires him to look mainly to the interests of the U. S. War Department, and his own interests would perhaps lead him to go a little farther than the mere perfunctory performance of his duty. In other words, it is important, if he desires to retain his office, that he should vindicate both the usefulness of the office and his own special fitness for it. Now, I do not know to what extent the tender referred to in the last paragraph of his letter of introductions has gone—he tells me that he has had a recent letter from you on the subject,—but I have thought it better not to give any sanction to the assumed agreement on your part to permit copies to be made of *all* your "miltary papers," without some more definite knowledge of it. It is true, I could not commit you in any obligatory way, but my known relations with you might give a seeming sanction to the statement of your promise as understood by Gen. Wright, if I should use the letter containing it to accomplish my purpose.

Pardon me for stating all this at length, not merely as explanatory of my own action, but as suggestive of needful caution in the future. The Government of the U. S. has purchased Col. W. P. Johnston's papers for $10,000 and is now treating with Mrs. Bragg and Dr. Polk (through W. P. J.) for the papers of Gens. Bragg and Polk, respectively. Yours are far more valuable than all the others together. I do not know that you have ever considered, or would consider, the question of disposing of them in this way, or leaving them as a legacy of material, positive, money value to your family; but I hope you will not sacrifice any part of the full and perpetual control of them for the insignificant equivalent which the War Department can give, and which it seems to be trying to give as disagreeably as possible. For this reason I have politely declined to accept any assistance in copying &c., and will continue to do so, unless my views on the subject meet your disapproval. They did not occur to me when Gen. Wright's first offers of service was made, but they *began* to occur some time afterwards, and were suggested to you then. The more I learn of the actual state of the case, the more impressed I am with the need of caution against incurring any entanglements of reciprocity that might be embarrassing hereafter. I speak thus freely with some hesitation, and therefore perhaps with some awkwardness, but I trust you will understand both the matter and the motive.

I have an appointment with Judge Reagan for six o'clock this evening, and leave for New York at ten, expecting to be absent about two days, and hoping to hear from you on my return. The

impossibility of foreknowing my own movements and giving directions for the forwarding of letters has hindered me from hearing anything from home for ten days past. I am very anxious to get back, but do not like to lose any of the present opportunities.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Dorsey, I remain, faithfully,

Your friend and servant,
(Signed) W. T. WALTHALL.

His Excellency,
Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, 7th Dec. 1878

My dear Sir,

Absence for the past week has caused delay in the receipt of your communications, and increased the probability of your receiving this. It is true that a kind regard and esteem for General Wright led me to respond cordially to his proposition for an exchange of material, but if you will ask for my letter, of old not "recent" date you will I think find that it does not bear so wide a construction as has been given to it. Your observation and disappointments will have taught you that the good intentions of the Genl. are subject to the control of others who do not feel as he does, and that he cannot carry out his wish to aid *us*. The fact of your relation to me, was enough to make that poor snake Townsend active in obstructing your efforts to get information. Yet he could not give another reason for his conduct than that he was under obligations to me and wanted to pay them in a coin which would be acceptable to the powers that be. I am glad that you did not take advantage of the request, based upon a promise said to have been made by me. We will endeavor to work our way by other means than pledges to the War Dept as the consideration for allowing us to see historical records.

I would not embarrass our friend, or imperil the tenure of his office. You remember the excuse of the apothecary in Romeo & Juliet. We must however avoid complications with the men who you have tested in the beginning of your intercourse with them.

You have probably received a letter & telegram from Mrs. Bragg about her Husband's papers. Your letter gives a clue to the anxiety manifested.

Thornton met me at the Depot and reported all well. As this may not reach you and as we may expect soon to see you, I omit many things which otherwise I would write.

I am ever cordially your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Maj. W. T. Walthall

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

My dear Sir,

I have received the letters you sent to me & in returning them can only say, that the correspondence you particularly asked for was I believe telegraphic, and between J. A. Seddon, Sec. of War, and J. E. Johnston, commanding army near Atlanta.

We also spoke of Genl. J's letters from Dalton about proposed campaign into Tennessee, and again about Genl. J.'s letters from Jackson Missi. during the siege of Vicksburg, particularly one stating the number of troops necessary to raise the siege. Another explanatory of delay, another objecting to detachment of troops for temporary services at Port Hudson because of the great value of the position at Jackson, and of the material collected there.

It seems to be slow work with the circumlocutory office, and I fear Genl Wright will sooner or later discover that his mission is to receive, not to furnish documentary evidence. It is well however for you to test the matter, and perhaps we shall get something if not all we wish.

As ever your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Chas. E. Hooker to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington City, D. C.
Decmb. 7th, '78.

My Dear Sir,

Your favor of 1st with enclosed letter came duly to hand. I called this morning on Genl. Townsend, and shewed him Mr.

Wilson's letter. He said, at once, that he remembered the solid ring and the others; and that they had been returned to you, through some friend applying for the same. He could not tell to whom they had been delivered. He asked me to leave the letter of your friend in reference to the rings promising to look up the Correspondence with the department and give me Copies and Return letter left with him.

As to the arms, he said there was a *serviceable* rifle and pistol which had been turned over to the Ordnance Dept.

If you will give me such description as will identify them, I will make search for them. Will forward you Genl. Townsend's reply when Recd.

Mrs. Hooker is with me and unites with me in kindest Regard to yourself and family. You had our sincerest sympathy in the great affliction which you suffered in the loss of your dear Son.[1] Mrs. H. remained in Jackson during the entire summer and had the fever in the close of the epidemic; she is recovering slowly, and has been much benefited by change of air and scenery.

It will be a delight to me always to serve you.

Very truly your friend and servt.

CHAS. E. HOOKER.

E. D. Townsend to Chas. E. Hooker.

War Department,
Adjutant General's office,
Washington, December 7, 1878.

Hon. Charles E. Hooker,
House of Representatives,

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a letter from Mr. Jefferson Davis to Philip Phillips, Esq., upon which the rings and matters therein referred to were turned over to Mr. Phillips on the 9th September 1874.

I return herewith the letter of Mr. Geo. Wilson, Jr. which you left with me.

I am, sir,
Very Respectfully
Your obedient servant
E. D. TOWNSEND
Adjutant General

[1] Jefferson Davis Jr. who died of yellow fever in Memphis.

Chas. E. Hooker to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C. Decmb. 9th, 1878.

Mr. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Harrison County,
My Dear Sir,

I wrote you day before yesterday, in answer to yours, stating Result of my interview with Genl. Townsend A. G.

This morning I am in Receipt of enclosed copies and letter from Adjt. General, by which you will observe that the articles of which you inquire were delivered to Mr. Phillips on the 9th Sept. 1874.

I shall be glad to serve you further in this matter if you desire it.

With kind regards to Mrs. Davis I am as ever

Your friend and servt.
CHAS. E. HOOKER.

L. P. Walker to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Huntsville, Ala. Dec. 10, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
Dear Sir:

I have read the article in the New York *Sun,* which you enclosed in your letter to me of the 2nd inst., and I herewith return it.

I do not remember the interview with me, mentioned by Gen. Beauregard, nor that any proposition was submitted to the Confederate Government for the sale to it of any Steamers of the character stated by him. If any such proposition was made it has passed from my recollection.

Yours respectfully,
L. P. WALKER.

E. Barksdale to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Official Journal of the State.)

THE CLARION.

Editorial Rooms,

Jackson, Miss., Decr. 12, 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My esteemed Friend,

There is one question upon which I would be gratified to have an expression from you—viz., the right of the Legislature of a State to instruct her Senators in Congress. If the right exists, the duty of obedience is a logical consequence. In the pressing importance of measures having a direct and practical bearing upon the welfare of the people, involving their rescue from military despotism, and alien rule, they have lost sight of first principles; but they are now in a condition to recur to them; and it is essential to the preservation of republican government that they should. What has been the faith and the practise of the Democratic party upon that subject?

I hope I do not annoy you by making this request. It is scarcely necessary to say that if you should oblige me with an answer, it will not be published without your authority.

With kind remembrance to Mrs. Davis, I remain,

truly yours,

E. Barksdale.

(Answer to above attached hereto.)

Jefferson Davis to E. Barksdale.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Missi.

Dec. 14th, 1878.

Maj. E. Barksdale,

My dear Sir,

I this day received yours of the 12th inst. asking for my opinion as to the right of the Legislature of a State to instruct her Senators in Congress.

Personally a disinterested observer, I stand upon the political

river, earnestly watching whatever it may bear, but without any purpose ever again to launch my bark upon it. My opinions, however, upon any subject which interests Missi. are, as they always will be, at the service of my friends who may desire to have them.

The Government of the U. S. is essentially representative, the necessary consequence of the admitted sovereignty of the people, and the individuality of the States. To deny the responsibility of the Representative to his constituents would be to attack the foundation of our political system. The two houses of Congress represent, the one, the people, the other, the States themselves.

If the people of a Cong. District were to assemble in mass and instruct their Representative upon any particular question, who will gainsay their right to do so, or his duty to obey?

In the compact of the Union it was provided that the Representatives of the States, their Senators, should be chosen by their respective Legislatures. Those Legislatures do in that connection express the voice of the State, and the Senator who accepts his election by the Legislature as such expression of the will of the State, would seem to be estopped from contending at any future time, that the Legislature was not the proper channel through which the State should speak to him. It has been the practice of the Democracy, either to obey instructions, or to resign the office held from the people. So that their constituents might, if they so desired, select some one else who would more truly represent them. Nor has this been entirely confined to the Democracy. The Statesman who has been called the expounder of the Constitution, when the wild waves of abolitionism were beating against the bulwarks of the Constitution, and threatening its subversion, in view of the possibility of receiving instructions which he could not conscientiously obey, said he hoped the event might not arise, and clearly indicated, though he did not express it, that in such contingency he would vacate a seat he could not consistently retain.

In the history of nations, we should in vain seek for precedents applicable to our case. In the Democracy of Greece, the people assembled in mass, to discuss and to legislate. In the Republic of Rome, the government was one of orders. The patricians, and the people having conflicting powers. In neither of these could representation such as ours have been the foundation of government. Therefore we had to be a law unto ourselves. Whereas all other modern Republics were based on pre-existing feudal systems, we had no such compromises to make with abuses, and with privileged classes, but here offered a clean sheet on which

the charter of human liberty and the supremacy of law might be written. The people of each independent State, possessing sovereign power, organized each for itself, a government of their own; and by the compact of Union delegated to the General Government, such powers and functions as they were willing to confide to it.

In the State Governments, as well as in that of the United States, power was attended by a correlative responsibility of those who from either received authority and trust. It was a wise organism when it was adopted,—more wise perhaps than the builders knew. For our experience has taught us, that corruption which works in darkness and unseen may undermine the fabric which could resist direct and external blows. We have been by the divine Master taught the danger of being led into temptation.

In the growth of wealth and luxury, we have seen arise as the consequence, increased extravagance, waiting (?) on the necessities of which was an army of lobbyists, the agents of powerful corporations, of special interests, and of the monied power. Against the influence of these it were safer to trust the body of the people who are beyond the reach of temptation, than the few who are immediately exposed to it.

In opposition to the right of the constituency to instruct, I know of no argument which deserves notice, unless it be that which denies to the people the requisite amount of intelligence. If that be true, the corner stone of our temple is crushed, and it were vain to attempt to prop the superstructure. But is it true? I hope not, and I think not, and repel the assumption of any man that he has more wisdom than the aggregate of his neighbors. So, Sir, I end as I began with the expression of the belief, that the coexistence of liberty and power require the direct responsibility of the Representative to his constituents. This is the characteristic and especial merit of our political system, State, and Federal. In conclusion let me express the conviction, that unless this be maintained, and the virtue and intelligence of the people keep pace with the demand for both in the exercise of the high power they possess, we must look forward to corruption among officials and anarchy, to be followed by despotism.

Very truly your friend

(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

endorsed:
copy of letter to Col. E. Barksdale on right of instruction. Dec. 14th, 1878.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Virginia,
December 18th, 1878.

My Dear Sir;

I received a letter before leaving New Orleans, which required that I should return here as soon as practicable, in order that I might attend to the interests of my sister-in-law, Mrs. S. H. Early, and hence I was unable to stop at Mrs. Dorsey's. I regret this, but it was unavoidable.

Presuming that the tobacco I sent you last winter is exhausted by this time, I have sent you a fresh supply of the "Lone Jack." Along with it is a package of another brand of the same manufacture. Try it, and let me know which you think the best.

In the last number of the Historical Papers, you will find a narrative of the mode in which General Jackson received his death wound.[1] It is by Captain Wilbourn, a Mississippian, who was the Chief Signal Officer for Jackson, Ewell and myself, and was by Jackson's side when he received the wound.

He was a man of most sterling character and integrity. He is now dead. The account is contained in a letter to me, and was published in 1873, in the Southern Magazine,—it being now republished for better preservation, though the proper acknowledgement is not made.

Present my best regards to Mrs. Davis. I have written a note to Mrs. Dorsey—and believe me ever

Sincerely yours,
J. A. Early.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

P.S. The tobacco is sent by express to the care of Major Walthall at Mississippi City, as I presume there is no express agent at Beauvoir.
J.A.E.

endorsed:
Genl. Early; about death of T. J. Jackson.

[1] Southern Historical Society Papers vol. 6 p 266-275. Capt. Wilbourn's account is used in Henderson's Stonewall Jackson vol. II p. 451.

W. L. Trenholm to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Charleston 28th Decr. 1878.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir P.O. Harrison Co. Miss:
My dear Sir,

Your letter of 17th inst. is at hand, with its enclosures. One should speak with diffidence of events which passed 17 years ago and hence I should have preferred not being appealed to for my recollections of this matter. The first application was made to me in Feby. last. I enclose my reply to that (copy) and also copy of my letter to Genl. Beauregard of 18th Septr. These letters have been read to Mr. Memminger and he tells me that only one matter was brought before the Cabinet viz.: the proposal to subsidize steamers to keep open communication with the West Indies.

Since the interview with Mr. Memminger I have taxed my memory to recall what passed and it seems to me that whether it was before the Cabinet or not, the other proposal, viz. to purchase certain Steamers, was spoken of at the Cabinet meeting at which I was present by invitation.

I think I remember some one, possibly it was Genl. Toombs, making a remark which shewed that he had confused the two measures, altogether, and thought the proposal was for the Govt. to buy the Steamers and then subsidize a company to manage them, or something of that sort.

This is a vague and indistinct recollection however and I merely mention it because the same incident may have made an impression upon others.

As well as I can remember I spoke in favor of both measures. Mr. Memminger thinks otherwise, but subsequent effort has failed to elicit any other recollection on my part.

The proposal as to the purchase of the Steamers was left at the Navy Department in Montgomery. It can no doubt be found among the Confederate Archives in Washington.

Allow me to express my appreciation, my dear Sir, of the kind terms in which you have been good enough to write, and to say that my Mother and Mrs. Trenholm unite with me in warmest memories of Mrs. Davis.

Our hearts have ever been with you in your calamities and private griefs.

Very respectfully, My dear Sir,
Yr. friend,
W. L. TRENHOLM.

I return the newspaper slip.

endorsed: W. L. Trenholm.

W. L. Trenholm to Dr. J. D. Bruns.

Copy.

Charleston 5th Feby. 1878.

Dr. J. D. Bruns,
142 Canal Street, N. O.
My dear Doctor,

Your note of 20th ulto. arrived during my absence. It will give me pleasure next summer to look among my father's old papers and mine for anything bearing upon the negotiations referred to and if successful in finding the information desired I will be glad to place it at Genl. Beauregard's disposal.

I am sorry that my engagements do not permit of my making the search just now. The lapse of time and the absorbing character of subsequent events render me unwilling to furnish any statement from memory alone, of such important matters, or of any which may affect other persons, some of whom are not alive. Be good enough to convey to the Genl. my respectful remembrances and the assurance of my zealous service and believe me

Yrs truly,
W. L. TRENHOLM.

W. L. Trenholm to G. P. T. Beauregard.

Copy.

Charleston 18th Sept. 1878.

Dear General Beauregard,

Major Willis has sent me your note to him of 10th inst and in reply I regret to say that I have been able to find nothing "documentary" bearing upon the subject. The letters and papers I think were among those of Jno. Fraser & Co. which were destroyed when their office on Central Wharf was burnt. In the absence of the records I prefer not to make a "statement,"

for the reasons expressed to Dr. Bruns when he wrote me about your desire to obtain a statement from me. Enclosed is a copy of my letter of 5th Feby 1878 to Dr. Bruns to which I have only to add my regrets that I cannot more effectually aid you in establishing the history of a transaction which, viewed in the light of subsequent events would be seen to have exercised so decisive an influence upon the fate of the Confederacy. This I remember well, that you warmly supported the proposition and used your influence in aid of its being brought before the Cabinet, at Montgomery, which was accomplished. The proposition itself you can no doubt obtain by writing to Jno. R. Armstrong Esq. late of Fraser Trenholm & Co. Liverpool. It was contained in a letter from that house to Jno. Fraser & Co., (or to my Father personally I forget which) and no doubt copies of all the papers exist in Liverpool. I think it was in May 1861 that I was sent to Montgomery to lay this proposal before the Government then lately established. The time can be definitely fixed by that of the arrival in Montgomery of Mr. Justice Campbell for I remember he was on the train on his way from Washington, having just resigned his seat on the Supreme bench. I remember that you and some of your staff were on the train all the way from Charleston and we talked to-gether of the importance of the two propositions I was charged to make. One to furnish certain steamers for certain purposes, the other to establish and maintain, under a Govt. guarantee, a line of steam communication between Charleston and the West Indies. I was invited to attend a meeting of the Cabinet at which I spoke in explanation and recommendation of both measures. No discussion took place in my presence but from questions put to me I have always been under the impression that few if any of those present realised at all the scope and importance of the measures laid before them.

Yours very resply.

W. L. Trenholm.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Va., December 30th, 1878.

My Dear Sir:

Yours of the 23rd has been received, and in reply to your question about the adoption of the battle flag, I have to state that I did notice General Beauregard's remarks in reference to

it, and think he was substantially correct about the main facts, though he was a little inaccurate as to the time when he saw my brigade moving in column north of and parallel to the Warrenton Pike. The enemy had begun his retreat before I crossed that pike, and when I confronted him on our extreme left General Beauregard could not have seen my troops by reason of the woods which intervened. After encountering the enemy on our left (his right) I moved forward, and he retired. I then moved to the top of a hill south of the pike, near Chinn's house, from which the enemy had fired at my brigade, and a regiment to my right retired precipitately down the hill and across the pike, where I discovered a considerable body north of the pike which soon disappeared in full retreat. Here I was joined by Col. Cocke with one of his regiments, and together we moved across the pike, and then parallel to it, passing in front of our whole line, until I halted where you found me when you rode forward after the enemy had gone, as you will recollect. General Beauregard is therefore inaccurate in the statement that he discovered my brigade north of the pike, before the enemy gave way. I believe I sent you a copy of my official report which explains the facts more fully. The messenger who carried the information to General B. in regard to the supposed approach of Patterson's troops had passed me on my march from below to the battle-field, and had told me that it was reported from the signal station that a considerable body of the enemy had crossed the Manassas Gap Rail-road, and there is no question that the information he conveyed induced General B. at first to mistake my column for a fresh column of the enemy; and I have no doubt that the discovery of my column moving north of the pike, and parallel to it, gave rise to the report that Kirby Smith had stopped the cars at Gainesville and moved directly for the battle-field, for when discovered from our right I was moving in the direction he would have come if he had stopped at that point and left the cars. The Virginia regiment with me had no flag, and the Louisiana regiment had the pelican flag, made of sky-blue silk. The 13th Mississippi regiment alone had the first Confederate flag,—to wit, the stars and bars. I realized the fact myself, that day, that it was exceedingly difficult to distinguish the stars and bars from the stars and stripes, when both hung down around the staff, for I was some time in doubt whether the regiment I have already mentioned as seeing on my right, was a Confederate or a Yankee regiment, as one of Elzey's staff officers had come to me when I was advancing and protested most earnestly that the regiment in front of me was a Virginia

regiment. At that time it was difficult to distinguish the volunteers on both sides from each other, as their dress was very similar.

It was apparent to all engaged in that battle, that a change of flags was necessary, and hence the steps were taken to get a new flag. The battle flags were presented to the troops of the army at Centreville, then called the "Army of the Potomac," in the month of November 1861. Previous to that time Governor Letcher had presented to each one of the Virginia regiments, the Virginia State flag, which was borne for some time along with the battle-flag, but finally the latter was the only flag used.

The battle-flags were presented to Van Dorn's Division, to which I belonged, last of all, and the presentation to it was made on the 2nd of December 1861, though a day for the presentation had been fixed in November, and changed I presume on account of bad weather.

I send you copies of the orders issued by General Beauregard in regard to the flag, which settle the time of its adoption. I had forgotten one fact in regard to the flag, which has been recalled to my memory, by the discovery of the accompanying order from General Magruder, issued the very day I reported to him on the line of Yorktown and Warwick River, with the 1st Division from Genl. Johnston's army, and that is, that his troops did not then have the battlefield flag. The 1st flags were made of silk, taken mostly from ladies' dresses, and the ground was generally pink instead of red, which afterwards became the prevailing color.

There was a change afterwards made (in the last year of the War) in the large flag, intended for garrisons and ships of war, by adding an upright red bar at the end of the white ground, and that change was made because naval men reported that it was difficult to see the white flag, with only the battleflag in the upper corner near the staff or mast, at sea. Doubtless Mr. Miles also advocated that change. The flag then adopted was designed by Major Rogers of the artillery, but the battle flag remained unchanged.

I trust you have received the smoking tobacco before this; and wishing you and all with you a bright and happy New Year, I am,

Very Truly and sincerely yours
J. A. Early.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

endorsed:
Genl. Early; about battle flag and incident at 1st Manassas.

Copy.

Hd. Qrs. 1st Corps A. of Potomac.
Near Centreville, Nov. 24, 1861.

Special Orders
No. 505.

I. All heavy baggage will be sent forthwith, and placed in store at Camp Pickens where it will be properly secured and guarded. To which end Division Commanders will issue the necessary orders.

II. In the event of an action with the enemy, the new battle flag, recently issued to the Regiments of this Army Corps, will alone be carried on the field. Meantime, Regimental Commanders will accustom their men to the flag so that they may become thoroughly acquainted with it.

By com'd of Gen. Beauregard.

THOMAS JORDAN,
A. A. Gen.

Official,
EDWARD INGRAHAM,
1st Lieut. C. S. Cavalry,
A. A. Gen.

Brig. Gen. J. A. Early.

Headquarters,
1st Corps, Army of the Potomac,
Near Centreville, Nov. 29, 1861.

General Orders
No. 75.

A new banner is entrusted to-day, as a battle-flag, to the safe keeping of the Army of the Potomac.

SOLDIERS: Your mothers, your wives and your sisters have made it. Consecrated by their hands, it must lead you to substantial victory, and the complete triumph of our cause. It can never be surrendered, save to your unspeakable dishonor and with consequences fraught with immeasurable evil. Under its untarnished folds beat back the invader, and find nationality, everlasting immunity from an atrocious despotism, and honor and renown for yourselves—or death.

By command of General Beauregard.

THOMAS JORDAN
A. A.Gen'l.

endorsed:
Nov. 29, 1861; Orders No. 75; 1st Corps; Battle Flag.

Head Quarters, Army of the Peninsula,
Assistant Adjutant General's Office,
Lee's Farm, near Lee's Mill, April 9, 1862.

General Orders
No. 176.

It is anounced to the Army that the Battle Flag of the Regiments from the Army of the Potomac is of Pink ground—Blue diagonal cross-bars with white stars along the bars—yellow border—binding two inches wide.

By Command of Major General Magruder.

HENRY BRYAN,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Vicksburg 11th Nov.

My dear Sir,

Yours of the 6th Inst. forwarded from Memphis has been received here. Mrs. Davis failed to find the better picture of Brierfield, and I cannot hear of one to be had here. I asked to have a copy of the miniature by Saunders taken and sent to you. Several photographs of myself taken at different periods were given to me to be submitted to you for your selection. I expect to leave here tomorrow by Steam Boat for New Orleans and will after a very brief stay there go on to Beauvoir and renew my conferences and labors with you.

With kindest remembrances to Mrs. Walthall and your children I am

every truly yours
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Maj. W. T. Walthall over

. . . . . .

Pencilled notes on reverse of preceding letter.

Thoughts for consideration of W. T. W.

The man who denies the right of a State to secede and form another government must be either regardless or ignorant of the history of our country. The Declaration of Independence was founded upon the idea that ultimate sovereignty was in every

community & authorized a change of Government. The present Union of the States was begotten by Secession. The convention which met with authority to amend the conston. of the confederation, honestly and logically concluded that new powers could not be obtained by mending the old ones, and therefore considering new powers absolutely necessary, they resolved, if nine states should agree, to secede from the Confederation and form a new Union. Eleven states did so agree & secede, from the United States of the Confederation, the Constu. of which declared their Union to be *perpetual,* & its articles only to be amended by the unanimous consent of the States united.

Josiah Gorgas[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(Original in the possession of the Gorgas family)

Extracts from My Notes Written Chiefly Soon After the Close of the War:

Small Arms.

At the formation of the Government, or at the beginning of the war the arms at command were distributed as follows:

		Rifles	*Muskets.*
U. S. Arsenals	At Richmond (State) about.....	4000	
	Fayetteville, N. C. "	2000	25,000
	Charleston, S. C. "	2000	20,000
	Augusta, Ga. "	3000	28,000
	Mt. Vernon, Ala.....	2000	20,000
	Baton Rouge, La.....	2000	27,000
		15000	120,000

There were at Richmond about 60,000 old worthless flint muskets and at Baton Rouge about 10,000 old Hall's Rifles and carbines.

[1] Josiah Gorgas, brigadier-general and chief of ordnance, C. S. A.; born in Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, July 1, 1818; was graduated at West Point as No. 6 in the class of 1841; assigned to the ordnance department of the U. S. Army. In 1845-46 was detailed to study ordnance in Europe; returned to active service in the War with Mexico, serving with distinction. On the return of peace he served as ordnance officer at various arsenals; in 1853 was in command of Mt. Vernon, Alabama. In December, 1853, was married to the daughter of Governor Gayle of Mobile; in 1860 was a member of the board of ordnance; resigning in April, 1861, he removed

Besides the foregoing there were at Little Rock, Ark. a few thousand stands, and some few at the Texas Arsenal, increasing the aggregate of serviceable arms to say 143,000. To these must be added the arms owned by the several states, and by military organizations throughout the country, giving say 150,000 in all for the use of the armies of the Confederacy. The rifles were of the calibre .54 known as Mississippi Rifles, except those at Richmond, taken from Harper's Ferry which were cal. .58; the muskets were the old flint lock, cal. .69, about 45 percussion. Of sabres there were a few boxes at each arsenal, and some short artillery swords. A few hundred holster pistols were scattered here and there. There were no revolvers.

Ammunition, Powder and Lead.

There was little ammunition of any kind, or powder, stored at the Arsenals in the South; and that the relics of the Mexican war, stored principally at Baton Rouge and Mt. Vernon Arsenals. I doubt whether there were a million rounds of small arm cartridges in the Confederacy. Lead there was none in store. Of powder the chief store was that captured at Norfolk; tho' there was a small quantity at each of the Southern Arsenals, say 60,000 lbs in all, chiefly old cannon powder. The stock of percussion caps could not have exceeded ¼ of a million.

Artillery.

There were no batteries of serviceable field artillery at any of the Southern Arsenals. A few old iron guns mounted on Gribeauval carriages fabricated about the time of the war of 1812 composed the entire part which the Confederate States fell heir to. There were some serviceable batteries belonging to the States, and some which belonged to volunteer companies. There were neither harness, saddles, bridles, blankets, nor other artillery or cavalry equipments.

Then to furnish 150,000 men on both sides of the Mississippi on say the 1st of May 1861 there was on hand no infantry accoutrements, no cavalry arms or equipments, no artillery and above

to Alabama and was appointed chief of ordnance of the Confederate States. His administration of the most important scientific and administrative office in the government was a marvel of efficiency. He created the ordnance department "from the ground up." After the war he served a short time as superintendent of the Briarfield ironworks. He soon turned his talents to education and served as head-master and vice-chancellor of the University of the South at Sewanee, and president of the University of Alabama. He died at Tuscaloosa, May 15, 1883.

all no ammunition; nothing save small arms, and these almost wholly smooth bore altered from flint to percussion. Let us now see what means we had for producing these supplies.

Arsenals, Workshops, Foundries, &c.

Within the limits of the Confederate States, there were no Arsenals at which any of the material of war was constructed. No Arsenal except that at Fayetteville, N. C. had a single machine above a foot lathe. Such Arsenals as these were had been used only as depots. All the work of preparation of material has been carried on at the North; not an arm,[1] not a gun, not a gun carriage, and except during the Mexican war, scarcely a round of ammunition had, for fifty years, been prepared in the Confederate States. There were consequently no workmen, or very few of them, skilled in these arts. No powder, save perhaps for blasting, had been made at the South; and there was no Saltpetre in store at any point; it was stored wholly at the North. There was no lead nor any mines of it, except on the northern limit of the Confederacy, in Virginia, and the situation of that made its product precarious. One only cannon foundry existed—at Richmond. Copper, so necessary for field artillery and for percussion caps, was just being produced in East Tennessee. There was no rolling mill for bar iron south of Richmond; and but few blast furnaces and these small and with trifling exceptions in the border states of Virginia and Tennessee.

Such were the supplies and such the situation when I took charge of the Ord. Dept. on the 8th of April, 1861.

The first thing to be attended to was the supply of powder. Large orders had been sent to the North, both by the Conf. Govt. and some of the states, and these were being rapidly filled at the date of the attack on Fort Sumter. The entire product of one large northern mill was being received at a southern point. Of course all the ports were at once sealed to such importations from the North. Attention was at once turned to the production of nitre in North Alabama and in Tennessee; in the latter State under the energetic supervision of its Ordnance department. An adequate supply of sulphur was found in New Orleans where large quantities were in store to be used in the sugar refining. The entire stock was secured, amounting to some four or five hundred tons.

The erection of a large powder mill was early pressed by Pres-

[1] See notes on transfer of arms to the south.

ident Davis and about the middle of June 1861 he directed me to detail an officer to select a site and begin the work. The day after this direction was given Col. G. W. Rains, a graduate of West Point, every way qualified for this service arrived in Richmond, through the blockade, and at once set out under written instructions from me to carry out the President's wishes. He, however, went first to East Tennessee to supervise and systematize the operations of two small private mills which were then at work for the State of Tennessee.

Thus in respect of powder and our means of making it, we had perhaps at this time (June 1, 1861) 250,000 lbs. chiefly cannon, at Norfolk and in Georgia, and as much more of nitre (chiefly imported by the State of Georgia). We had no powder mills, except the two rude ones just referred to, and no experience in making powder, or in getting nitre. All had to be learned.

As to a farther supply of arms, ships had been taken by the President to import these, and other Ordnance stores from Europe; and Maj. Caleb Huse graduate of West Point, and at that moment Professor in the University of Alabama was selected to go abroad and procure them. He left Montgomery under instruction from me, early in April, with a credit of £10000 (!) from Mr. Memminger. The appointment proved a happy one for he succeeded, with very litle money, in buying a good supply, and in running my department in debt for nearly half a million sterling, the very best proof of his fitness for his place, and of a financial ability which supplemented the narrowness of Mr. Memminger's purse.

Before this, and immediately upon the formation of the Confederate Government, Admiral Semmes had been sent to the North as purchasing agent of arms and other Ordnance stores; and succeeded in making contracts for and purchases of powder, percussion caps, cap machinery (never delivered), revolvers, &c. He also procured drawings for a bullet pressing machine, and other valuable information.

The setts of machinery for making the rifle with sword, bayonet, and the rifle musket model of 1855 had been seized at Harper's Ferry, by the State of Virginia. That for the rifle musket was being transferred by the State to her ancient Armory at Richmond, under the direction of Lt. Col. Benton, an officer in the service of Virginia whose experience in the Armories of the U. S., and in the erection of the works at Enfield, near London, qualified him above all for this work. The other set of machines was sent to Fayetteville, N. C. by consent of the State of Virginia to be there re-erected, as there was at that point an

Arsenal, with steam power, and some good buildings, which had heretofore never been put to any use. These two setts of machinery, capable if worked with but one sett of hands to each, of producing 2000 to 2500 stands per month in all, were the only prospective resources at home. With additional workmen and some extension of the machinery much larger results could be obtained. But the workmen were not to be had. As it was it would take many months to put it in working order. Parts were missing, and some injury done in the hasty transfer (party under fire) from Harper's Ferry. There were no private Armories at the South nor was there any inducement, prior to the war, to turn capital in that direction. Then the class of skilled operatives needed were unknown to this region. In New Orleans the Brothers Cook were embarking in the business of making small arms assisted by the purses, and encouraged by the sympathy of patriotic citizens. The older brother Frederick was a most competent mechanic, and a man of decided administrative ability. He was almost the only one who succeeded in producing a good service arm. He was finally killed in the trenches at Savannah, fighting with a command composed of his own operatives.

In *field artillery* the production was confined almost entirely to the Tredegar works in Richmond. Some castings were made in New Orleans, and founders were rapidly acquiring the necessary experience to produce good bronze cartridges. The Ordnance department of Tennessee was also turning its attention to the manufacture of field and siege artillery at Nashville. At Rome, Ga., a foundry, Noble & Son, was induced to undertake the casting of a 3 in. war rifle, after drawings furnished at Montgomery; but the progress made was very slow. The state of Virginia possessed a number of old 4 pdr. iron guns which were reamed out to get a good bore, and were rifled with 3 grooves after the manner of Parrott. The army in observation at Harper's Ferry, and that at Manassas, were supplied with old batteries of 6 pdr. guns and 12 pdr. Howitzers. A few Parrott guns purchased by the State of Virginia were with Magruder at Big Bethel.

For the amount of equipment required for the infantry and artillery a good laboratory had been established at Richmond by the State, but none of the southern Arsenals were yet in a condition to do much work. The Arsenal at Augusta, Ga. was directed to organize for the preparation of ammunition, and the making of knapsacks, of which there were none wherewith to equip the troops now daily taking the field. The Arsenal at Charleston and the Depot at Savannah were occupied chiefly with local work. The Arsenal at Baton Rouge was rapidly getting under

way; and that at Mt. Vernon, Ala. was also being prepared for work. None of these had had facilities for the work usually done at an Arsenal. Fayetteville, N. C. was in the hands of that State, and was occupied chiefly in repairing some arms, and making up a small amount of small arm ammunition. Little artillery ammunition was being made up except for local purposes, save at Richmond. Such was the general condition of supplies when the government quitting Montgomery established itself at Richmond.

Progress of Manufacture.

Col. Rains in the course of the summer of 1861, established a refinery of saltpetre at or near Nashville, and to this point chiefly was sent the nitre obtained from the State of Georgia and that derived from caves in East and Middle Tennessee. He supplied the two powder mills in that State with nitre properly refined, and good powder was thus produced. A small portion of the Georgia nitre was sent to two small mills in S. C.—at Pendleton and Walhalla and powder produced inferior at first but afterward improved. The State of North Carolina established a mill near Raleigh under contract with certain parties to whom the State was to furnish the nitre, of which a great part was derived from caves in Georgia. A stamping mill was also put up near New Orleans and powder produced before the fall of the City. Small quantities of powder were also received through the blockade from Wilmington to Galveston some of it of very inferior quality. The great quantity of artillery placed in position from the Potomac to the Rio Grande required a vast supply of powder (there was no immediate want of projectiles) to furnish even the scant allowance of 50 rounds to each gun. I think we may safely estimate that on the 1st of June 1862 there were 1500 sea coast guns of various calibres in position, from Evansport on the Potomac to Fort Brown on the Rio Grande. If we average their calibre at 32 Pdr. and the charge at 5 lbs. it will at 40 rds. per gun give us 600,000 lbs. of powder for those. The field artillery, say 300 guns with 200 rds. to the piece would require say 125,000 and the small arm cartridges say 10,000,000 would consume 125,000 lbs. more, making in all 850,000 lbs. If we deduct the 250,000 lbs. supposed to be on hand in various shapes at the beginning of the war, we have an increment of 600,000 lbs. for the year 1861. Of this perhaps 200,000 lbs. had been made at the Tennessee and other mills, leaving 400,000 to have been supplied through the blockade before the beginning of hostilities.

1861. The site of the Government Powder Mills was fixed at

Augusta, Ga. on the report of Col. Rains and progress was made on the work in this year. There were two large buildings, in the Norman (castellated) style of architecture. One contained the refinery and store rooms; the other being the mills, 12 in number. They were arranged in the best way on the Canal which supplies water power to Augusta. This canal served as the means of transport for the material from point to point of its manufacture, though the mills were driven by steam. All the machinery, including the very heavy rollers, was made in the Confederate States. The various qualities of powder, purchased, captured and produced were sources of irregularity in the ranges of our Artillery and small arms, unavoidably so of course. We were only too glad to take any sort of powder; and we bought some brought into Florida, the best range of which scarcely exceeded 160 yds. with the eprouvette.

Contracts were made abroad for the delivery of *Nitre* through the blockade, and for producing it at home from caves. The amount delivered by contractors of the latter kind, was considerable chiefly in Tennessee.

The consumption of lead was in part met by the Virginia lead mines (Wytheville) the yield from which was from 100,000 lbs. to 150,000 lbs. per month. A laboratory for the smelting of other ores:—those from the Silver Hill mines, N. C. and from Jonesboro, East Tennessee was put up at Petersburg, under the direction of Dr. Piggott, of Baltimore. It was very well constructed, was capable of smelting a good many thousand pounds per day, and was in operation before midsummer of 1862. Mines were opened on account of the Government in East Tennessee near the State line of Virginia. They were never valuable and were soon abandoned. Lead was collected in considerable quantities throughout the country, by laborious exertion of agents employed for this purpose. The battle field of Bull Run was fully gleaned and much lead collected.

By the close of 1861 the following Arsenals and Depots were at work, having been supplied with some machinery and facilities, and were producing the various munition and equipments required: Augusta, Ga.—Charleston, S. C.—Fayetteville, N. C.—Richmond, Va.—Savannah, Ga.—Nashville, Tenn.—Memphis, Tenn.—Mt. Vernon, Ala.—Baton Rouge, La.—Montgomery, Ala.—Little Rock, Ark.—and San Antonio, Texas, altogether 8 Arsenals and 4 Depots. It would, of course, have been better, had that been practicable to have condensed our work, and to have had fewer places of manufacture; but the country was deficient in the transportation which would have been required to place

the raw material at a few Arsenals. In this way only could we avail ourselves of local resources, both of labor and material. Thus by the close of 1861 a good deal had been done in the way of organization to produce the material of war needed by an army as far as our means permitted. But our troops were still very poorly armed and equipped. The old smooth bore musket was still the principal weapon of the infantry; the artillery had the 6 pdr. gun and 12 pdr. How^{r}, chiefly; and the cavalry were armed with anything they could get; sabres, horse pistols, revolvers, Sharp's carbines, musketoons, short Enfield Rifles, Hall's carbines (a wretched apology) muskets cut off, etc., etc. Equipments were in many cases made of stout domestic, stitched in triple folds and covered with paint or rubber varnish.

But poor as were our arms, we had not enough of these to arm the troops which were pressing to the front in July and August 1861. In the winter of 61-2 while McClellan was preparing his great army near Alexandria we resorted to the making of *pikes* for the Infantry, and of lances for the cavalry, and many thousands of the former were made at the various arsenals, but were little used. No access of enthusiasm could induce our people to rush to the field armed with *pikes*. I remember a formidable looking weapon, which was invented at the time, in the shape of a stout wooden sheath, containing a two-edged straight sword some two feet long. The sheath or truncheon could be leveled, and the sword liberated by touching a trigger leaped out with sufficient force to transfix an opponent.

About December '61, arms began to come in through the purchase of Major Huse and we had a good many Enfield Rifles in the hands of our troops at Shiloh, which were received in time for use there, through the blockade. Maj. Huse had found the market pretty well cleared of arms by the late war in Europe, but he had succeeded in making contracts with private manufacturers, of which these arms were the result.

I will not attempt to *trace* the development of our work in its order, as I at first intended, I remember too imperfectly for that, but will note simply what I can recollect, paying some attention to the succession of events.

The winter of 61 and 62 was the darkest period of my department. Powder was called for on every hand: Bragg at Pensacola for his big 10 in. Columbias; Lovell at New Orleans for his extended defences and especially for his inadequate artillery at Forts Jackson and St. Philip; Polk at Columbus, Ky.; John-s[t]on for his numerous batteries on the Potomac—Magruder for Yorktown. All these were deemed most important points. Then

came Wilmington, Georgetown, Port Royal, and even Fernandina. Not a few of these places had sub representatives to press their claims, Mr. Gulie from Fernandina and Col. Gonzales from Charleston. Heavy guns, too, were called for in all directions, the biggest guns for the smallest places.

The abandonment of the line of the Potomac, and of the upper Mississippi from Columbus to Memphis, the evacuation of the Works below Pensacola, and of Yorktown somewhat relieved us from the pressure for heavy Artillery; and after the powder mills at Augusta went into operation in the fall of '62, we had little trouble to supply ammunition.

To obtain the iron needed for cannon and projectiles it became necessary to stimulate its production in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama. To this end contracts were made with iron makers in those states on liberal terms, and advances of money made to them to be refunded in products. These contracts were difficult to arrange, as so much had to be done for the contractor. He must have details from the Army and the privilege of transport of provision and other supplies over the railroads. And then the question of the currency was a continually recurring problem. Mr. Benjamin, who succeeded Mr. Walker in the War Department, gave me great assistance in the matter of making contracts; and seemed quite at home in arranging their details. His power of work was amazing to me; and he appeared as fresh at 12 o'clock at night, after a hard day's work as he had been at 9 o'clock in the morning.

About May 1862 finding that the production of nitre and of iron must be systematically housed and to this end thoroughly organized, I sought for the right person to place in charge of this vital duty. My choice fell upon St. John (afterward Confederate General of Subsistence), and was immensely fortunate. He had the gift of organization and I placed him in charge of the whole subject of producing nitre from caves and other sources; and of the formation of nitre beds, which had already been begun at Richmond. Under his supervision beds were instituted at Columbia, S. C., Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Mobile, Selma, and various other points. We never extracted nitre from these beds, except for trial; but they were carefully attended to, enriched and extended and were becoming quite valuable. At the close of 1864 we had, according to Gen. St. John 2,800,000 cubic feet of earth collected and in various stages of nitrification, of which a large proportion was prepared to yield 1½ lbs. of nitre per ft. of earth, including all the nitre beds from Richmond to Florida.

Through Major St. John the whole nitre bearing area of country was laid off into districts; each district in charge of an officer, who made his monthly reports to the office at Richmond. These officers got details of workmen generally from those subject to militia duty in the mountain beyond where disaffection existed, and carried on extended works in their several districts. In this way we brought up the nitre production, in the course of a year to something like half our total consumption of nitre. It was a rude wild sort of service, and the officers in charge of these districts, especially in East Tennessee, North Carolina and North Alabama, had to show much firmness in their dealings with the turbulent people among whom, and by whose aid they worked.

It is a curious fact that the district on which we could rely for the most constant yield of nitre, having its headquarters at Greensboro, N. C., had no nitre caves in it. The nitre was produced by the lixiviation of nitrous earth, dug from under old houses, barns, etc.

The nitre production thus organized, there was added to the Nitre Bureau the duty of supervising the production of iron, lead, copper, and in fine, all the minerals which needed development, including the making of sulphuric and nitric acids: which latter we had to manufacture to insure a supply of fulminate of mercury for our percussion caps. To give an idea of the extent of the duty thus performed, Lt. Col. Morton, Chief of the Nitre and Mining Bureau, after the transfer of Gen. St. John writes: "We were aiding and managing some 20 to 30 furnaces with an annual yield of 50,000 tons or more of pig metal. We had erected lead and copper smelting furnaces (a laboratory before referred to) with a capacity sufficient for all our wants, and had succeeded in smelting zinc of good quality at the same place. The chemical works were placed at Charlotte, N. C. where a pretty large leaden chamber for sulphuric acid was put up. Our chief supply of chemicals continued to come, however, from abroad, through the blockade and these works, as well as our nitraries were as much preparation against a day when the blockade might seal all foreign supply, as for the present use. These constituted our Reserves, for final conflict.

We had not omitted to have a pretty thorough tho' general exploration of the mountain regions from Virginia to Alabama, with the hope of finding deposits of lead. One of the earliest of these was made by Dr. Maupin of the University of Virginia. No favorable results came of it. I remember an anecdote he told touching one of his researches. An old settler showed the

doctor a small lump of lead which he had extracted from ore like some he had in his possession. There was the lead and here was the ore, but it was not an ore of lead. The Doctor cross-examined: Did he smelt it himself? "Yes." "What in?" "An iron ladle," such as is used for running lead balls. "Was there nothing in the ladle but this sort of ore?" "No, nothing." "Nothing at all—no addition—no flux?" "No, nothing but a little handful of common shot, thrown in to make it melt more easy!"

Much of the nitre region was close to the lines of the enemy, and here and there along its great extent, became debatable ground. Not seldom the whole working had to be suddenly withdrawn on the approach of the enemy, the "plant" hurried off, to be again returned and work resumed when the enemy had retired. Much of the work too, lay in 'Union' districts where our cause was unpopular, and where obstacles of all kinds had to be encountered and overcome. It was no holiday duty, this nitre digging, although the service was a good deal decried, by such as knew nothing of its nature.

Manufacture of Infantry, Artillery and Cavalry Equipments.

In equipping the armies first sent into the field the supply of these accessories was amazingly scant; and these deficiencies were felt more keenly perhaps than the more important want of Arms. We had arms for over 100,000 men, such as they were, but we had no accoutrements, nor equipments; and these had to be extemporized in great measure. In time knapsacks were little thought of by the troops; and we at last contented ourselves with supplying haversacks, which the women (Heaven reward their labors) could make, and for which we could get cotton cloth. But cartridge boxes we *must* have; and as leather was also needed for artillery harness and for cavalry saddles, we had to divide the stock of leather which the country could produce among these much needed articles. But soldiers' shoes were even more needed than even some of these; so that as all could not be fully supplied a scale of preference was established. Shoes and cartridge boxes had preference, after these artillery harness, and then saddles and bridles. The President, whose practical sagacity was rarely at fault, early reduced these interests to logical sequences. He said "For the infantry, men must first be fed, next armed, and even clothing must follow these; for if they are fed and have arms and ammunition they can fight." Thus the Subsistence Department had in a general

way, a preference for its requisition on the Treasury; my Department came next, and the Quarter Master followed. Of course the Medical Department had in some things the lead of all, for its duties referred to the men themselves, and it was necessarily first of all to keep the hospitals empty and the ranks full.

To economize leather the cartridge box and waist belts were made of prepared cotton cloth stitched in three or four thicknesses. Bridle reins were also made, and even cartridge boxes covered with it, except the flap. Saddle skirts, too, were sometimes made in this way, heavily stitched. An ardent admirer of the South even came over from Washington to offer his patent for making soldiers shoes with no leather except the sole. The shoes were approved by all except those who wore them. The soldiers exchanged them with the first prostrate enemy who no longer needed his leather articles. To get leather each Department procured its own hides—made contracts with the tanner—procured hands for him by exemptions from the army—got transportation over the railroad for the hides and for supplies and finally assisted the tanner to procure food for his hands, and other supplies for his tannery. One can readily see from this instance how the labors of the heads of departments became extended. Nothing but thorough organization could accomplish these multiplied and varied duties. We even established a fishery on the Cape Fear River to get oil for mechanical purposes; getting from the sturgeon *beef* at the same time for our workmen.

In cavalry equipments the main thing was to get a good saddle; one that did not ruin the back of the horse, for that and not the rider's seat is the point to be achieved. The rider soon accommodates himself to the seat provided for him. Not so the animal's back which suffers from a bad saddle. We adopted Jenifer's tree, which did very well while the horses were in good condition; and was praised by that prince of cavalry men, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart. But it came down on the horse's back-bone and withers as soon as the cushion of fat and muscle dwindled. The McClellan tree did better on the whole, and we finally succeeded in making a pretty good saddle of that kind; comfortable enough, but not as durable as the federal article. In this branch of the service one of the most difficult wants to supply was the horse shoe, for Cavalry and Artillery. The want of iron and of labor both were felt. Of course, such a thing as a horse-shoe machine, to turn out thousands an hour, was not to be dreamed of, besides we would have had little store of iron wherewith to feed it. Nor

could we set up such machinery without much provision; for to concentrate all work on one machine referred the transportation of the iron to one point, and the distribution of the shoes from it to all the armies. But the railroads were greatly overtasked, and we were compelled to consider this point. Thus we were led to employ every way-side blacksmith shop accessible, especially those out near the theatre of operations. These again had to be looked after, supplied with material, and exempted from service.

Bureau of Foreign Supplies.

It soon became obvious that in the Ordnance Department we must rely greatly on the introduction of articles of prime necessity through the blockaded ports. As before stated President Davis early saw this and had an officer detailed to go abroad as the Agent of the Department. To systematize the introduction of the purchases, it was soon found advisable to own and run our own steamers. Major Huse made the suggestion also from that side of the water. Accordingly we purchased and sent in the Robert E. Lee at a cost of £30,000; a vessel capable of storing 650 bales of cotton. This vessel was kept running between Bermuda and Wilmington, and made some 15 to 18 successive trips before she was finally captured, the first 12 with the regularity of a packet. She was commanded at first by Capt. Wilkinson of the Navy. Soon the Cornubia—named the Lady Davis, was added and ran as successfully as the R. E. Lee. She had the capacity of about 450 bales, and was during the latter part of her career commanded also by a former Navy Officer, Capt. R. H. Gayle. These vessels were long, low and rather narrow, built for swiftness; and with their lights out, and with fuel that made little smoke they contrived to slip in and out of Wilmington at pleasure, in spite of a conclave of federal citizens, eager for the spoil of a blockade runner. Other vessels—the Eugenia, a beautiful ship—the Stag, and several others were added—all devoted to bringing Ordnance supplies and finally general supplies. To supervise shipments at Bermuda, to which point they were brought by neutrals, either by steam or sail, Major Norman Walker was sent there by Mr. Sidney Randolph, about midsummer 1862. Later an army officer, Lt. Col. Smith Stansbury, was detached to take charge of the stores accumulated there. Depots were likewise made at Nassau and Havana. Thus much of the foreign organization.

But the organization of the business outside of our own soil

was much the simplest part of the service. The home administration involved a variety of work so foreign to my other duties that I soon looked about for the proper person to discharge them in the most effective manner, by exclusive devotion to them; and I had Lt. Col. Bayne detailed to my office for this duty. He had been wounded at Shiloh, and on his recovery joined me about September 1862.

It was soon found necessary in order that the vessels coming in through the blockade, might have their lading promptly on their arrival, that the Bureau should undertake the procuring and shipment of cotton to Wilmington by railroad; as well as to Charleston and other points, for we had vessels arriving at half a dozen ports from Wilmington to Galveston. This necessitated the establishment of a steam company at Wilmington, and affiliated with it, agents to procure the cotton in the interior, and see it to its destination; for the railroads were now so overtasked that it was only by placing positive orders from the Secretary of War in the hands of a selected agent that the cotton could be certainly forwarded over the various roads. The steam press was kept fully at work, in charge of Capt. Seixas (Washington Artillery). The necessity for transportation over the railroads brought us in contact with them, and gave them claim on us for assistance in the matter of supplies, such as steel, iron, copper, &c; and especially for work at the various foundries and machine shops in which precedence was of course claimed for army work, and which were therefore in great part controlled by the Ordnance Department. The foreign supplies were not all conveyed through steamers. There were contracts out for supplies through Texas from Mexico, and even from the United States; and there were blockade runners passing constantly through the lines in Northern Virginia, doubtless carrying contraband both ways. All this made a large body of work, which was confided wholly to the Bureau of Foreign Supplies.

Finding that the other departments of the Government would naturally claim a share in this avenue for supplies, which had been opened chiefly through my Bureau, it was detached at my own instance, and attached to the Treasury Department remaining in charge of Col. Bayne, with a good staff of officers and agents.

Thus the Ordnance Department consisted of a Bureau proper of Ordnance having its officers in the field, and at the Arsenals and Depots; of the Nitre and Mining Bureau and of the Bureau of Foreign Supplies.

Development of the Arsenals, Armories, and other Places of Manufacture of Ordnance Stores.

The Arsenals at Richmond soon grew into very large dimensions, and produced all the Ordnance stores that an army may require, except cannon and small arms, in quantities sufficient to supply the forces in the field. I have by accident preserved a copy of the last number of the Richmond "Enquirer" published under Confederate rule. It is dated April 1st, 1865, and contains the following "Statement of the principal issues from the Richmond Arsenal from July 1, 1861 to January 1, 1865."

341	Columbiade & siege guns (These were made at the Tredegar Works but issued from the Arsenal.)
1306	field pieces, made chiefly at Tredegar works or captured.
1375	field gun carriages.
875	Caissons
152	Forges
6852	setts of Artillery harness.
921441	rounds field, siege and sea coast ammunition.
1456190	friction primers.
1110966	Fuzes
17423	portfires
3985	rockets
323231	Infantry arms (most of these were turned in from the Army, from battle fields, and from the Richmond Armory).
34067	Cavalry Arms (same remark).
44877	Swords and Sabres (from Army, battle field and contractors).
375510	Setts Infantry and Cavalry accoutrements.
180181	Knapsacks
478498	Haversacks
328977	Canteens and straps
115087	Gun and carbine slings
72413854	Small arm cartridges
146901250	percussion caps
69418	Cavalry saddles
85139	Cavalry bridles
75611	Cavalry halters
35464	Saddle blankets
59624	prs. spurs
42285	horse brushes
56903	Curry combs.

This "statement" appears as an editorial, but the items were furnished from the office of the Arsenal, and may be relied on. Its Commandant at this time was Lt. Col. LeRoy Brown, of Virginia and he was assisted by Lt. James Dinwiddie. In the items of cavalry saddles, bridles, harness, infantry accoutrements, canteens and other articles of this character much assistance was received from the contractors. A small part of the percussion caps also came from other Arsenals. When we reflect that the Arsenal grew to these great dimensions in a little over two years it must be confessed that good use was made of the time. The Laboratory attached to the Arsenal was well conducted, and did much work. It covered the Island known as Green Island, which was connected with the shore by a bridge built by the Engineering Department especially for the service of this laboratory.

Besides the cap machinery which was a very large and improved plant, machinery for pressing balls, for driving time fuzes, for drawing friction primers and metallic cartridges, and other labor saving machines were invented, made, and used with effect. In all respects the establishment, though extemporized, and lodged in a cluster of tobacco warehouses was equal to the first class Arsenals of the United States in extent and facilities.

The Arsenal at Augusta, Ga. was in great part organized in the City, where power and suitable buildings were obtained, and did much the same class of work done at Richmond, though on a much smaller scale. It was very serviceable to the armies serving in the South and West, and turned out a good deal of field artillery complete, the castings being excellent. Col. G. W. Rains, in charge of Arsenal and Powder Works, found that the fusion of a small per cent of iron, with the copper and tin improved the strength of the bronze castings very much.

The Powder Mills at Augusta, Ga. which I have already mentioned as the direct result of the Order of President Davis, were wonderfully successful, and never met with serious accident; a safe indication of the goodness of its arrangements. It showed, too, that under able direction the resources of southern workshops, and the skill of its Artizans had already become equal to the execution of great enterprizes, involving high mechanical skill.

The Arsenal and workshops at Charleston were also enlarged, steam introduced, and good work done in various departments.

The arsenal at Mt. Vernon, now furnished with steam power and having a good deal of machinery was considered out of position after the fall of New Orleans, and was moved to Selma, Ala.

where it grew into a large well-ordered Arsenal, of the first class, under the charge of Lt. Col. White. It was relied on to a great extent for the equipment of the troops and fortifications in the southern part of the Confederacy.

Attracted by the deposits of pure iron ore immediately north of Selma, made accessible by the Selma, Rome and Dalton R. R. the War Department accepted the proposition of Mr. Collin McRae to undertake the erection at Selma of a large foundry for the casting of cannon of the heaviest calibre. A large contract was made with him, and advance of money made from time to time as the work progressed. After a time Mr. McRae was called on by Mr. Davis to go abroad in connection with Confederate finances. He made it a condition that he should be relieved of his works and contract at Selma without pecuniary loss to himself. The works were thereupon assumed by the War and Navy Departments jointly and placed at first under the charge of Col. Rainy as General Superintendent, while an officer of less rank took immediate charge. Subsequently it was agreed by the War Department that the Navy should take sole charge and use the works for their own purposes. It was here that Brooke made many of his formidable handled and rifled guns.

The foundry and rolling mills there grew into large proportions, supplied by the iron and coal of that region. Had the Confederacy survived, Selma bid fair to become the Pittsburg of the South. The iron obtained from the brown hematite at the furnaces in Bibb Co. (Brierfield) and from the Shelby works was admirable, the former being of unusual strength.

Mt. Vernon Arsenal was still continued, after being in a great measure dismantled, and was utilized to get lumber and timber for use elsewhere and to gather and prepare moss for making saddle blankets.

At *Montgomery* shops were kept up for the repair of small arms, and for the manufacture of articles of leather of which some supplies were obtained in that region.

There were many other small establishments and depots, some of them connected immediately with the Army as at Dublin, West Va., Knoxville, Tenn. and Jackson, Miss. At the latter place an explosion took place which killed thirty, and left none alive who could tell positively the cause of it. Some shops at Lynchburg, Va. were moved to Danville near the south line of Virginia, and grew into a place of some value for repairs, etc.

The Ordnance shops at Nashville had been hurriedly transferred to Atlanta, Ga. on the fall of Fort Donelson; and when Atlanta was seriously threatened by the operations of Sherman,

the Arsenal there which had become very important was moved to Columbus, Ga. where there was the nucleus of our Ordnance establishment. Col. M. H. Wright soon made this now as valuable as Atlanta had been.

Armories and Small Arms.

Besides the Arsenals, a brief account of which has just been given, we had the Armories at Richmond, and Fayetteville, N. C.; and arms were also made at other points.

The State of Virginia claimed all the machinery captured at Harpers' Ferry, and was bringing it all to Richmond. It was agreed, however, with the State of North Carolina that that part of the machinery which was specially adapted to make the Miss. Rifle (Cal 54) should go to Fayetteville, where there was an Arsenal with good steam power: the machinery to be returned at the close of the war to the State of Virginia. Col. Burton, an admirably educated machinist superintended the re-erection of the works at Richmond. He was subsequently made Superintendent of Armories, and given full charge of the entire subject of manufacture of arms in the Confederacy. The machinery of the Rifle-Musket Cal. 58, retained at Richmond got to work as early as September 1861. If we had possessed the necessary number of workmen this "plant" could have been so filled in as to have easily produced 5000 stands per month working night and day. As it was I don't think we ever turned out more than 1500 in any one month. Fayetteville did not get to work until the spring of 1862, and did not average 400 per month for want of hands.

To supplement this scarcity of operatives Col. Huse was authorized to engage for us a number of skilled workmen, used to work on small arms, and to pay their passage over. They came in through the blockade at Wilmington without difficulty, but we could do nothing with them. They had been engaged to be paid in gold, which meantime had risen to such a price as to make their pay enormous, and would have produced utter disintegration among our own operatives. I offered to pay one-half of the wages promised them, in gold, to their families in England, if they would take the other mostly in Confederate money which would support them here; and I brought the British Consul to confer with them. But they stood upon their bond; and foreseeing that their presence would do more harm than good, I simply, with their consent, re-shipped them by the next steamer, and paid their passage and wages back. The experiment cost us

something like £2000 gold, and made us shy of foreign workmen, especially English. I think the Treasury Department did succeed in getting engravers and printers for their purposes at Columbia, S. C. to some extent by importation; but my impression is they were not English.

The Cooke Bros. had as heretofore stated undertaken the making of rifle-muskets in N. O. at the very inception of the war. On the fall of New Orleans this machinery was hurriedly taken off by boats up the Mississippi. They finally selected Athens, Ga. as their point of manufacture and under a contract with me, and assisted with funds under that contract, proceeded to re-organize and extend their "plant." They were reasonably successful.

The want of Cavalry arms caused me to make a contract with parties in Richmond, to make the Sharp carbine, at that time the best cavalry arm we had. A sett of machinery capable of turning out 100 arms a day was driven to completion in less than a year, all the machinery being built up "from the stump." The arm was never perfect, chiefly for want of nice workmanship about the "cutoff." It was not gas tight. We soon bought out the establishment, and converted it into a manufactory of rifle-carbines, cal. 58, as the best arm our skill would enable us to supply to the Cavalry.

Recognizing the necessity of some great central establishment for the production of small arms plans of buildings and estimates of machinery were made for such an one to be built at Macon, Ga.—a point of easy access and near to a fertile corn region, out of the way of the enemy. Col. Burton went to England and easily negotiated for the machinery, which was to have been of sufficient capacity to turn out about 10,000 arms per month. Buildings were immediately obtained for some machinery for pistols which were transferred there, and Col. Burton had made good progress in erecting ample buildings for the new machinery, part of which had arrived at Bermuda and Nassau, when the Confederacy fell. But about six months before the close of the war, finding that the blockade had become so stringent that the introduction of machinery would be very difficult; and reflecting too that as long as the war continued, this extended machinery would be of little use to us for want of workmen, I got the authority of the Secretary of War, to set it up at some point abroad and bring in the arms, which would be less difficult than to bring in the machinery and create the workmen. Col. Burton was abroad on this duty when the war closed. Had the war been prolonged, we should in twelve months have been

making our own arms in a foreign land, under the sanction of a private name. After the war it was proposed to transfer the entire plant to the buildings which were in course of construction for it at Macon. Peace would then have found us in possession of a great armory, which I much desired.

One of the earliest difficulties forced upon us in the manufacture of arms was to find an iron fit for the barrels. The "Skelps" found at Harper's Ferry served for a while, and when these were exhausted Col. Burton selected an iron produced at a Forge in Patrick Co., Va.; and by placing a skilled workman over the rolling process at the Tredegar Works he soon produced "kelps" with which he was satisfied. We found that almost any of the good brown haematite ores produced an iron of ample strength for the purpose; and the even grain and toughness could be attained by careful re-rolling.

Besides the large Armories at Richmond and Fayetteville smaller establishments grew up at Asheville, N. C. and at Tallassee, Ala. The former was the development of a private enterprise undertaken to repair and fit up old arms by a citizen (Mr. Pullen) resident there; and afterwards as a matter of necessity assumed by the Confederate Government. Most of the machinery was moved before the close of the war to Columbia, S. C. whither as a place of safety, other arms-manufacturing machinery was moved from other points. Tallassee was selected as a good manufacturing point, a large building having been offered to us by the proprietors of the cotton mills there, and some machinery for making pistols moved thither from Columbus, Ga.

A great part of the work of our Armories consisted in repairing arms brought in from the battle fields, or sent in from the Armies in too damaged a condition to be efficiently repaired at the Arsenals. In this way only could we utilize all the gleanings of the battle fields. My recollection is that we saved nearly 10,000 stands of Arms from the field of Bull Run; and that the battle fields about Richmond in 1862, thus gave in about 25,000 excellent arms, through the labors of the Armory at Richmond.

The original stock of arms it will be remembered consisted almost wholly of smooth bore muskets, altered from flint to percussion using ounce balls, (Cal. 69). There were some 15000 to 20000 Miss. Rifles; and then some irregular arms like Hall's Rifles and carbines, some short carbines smooth-bore; and there were even some of the old flint-lock muskets. All this original stock disappeared almost wholly from our armies in the first two

years of the war, and were replaced by a better class of arms, rifled and percussioned. It is pretty safe to assume that we had altogether, east and west of the Mississippi, 300,000 Infantry, pretty well armed by the middle of 1863. We must therefore have procured at least that number for our troops. But we must also have supplied the inevitable waste of two years of actual warfare. Placing the good arms thus lost at the moderate estimate of 100,000, we must have received from various sources 400,000 stands of Infantry arms in the two years of fighting July 1, 1863. I can only estimate from memory the several sources from which this supply was derived, as follows:

Good rifled arms on hand at the beginning of the war (this includes the arms in the hands of volunteer companies)	25,000
New Arms manufactured in the Confederacy at the armories and in private establishments	40,000
Arms received from the battle fields and put in good order (this includes the great number of arms picked up by the soldiers themselves	150,000
Imported from Jan. 1, 1862 to July 1, 1863	185,000
Total	400,000

This estimate does not include pistols and sabres of which a small supply was imported.

To account for the very large number obtained from the enemy (rather an under than an over estimate) it must be remembered that in some fights where our troops were not finally successful, they were so at first; and swept over the camps and position of the enemy. Whenever a Confederate soldier saw a weapon better than his own, he took it and left his inferior arm: and although he may have been finally driven back he kept his improved musket. So too on every field there were partial successes which in the early part of the war resulted in improved weapons: and although on another part of the field there may have been a reverse, the enemy had not the same advantage: the Confederate arms being generally inferior to those of their adversaries. The difference of arms was not so varied at a later day, except in Cavalry arms in which we were always at a disadvantage, the celebrated Spencer carbine being generally in the hands of the enemies' cavalry during the last two years of the war.

A Central Laboratory.

The unavoidable variation in the ammunition made at the different Arsenals, pointed out early in the war that there should be a general superintendent of all the Laboratories, invested with authority to visit and supervize the manipulation and materials. To this end Lt. Col. Mallett, a chemist and scientist of distinction, who had for some years been professor in the University of Alabama, was selected and placed in charge of this delicate and important duty. I attribute much of the improvement in our ammunition to this happy selection. A more earnest or capable officer I cannot imagine. What a set of men we would have had after the war out of which to form an Ordnance Department had we been successful: Rains, St. John, Mallett, Benton, Wright, DeLagnel, White, Baldwin, Childs, and others, who would have remained in the service. Then there were some no less admirable like Brown, Allen, Bayne, Cuyler, E. B. Smith, &c., who would doubtless have returned to their civil avocations.

Among the obvious necessities of a well regulated service was one large central laboratory, where all ammunition should be made; thus securing absolute uniformity, where uniformity was vital. The policy of dissemination so necessary to husband our transportation and to utilize the labor of non-combatants, must here yield to the greater necessity of obtaining an ammunition uniform in quality and in dimensions. Authority was therefore obtained from the War Department to concentrate this species of work at some central point. Macon, Ga. was selected and Col. Mallett placed in charge of a Central Laboratory, as Burton was later placed in charge of a National Armory. Plans of the buildings and of the machinery required were submitted to the Secretary of War, and approved, and the work begun with energy. This pile of buildings had a facade of 600 feet, was designed with taste, and comprehended every possible appliance for good and well-organized work. The buildings were nearly ready for occupation at the close of the war and some of the machinery had arrived at Bermuda. In point of time this project preceded that of the National Armory, and was much nearer completion. These with our admirable Powder Mills at Augusta would have completed a set of works for the Ordnance Department, and in them we would have been in condition to supply arms and munition to 300000 men. To these would have been added a foundry for heavy guns at Selma or Brierfield, Ala. at which latter place the strongest cast iron in the country was

produced, and where we had already purchased and were carrying on a furnace for the production of cold blast charcoal pig, for this special purpose. All these establishments were in the heart of the country, not readily reached by the enemy, and were in fact never reached by them until just at the close of the war. Being in or near excellent agricultural regions they would have had the advantage of cheap living for operatives; and they had all sufficient facilities for transportation, being situated on main lines of railroad.

Summary.

I have thus from memory faintly traced the development of the means and resources by which our large armies were supplied with arms and ammunition. This involved manufacturing, mining and importation. The last two were confided in time to sub-Bureaus created *ex necessitate,* which were subsequently detached. The first was carried on by the Armories, Arsenals, Laboratories and Depots above noticed. We began in April, 1861, without an Arsenal, Laboratory or Powder Mill of any capacity, and with no foundry or rolling mill except at Richmond; and before the close of 1863, in little over two years, we had built up, during all the harrassments of war, *whilst holding our own in the field against a powerful enemy defiantly and successfully,* crippled by a depreciated currency, throttled with a blockade that deprived us of nearly all means of getting material or workmen, obliged to send almost every able bodied man to the field, unable to use the slave labor with which we were abundantly supplied, except in the most unskilled departments of production, hampered by want of transportation even of the commonest supplies of food, with no stock on hand even of the articles such as steel, copper, leather, even, which we must have to build up our establishments: against all these obstacles, in spite of all these deficiencies, we persevered at home as determinedly as did our troops in the field against a more tangible opposition; and in a little over two years created, almost literally out of the ground, foundries and Rolling Mills (at Selma, Richmond, Atlanta and Macon); smelting works (at Petersburg); arsenical works (at Charlotte, N. C.); a powder mill far superior to any in the United States, and unsurpassed by any across the ocean; and a chain of Arsenals, Armories, and laboratories, equal in their capacity and their improved appointments, to the best of those in the United States; stretching link by link from Virginia to Alabama. Our people are justly proud of the valor and constancy of the troops which bore their banners bravely in

the front of the enemy; but they will also reflect that these creations of skill and labor were the monuments which represented the patience, industry and perseverance of the devoted and patriotic citizens; for of the success which attended the operations of any department of the Confederate Government the larger moiety was due to the co-operation of the body of the people: a co-operation founded in their hearty sympathy with, and their faith in, the cause which that Government represented.

Organization.

The Ordnance Bureau as finally organized consisted of one Brigadier General, one Col., and of such number of field officers, Captains and First Lieutenants as the service required. They were Artillery Officers on Ordnance duty.

Appointments to these positions were at first made by selections, or nomination by the Ordnance Bureau; but about Oct. 2, 1862 congress created 50 officers of Artillery, especially for Ordnance duty, to which 200 men were subsequently added. As selection for these officers involved much political contrivance I obtained the order of the Secretary of War to hold examinations for appointment to the grade of Captain and First Lieut. This plan succeeded entirely and relieved us from a thousand personal solicitations. The first examination was held in Richmond. Of some 500 applications found on file for Ordnance Officers less than 100 came to the examination, and of these only some 40 or 50 passed. The examination for Captain involved a fair knowledge of a college course of mathematics, and none I believe passed this except the A. M.[s] of the University of Virginia. That for first Lieut. embraced only an ordinary English education, with a full examination on the Ordnance Manual. This gave us an excellent set of officers, educated men, and I am sure there never were in any army a better class of such officers.

These examinations were extended and were held at the head Quarters of each army in the field by a commission of which Lt. Col. LeRoy Brown, and Lt. Col. S. Stansbury were the chief members. These, or one of them, went to an army and associated with themselves one or more officers detailed by the General at Head Quarters. In order to provide for that class of valuable officers distinguished for excellent qualities developed by service in the field, but not prepared for a somewhat technical examination each General of an Army designated one or two of this class, who were appointed on his recommendation alone.

Officers in the field were distributed as follows: to each army a "Chief Ordnance Officer," with the rank of Lt. Col.; to each

Army Corps an Ordnance Officer with the rank of Major; to each division a Captain and to a Brigade a 1st Lieut.: all these attached to the staff of their respective Generals, but reporting also directly if necessary to the Ordnance Office through his superior in the field, and receiving instruction as to special duties, through the same channel. Every regiment had an Ordnance Sergeant, charged with the care of the Ordnance wagon, which contained the spare arms of the Armory of each regiment.

The officers in command of the greater Ordnance establishments, such as Richmond, Augusta, Atlanta, Macon, and Selma, had the grade of Lt. Col. like "Chief Ordnance Officers" of armies in the field; while at the lesser establishments the Officers had rank according to the gravity of the duties devolving on them.

The Superintendent of Armories, Lt. Col. Burton, and the Superintendent of Laboratories, Lt. Col. Mallett, had also the grade of the higher officer in the field.

The labors and responsibilities of my department closed practically at Charlotte, N. C., on the 26th of April, when the President left that place with an escort for the trans. Miss. My last stated official duty that I can recall was to examine a cadet in the Confederate service for promotion to commissioned officer. On the afternoon of the 25th of April, I received due formal notice from the Adjt. Gen. Office that Gen. Lawson, Qr. Master General, Gen. Gilmer, Chief Engineer, and I were constituted a Board of Examiners on Cadet ———. We met a little before sundown in the ample upper story of a warehouse, in Charlotte, N. C. and by the waning light of the last day of the Confederate Government we went through all the stages of an examination of an expectant Lieutenant of the Confederate Armies. Lawton, I think took him on Geography and History, Gilmer on the Mathematics, while I probably tested his English Grammar. He passed the ordeal in triumph and got his commission, which I dare say he prizes very highly, as he ought to do, considering the august body that signed the certificate which pronounced him qualified for it. Altogether there is no little incident of my Confederate career that I have mused over oftener than that twilight examination of the last Confederate Cadet.

Detached Observations.

Consumption of Small Arm Cartridges. It appears that the Richmond Laboratory made 72,000,000 cartridges in 3½ years, say 1,000 working days. As the Laboratory made nearly as

much as all the others combined we may safely place the entire production at 150,000,000 or 150,000 per day. As our reserves remained nearly the same, being but slightly increased toward the latter part of the war, there must have been only a little less than this consumption in the field, say ½ cartridge per man per day for the average force of 300,000 men, to cover all the accidents and expenditures of service in the field. An average then of ½ a cartridge per day per man would be a safe assumption for protracted warfare.

In examining the returns of Ordnance Officers after heavy actions, I found that the reduction of ammunition amounted to from about 19 to 26 rounds per man. At Gettysburg the reports of a few days before the battle, and a short time after, showed a difference of 25 or 26 rounds on the average. This was the heaviest consumption to which my attention was called. When our troops first took the field, commanders were very nervous because they had only 50 to 70 rounds per man instead of the 200 rounds presented by the Ordnance Manual. Later we raised it to about 80 or 90 rounds. The results of battle show that with proper disposition for transfer from one corps to another there need be no scarcity with 60 rounds on hand, or even fifty.

Our soldiers were, however, in the habit of supplying themselves with ammunition, by throwing away their empty cartridge boxes, and taking any well supplied one that they might espy with the proper cartridges. What splendid fellows they were, taking even better care of their powder and lead, than of themselves or of their rations. They were in downright earnest.

Consumption and Supply of Lead: Allowing for waste, 150 millions of cartridges would require 10,000,000 lbs. of lead for these alone, to say nothing of other needs. Where did all this lead come from? I make the following rough calculation:

From Trans. Miss Mines (early in the war)	400,000 lbs.
From the mines in Va. (60,000 lbs. per month)	2,160,000 lbs.
On hand at Arsenals &c	140,000 lbs.
Imported (not over)	2,000,000 lbs.
Picked up through the country and on battle fields	5,300,000 lbs.
	10,000,000

This leads to the surprising conclusion that we must have picked up throughout the country over 5,300,000 lbs. of lead during the four years of the war. I remember that the window

weights and loose lead about houses yielded 200,000 lbs. in Charleston alone: while the disused lead water pipes in Mobile, supplied if I am not mistaken, as much more. So that these two items alone supplied 1/13th of this vast gleaning of the country.

Transfer of Arms to the South.

It was a charge often repeated against Gov. Floyd that, as Secretary of War, he had with traitorous intent, abused his office by sending arms to the South, just before the secession of the states. The transactions which gave rise to the accusation were in the ordinary course of an economical administration of the War Department. After it had been determined to change the old flint lock musket, which the United States preserved, to percussion, it was deemed cheaper to bring all the flint lock arms in store at Southern arsenals to the Northern Arsenals and Armories for alteration, rather than to send the necessary machinery and workmen to the South. Consequently the Southern Arsenals were stripped of their deposites, which were sent to Springfield, Watervliet, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Frankfort, Pa. and other points. After the conversion had been completed the denuded Southern Arsenals were again supplied with about the same numbers, perhaps slightly augmented, that had formerly been stored there. The quota deposited at the Charleston Arsenal where I was stationed in 1860, arrived there full a year before the opening of the war.

The Napoleon Field Gun.

I think I will be sustained by the Artillery in saying that on the whole this gun became the favorite for field service; perhaps because our rifle shells with percussion fuzes, were, as stated by Gen. Alexander less successful than those of the enemy. When copper became scarce we fabricated an iron Napoleon with a wrought iron jacket, weighing in all 1250 lbs. which was entirely satisfactory; and was cheerfully accorded by the Artillery companionship with their bronze favorites. The simplicity and certainty of the ammunition of this smooth bore, its capacity for grape and canister, its good range, and its moderate draught, as it was not too heavy for four horses, were certainly strong reasons in its favor. At the distances at which the serious work of the Artillery was done, it was an over-match for rifled artillery.

At Yorktown some of our 10 in. shells were opened and found

filled with a mixture of iron filings, sand and powder. Traitors were at once imagined in our laboratories. Only a heated fancy could have suggested such a solution. The simple explanation was that in the hurry of the times, these shells had not been cleaned out after being reamed out for the fuze, before putting in the bursting charge; then the powder became mixed with iron filings, and with the moulder's sand of which the core is made. I doubt not there were instances where the bursting charge even was wholly omitted, by oversight.

Heavy Guns.

It was, of course, a matter of keen regret to me that we could not rapidly produce guns of heavy calibre for points, the defence of which against men of war, was of vital importance. But the 10 in. Columbiad could only be cast at the Tredegar Works, and although this establishment was in able hands and responded nobly to the calls made upon it, yet tasked as it was to produce artillery of all calibres, especially field Artillery, we could but slowly answer the appeals made with equal vehemence from Pensacola, Yorktown, Charleston and New Orleans.

About the close of 1863 Maj. Huse sent in two Blakeley Rifles of about 13 in. calibre, splendid looking, superbly mounted, and of fearful cost, £10,000 for the two in England, with 50 rounds each. Charleston claimed them upon their arrival at Wilmington and I was glad to strengthen General Beauregard's hands in any way our means permitted. Unfortunately one of them cracked in some trial firing with comparatively weak charges. The full charge, which was never reached, was 50 lbs. of powder and a solid rifle shell of say 450 lbs. The guns were built up of a wrought iron cylinder, closed at the breech with a brass screw plug some 30 inches long, and chambered to 7 inches. This cylinder had three successive jackets each shorter than its predecessor, so that from muzzle to breech the thickness of the gun increased by steps of about 3½ inches. The object of the 7 inch chamber in the brass plug was to afford an air or gas space which would diminish the strain on the gun. Such was the theory. General Ripley, however, cut down the big cartridge bags of 10 or 11 inches diameter so as to introduce the charge into the brass chamber. This, not being over three inches thick cracked and the crack, I believe, extended into the cylinder. I never saw the drawings of the gun until after the report of the accident. Captain Brooks, Chief of Ordnance of the Navy with me then looked over the drawings, and evolved the design of the air chamber. After this the gun was fired, and with moderate

elevations attained fair but not remarkable ranges, as I was advised. The cracked gun was skillfully repaired at Charleston, and restored to a reliable condition.

Just before the war closed the Tredegar works had cast its first 12 inch gun after the method of Rodman—cast on a hollow core with water kept flowing in and out of it to cool the casting from the inside. This method of cooling has been found to give a marked increase of strength; and greater hardness and consequent smoothness to the finished bore.

Some effective rifle-guns were made out of the long Navy 32 pounders, banded and rifled with 5 shallow grooves. The shell had to be somewhat short in order not to be too heavy.

Accidents at Laboratories.

I can recall but three explosions attended by serious loss of life. The most deplorable one was at Richmond about the close of 1863. It was caused by knocking friction primers out of the perforated board where they had been placed for varnishing. One of these was ignited and communicated its flame to some loose powder lying near. About 70 lives were lost, chiefly females, burned to death by their clothing. The building was one story, but long and with entrance only at the ends. But four were killed outright, the remainder succumbing sooner or later to internal and other injuries. Only four or five finally recovered, some lingering even 3 to 4 months. The poor blackened bodies, dead and alive, were covered as fast as removed with cotton saturated with oil. Painting with white lead was found most efficacious.

At the extemporized laboratory at Jackson, Miss. the accident heretofore alluded to, arose from unloading shells: 30 were killed outright, and only one escaped. The cause of the third accident is not remembered. The frightful accident at Richmond led to the introduction of a cotton cloth overdress rendered partially incombustible by the chemical process applied by Col. Rains. Woollen garments were generally unattainable by the operatives, on account of their cost. It led also to the issue of a general order that every room in a laboratory should have doors opening outward.[1]

[1] This manuscript was prepared by General Gorgas for the use of Mr. Davis in his preparation of "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government." This copy of the original was made under the direction of Miss Jessie Gorgas, a daughter of General Gorgas, Oct. 29, 1915, for Arthur Fridge, who was adjutant-general of Mississippi at that time. Mr. Fridge generously donated it to the State Historical Department of Mississippi. The paper was written by General Gorgas in 1878.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus)

Beauvoir P. O.
19th Jany. 1879.
Harrison Co., Missi.

My dear Northrop:—

On my return from Memphis, whither I had gone with Mrs. Davis to visit Maggie, whose condition required her mother's care, I found your letter of the 7th inst. Truly as you write our troubles thicken as the end approaches. I am grieved to learn of your suffering from your old wound. No doubt Dr. Ballinger was right as to amputation if it had been promptly done by a competent surgeon. But if the first condition was not and the second could not be fulfilled, there was nothing left but to "tough it out." The wish heretofore expressed to have you with me is increased by the assurance that this soft climate would be serviceable to you. How happy I should be to nurse and talk to you of things common to us and unknown to none others. For I believe there is not one of our associates in the Arks. Squadron of Dragoons who are yet living.

The story of want of supplies and of transportation as a reason for not pursuing the enemy after the battle of Manassas was both an afterthought and an absurdity. Twenty miles to an army marching on supplies is a small obstacle, and it was stated by Quartermaster Genl. Myers that a large number of wagons were sent off as a surplus when the battle became imminent. The reason given to me was that strong fortifications with garrisons which had not been demoralized by the defeat, guarded the south side of the Potomac, and that Patterson's army could be readily brought down from the valley to reinforce the enemy. Beauregard always was devising operations for somebody else, and making plans to throw the responsibility for failure on somebody else.

Do you recollect how after frustrating my plans at Drury's Bluff he blamed Whiting for not making a junction, after he had prevented it by altering the orders I had left him to send to Whiting two days before. He sent Melton to me the day before to say that he had changed the instructions to Whiting because he was strong enough to disregard the co-operation of his force. Then having failed by his own blunders and to capture Butler, he proposed that reinforcements should be sent to him from Lee's army, then confronting Grant's superior force, so that he

might destroy Butler, and then unite with Lee for the destruction of Grant. Lee's commentary was that Beauregard should shorten his line so as to reduce the force needed to hold it and send to him, Lee, a portion of his force. Johnston was early disaffected on the question of rank, and the selfishness thus manifested showed itself in the form of making up a record instead of concentrating his thoughts on the success of our cause. I had to carry on a war and a political campaign at the same time, so that my judgment was often controlled by the necessity of avoiding conflict with popular error.

I would be thankful to Capt. E. Davis for a memorandum of his observations. The loss of my books and papers have embarrassed me greatly in writing.

With affectionate regards to you and yours, I am, as every,

Your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. C. Pemberton to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

344 South 15th St. Phila.
Jany. 19, 1879.

Maj. W. T. Walthall,
Beauvoir, Missi.

My dear Sir,

I much regret that several obstacles have of late prevented the continuance of my narrative. Some five weeks since I was called by business to Norfolk, and for some time previous to that visit, was engaged on the same matter or in connection with it, in this city. While in Norfolk, I was for much of the time confined to the bed or to my room by sickness, and since my return, have been from the same cause unable to give my attention either to the uncompleted business that called me away, or to any other. It is necessary that I should again visit Norfolk, and shall leave here for that purpose tomorrow. I hope not to be absent longer than a fortnight, and to be able on my return to complete what I have undertaken, and as far as the papers yet in my possession will permit, in accordance with the expressed wish of our beloved Chief.

I am sorry to say however that some of the papers having an important bearing on subjects to which he particularly called my attention through your first letter to me, have been lost or mislaid, and my statements in reference to those points will probably be without the documentary evidence I ought to be

able to produce in support of their correctness. For instance, I can not now find the copy of my note to Lt. Genl. Ewell as to the necessity of proper protection for the siege Howitzers afterward captured in the trenches in front of Richmond.

I beg that you will present my affectionate regards to Presdt. and Mrs. Davis, if they are still in your vicinity. No one I am sure has sympathized with them in their late sad affliction more truly than I have.

Most sincerely yours,
J. C. PEMBERTON.

endorsed:
Gen. J. C. Pemberton; 344 S. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19 Jan'y. 1879; recd. 23 Jany. 1879; ansd. 6 Feb. 1879; L. B. 98, 99.

L. O. Bridewell to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauregard Miss. January 28th 1879.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir—

There is nothing nearer my heart than a perfect vindication of the South, and with it, your justification, to the coming generation, against the slanders of enemies, as well those among us, as beyond us. And as many of your most persistent traducers were in Georgia, during the last year of the War, notably, the then Governor of that State, I have thought it not inopportune to call your attention especially to that just act, in my judgement, the removal of Gen. Joe Johnston, and your visit to Atlanta and Augusta, about that time.

If you remember, at Augusta, you spoke, and at your request, I had the pleasure of taking down your speech, and preparing it for publication. Thinking that, that speech might be of service to you, in preparing the history of that time, I call your attention to the fact that it was published in full in the "Augusta Constitutionalist," the next day after its delivery. It could be obtained, if you desire it.

I trust you may be permitted fully to complete your task and live to a serene old age, cheered at all times, in the consciousness of having fought the battle of the people.

With much respect, Your friend & obt. svt.
L. O. BRIDEWELL.

endorsed:
How to get report of a speech made in Ga. ansd. by W. T. W. Feb. 1879.

Wm. P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, D. C.
Jany. 29, 1879.

My dear Friend:

I send to you by registered letter a lot of telegrams, letters, etc., most of which are in your own handwriting, and for that reason preserved as keepsakes by me. The collection is valuable. I think I sent you copies of most, if not all of them, but for fear any were overlooked, I send what originals I have.

Major Walthall wrote requesting me to look up the material necessary to be copied in regard to a good deal of what you are at work on—some half dozen topics. The first, in regard to Genl. Beauregard and Manassas was nearly ready, and I thought best not to interfere with it. In regard to the action of the Senate in Executive Session on Jordan's nomination, I spent most of the working hours yesterday and got, I suppose, all there was, though I would be glad to have suggestions.

I will continue to examine and point out, so far as I can, what I suppose he wants.

I am here for a few weeks on business, but I fear the climate does not suit me. I have not been well since I got here. Albert is with me, acting as my clerk, though he is yet quite a green one.

Please remember me affectionately to Mrs. Davis, and believe me,

Sincerely your friend,
(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

Of course if there is any thing I can do for you here command me.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Jany. 29th, 1879.

My dear friend,

Enclosed is Eugene Davis' paper. Would you like Daniel's statement of the blocked up condition of the depot and the destruction of 130 cars from running force by Beauregard allowing them to be used as storehouses and cannon called for weeks before remaining useless while complaining of want of transportation. Your undertaking without records to write the memoirs is the most marvellous instance of intrepidity and self reliance I could have conceived of.

Your allusions to me penetrate my heart, and your condition of health distresses me. Get a light active horse of gliding motion, of blood and long pasterns and strong muscle and ride every day for your health.

I am about writing to Noland and will try if I can get from him the details of his mission to Johnston, prior to leaving Manassas and of the burning at Thoroughfare Gap. I only *know* what he was sent for and that Jston. gave him no information, so we lost largely. Remember me to Mrs. D. and Maggie. My knee is improving slowly. I can sit up, but the long suffering has caused an attack of exema, a skin disease which burns and torments,—just such as followed my imprisonment. I am treating myself with arsenic which alone saved me formerly. When I hear from Noland I will communicate the result.[1] I tried to get some information from one of my best officers, but found that change of interests had changed him and he politely intimated his wish not to be applied to again by pleading engagements and necessities. He was making an income 5 times more than mine. My impression continues that American people do not deserve disinterested service, such as you gave them.

Adios, affectionately yours, L. B. N.

P.S. The ancient proverb that "sufferings are blessings in disguise" gives me about the best support, and I am as cheerful as ever, so soon as I can get on horseback again the saddle will be largely my home. Do try and get the right sort of a horse; the benefit depends as you know on your enjoying the society and movements of the animal; it is like visiting a fine painting with a good judge. My wife sends love. L. B. N.

endorsed:

Col. Northrop with E. Davis.

Eugene Davis to L. B. Northrop.

Willowby, Jan. 27, 1879.

My dear Colonel,

Agreeably to your request I throw together some recollections of the closing incidents of the first Manassas.

The Troop of cavalry which I commanded was engaged in following up the retreat of the Northern Army. Just as the sun went down, Kemper's Battery passed by on the pike, and unlimbering on a commanding elevation opened fire on the enemy. The fire was returned; by reason of which my troop was

[1] I suppose I will hear from Noland in about a week.

withdrawn under the shelter of the hill, where were also congregated one or more battalions of Confederate cavalry, and Kershaw's Regiment of S. C. Infantry. A little before night fall a staff officer, as I took him to be, riding up, announced that an unsupported train was a short distance down the pike and asked for volunteers to cut it off; whereupon our Major, John Scott, tendered my troop, and immediately ordered and led the charge which eventuated in the abandonment and capture of a mixed train of waggons and artillery at Cub Run. A portion of troop, pursuing some fugitives across the stream, came under a fire of musketry and beat a hasty retreat. We summoned assistance and labored some hours in turning round and sending back the waggons and artillery. It was past midnight when, having gathered up a number of the abandoned blankets with which the ground was strewn, I prepared to camp in a convenient hay field, in readiness to press the pursuit with the morrow. Just then, to my chagrin and astonishment, came orders to retire to our former camp in the rear of Manassas Junction.

After some miles of the weary countermarch, we came upon an encamped Infantry Regiment (Cash's So. Carolina, as well as I remember); and one of the field officers came out to hold parley with me. He was in a state of marked uneasiness; and when informed that Kershaw's Regiment was remaining in front, he exclaimed, "Doesn't he know that it is general orders for everything to retire inside of ———" (I am not positive as to the line, but think it was Bull Run.) Thereupon he urged me to detail two of my men to act as couriers in bearing a communication to Col. Kershaw,—the which I strenuously resisted, pleading the extraordinary fatigue we had undergone, and insisting that he should send one of his own staff. Nevertheless I yielded and sent the men, in consequence of his representations, and of the seeming exigency of the case. He then observed that he had heard sounds behind us that he did not understand, and earnestly pressed me to scout the ground before proceeding further in the direction of Manassas, which accordingly I did.

We reached our old camp after day, having been in the saddle almost continuously for 24 hours.

I believe, my dear sir, that this little narrative covers the points spoken of between us.

Will you convey it to President Davis, with the assurance of my high respect.

Very truly yours,
EUGENE DAVIS.

W. T. Walthall to G. W. C. Lee.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir P. O. Harrison Co. Miss.
29 Jany. 1879.

Dear General:

In a conversation with General St. John a few weeks ago, he informed me that he had learned,—perhaps at second hand, and not directly from yourself—that when you were made prisoner in 1865, you fell into the hands of Gen. Bonham, of the Federal Army, and that you had learned from him that the Federal commander had obtained important information with regard to General Robert E. Lee's dispositions for the movements of his Army from a paper which fell into the hands of the enemy, either through treachery or accident, or neglect, on their entrance into Richmond; indeed, that this paper was the means which enabled them to make their arrangements so promptly for intercepting the progress of our troops between Amelia C. H. and Farmville. Gen. St. John seems to have the impression that the paper referred to was a communication from General Lee, either directly to the President or to the Secretary of War—more probably the former—which had never reached its proper destination.

If there is nothing confidential in the case, will you do me the favor to give me your recollection of it as fully and minutely as possible? Besides its bearing in other respects, it may possibly throw some light upon the yet unexplained failure of General Lee's request for supplies at Amelia C. H. to reach the President or War Department, with regard to which you may remember that I once consulted you. On that subject, by the way, further inquiries have elicited some incidental information, but nothing sufficiently definite to be satisfactory. All that has been positively ascertained is of a negative character—if we may so speak without a paradox. It seems to be certain that neither the President, Secretary of War, Quartermaster General, nor Commissary General, ever received the requisition. Cols. Taylor and Marshall both remember that it was well understood that such a requisition had been made, but cannot state with precision either the channel through which, or the functionary to whom it was sent. I wrote, at your suggestion, both to Col. Cole and Col. Corley, but have never received an answer from either.

I have never seen any announcement of the result of your lawsuit—in which there is or ought to be a more than personal

interest felt throughout the South, but hope that by this time your friends have cause to congratulate you on the success of the right, even though it be partial and long-deferred.

Very sincerely yours,
W. T. WALTHALL.

Genl. G. W. C. Lee,
Lexington, Va.

Wm. Preston Johnston to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

610– 13th St. Washington, D. C. Feby. 1, 1879.

Major W. T. Walthall,

My Dear Sir,

I have spent pretty much all the working hours of this week at the Archive Office. My labors wd. have been somewhat lightened had I sooner discovered an index there,—imperfect it is true, but better than nothing. I take up the subject *seriatim.*

1. I was informed by Mr. Tasker in regard to Genl. Beauregard and Manassas, that your copy was nearly completed, and it was agreed not to interfere with the copyist.

2d. Habeas Corpus. The subject was introduced into the H. of R. Oct. 7, 1862 and the Bill passed Oct. 9. In Journal of H. of R. vol. 2 I marked some 17 minutes—all between pages 326 and 344 for copyist. Also in vol. 3d between p. 353 and 372 including Prest's Message. There are a number of minutes in *Secret* Session, apparently intended to perfect the Bill Nov. 23d to Dec. 23/64. I did not order them to be copied as they seemed almost identical with action in open session. May 20/64 the Prest. sent a message on Habeas Corpus. Do you wish all the matters connected with this?

3d. In regard to Jordan's confirmation, I ordered all the minutes I could find copied.

4th. Same as to the appt. of General in Chief.

5th. I found the call on the Prest. for further information as to correspondence with Genl. J. E. Johnston, citing Genl. J's letter of Nov. 1862. The call was made May 16, 1864. I could find no response from the Prest. during that year, ordered copy of call. I do not know whether I have got what you want.

If you will give me more specific instructions, I will try to carry them out. The clerks were all polite to me.

You ask about one . . . Taylor, on D. R. Jones' Staff, later in the war. Erasmus Taylor was on Longstreet's Staff. Probably he is the person you allude to. His address is Orange C. H. Va.

Genl. Robt. Ransom's address is I believe Richmond, Va. It was very recently.

I hope you are making good progress with your book. It is anxiously looked for.

Please remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Davis and

Believe me,

Sincerely Yours,

WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON.

Wm. P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, D. C.
Feby. 8, 1879.

My dear Friend:

L. O. C. Washington will be a candidate for Sergeant at arms to the Senate, when reorganized, which will be after March 4.

You will remember him (with some peculiarities) as an upright, chivalrous, intelligent, laborious gentleman. He has clung to our primitive ideas with unswerving loyalty and devotion. He stands a very good chance of election, and I should much like to see him successful.

If it is not incompatible with your views I think it would be of service to him, if you would write private letters on his behalf to Senators Harris and Hill. If you do not wish to do so, stick this letter in the fire and think no more about it.

I am here with the usual unpleasant concomitants of a residence at Washington with private interests before Congress. Fortunately mine do not require an attendance in the lobby. I have not renewed my connection with the Texas Pacific R.R.

I have Albert with me, *copying* papers, etc., which is a sort of training, better than none. He is a good fellow, averse to study but not to *work*.

I have recently been renewing old memories in the Archives office.

I received yesterday a copy of a Fredericksburg paper of Dec. 3d, with Beauregard's letter egging on Ruggles. He is spiteful but weak. He says: "Col. Johnston in his book seems to attach as little importance to the reputation acquired in the field by an officer as though it had been obtained in some nominal military position in Richmond or elsewhere. Mere rumors or reports from 'a babbler' are sufficient for him to cast blame or award praise with an assurance which would ill become even a Carnot or a Von Moltke.

"No wonder, therefore, that the Colonel should have written so shallow, confused and wrongful a book as the one he has just published, etc."

Speaking of the *recall* of troops, he says: "This state story which originated in an intrigue against me, he revamps and enlarges for the purpose of building up a fanciful contrast, etc."

He evidently disapproves of my book, which is very sad for me. Please make my regards to Mrs. Davis and Maj. Walthall. I write to the latter today.

Very sincerely your friend,
(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

J. C. Pemberton to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

344 Sh. 15 St., Philada.
Feby. 10, 1879.

Maj. W. T. Walthall,
Beauvoir, Miss.
My dear Sir,

Your letter of 6th Inst. with two enclosures from Pres. Davis reached me to day. I confess that I feel more disgust in reading Mr. Hy. F. Farnsworth's statement than I do either anger or annoyance. I can not so far humble myself as to attempt a defence of my loyalty to the Confederacy. I am satisfied that neither Presdt. Davis nor you desire that I should do so. I am equally convinced that there was not an individual present at the council of War held in my quarters on the night of the 3d July/63, who would not now give the lie to the imputation intended to be conveyed against my honor by the person designated "Col. Hillyer of Genl. Grant's staff." I have made some inquiry to day, but without results, to ascertain whether Grant ever had one of that name on his staff.

I am firmly of the impression, (though I can not at the present positively assert) that the *Paroles* were printed not in Memphis but in Vicksburg, and of course after the capitulation; but if gotten up in the former place, a reasonable man might readily see a purpose in Grant's action without inferring treason on my part. I do not know what has become of my own parole, nor do I remember its phraseology, the designated rank, I believe, made the only difference between it and others. Possibly one might

yet be found in yr. neighborhood and from which some information as to whence it emanated could perhaps be had. It would not be unnatural however that Gen. Grant should desire to show to the Northern people his confidence of ultimate success by ordering Paroles printed at Memphis. It is nevertheless not *likely* that he did so, for the simple reason that his first letter to me dated July 3d in response to my first of the same date, shows clearly that he did not intend or expect to *parole* the garrison at all, but did intend and expect to send them to Northern prisons, and to this determination he held, until after my interview with him, between the lines, in the presence of a large number of his Genl. Officers and staff, and of Genl. Bowen and Col. Montgomery on the part of the Confederates.

The statement "That *it had been known for six weeks at Grant's Hd. Qrs.*" that "*Vicksburg was to be surrendered on that day*" (the Fourth of July) is an unmitigated falsehood, and Genl. Grant's own language, which I shall now extract from his Official Report of the Seige and Capitn. of Vicksburg will prove it to be so. After stating that "every thing indicated that he (Johnston) would make an attack about the 25th of June," Grant says—

"Our position in front of Vicksburg having been made as strong against a sortie from the enemy as his works were against an assault, I placed Maj. Genl. Sherman in command of all the troops designated to look after Johnston. The force intended to operate against Johnston, in addition to that at Haines Bluff, was one Division from each of the thirteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth Army Corps, and Lauman's Division. Johnston, however, not attacking, I determined to attack him, the moment Vicksburg was in our possession and accordingly notified Sherman, that I should again make an assault on Vicksburg at daylight on the *sixth,* and for him (Sherman) to have up supplies of all descriptions ready to move upon receipt of orders *if the assault should prove a success.* His preparations were immediately made, and *when the Place surrendered on the 4th, two days earlier than I had fixed for the attack,* Sherman was found ready &c &c."

Now, inasmuch as Grant, *after the 25th June,* "notified Sherman that he should again make an assault on Vicksburg at daylight on the 6th July, it is quite impossible "that it had been known for six weeks at Grant's Hd. Qrs. that Vicksburg was to be surrendered on that day," specified by the veracious Hillyer, to wit the 4th July. No human being Confederate or Federal, inside of Vicksburg nor outside of it, not excluding either Grant

or myself, knew that the place was to surrendered until late on the night of the 3d July /63.

I shall be glad for you to make any use of this note that you may see proper.

Very truly yours,
J. C. Pemberton.

Please present my kindest regards to President Davis.
P.S. I telegraphed you tonight asking you to send me all the MSS hitherto forwarded; the first batch need not be sent as I have pencil copy. Truly, J. C. P.

J. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

S. St. Louis Mo. Feb. 10th, 1879.

My dear Friend,

I am much gratified at your prompt attention to my interests and tender you my sincere thanks; your letter gives me all the information desired viz.: an insight into the character of the man I am to deal with.

I thank you also for your kindly sympathy in my father and my little family and lastly for the orange cane which Pa tells me you sent for me. I have never been able to get it sent on to me although I several times wrote for it. You sent it about the time I was married the 9th of last May and I wanted him to send it to Baltimore to have my sister Louisa put a gold head upon it with the inscription from Jeff Davis to J. B. N. and May 9th 1878, thus connecting the pleasant reminiscences of the gift with my happiest day. But Pa said it was not a wedding gift and would not send it on. I take the opportunity however of thanking you for the kind remembrance of me and hope some day to get possession of it and shall always treasure it with pride as a proof of the esteem of my Chief.

Hoping that the world goes smoothly with you and yours, I am as ever Your sincere young friend,

J. B. Northrop.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
endorsed: J. B. Northrop.

James A. Seddon to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Sabot Hill Feby. 10th 1879.

Dear Sir,

I have your letter of the 31st ultimo, and have been prevented from answering it sooner only by disabling sickness.

My best recollections, both from cordial appreciation of President Davis, and a sense of Justice, in respect to all matters, springing out of the official relations I had the honor to bear to him during the War, are cheerfully at the command of any one, requesting them with his approval and concurrence, for the vindication of his character, or administration, or the ascertainment of the exact truth of History on any material point.

On the subject of your enquiry, I had supposed, as I at the time intended, that my letter to Mr. Davis in 1874, to which you refer, had exhausted my remembrances, but I will endeavor to supply such deficiencies as you suppose to exist. I did not retain a copy of that letter and ran the risk of needless repetitions, and, from lapses of memory in the intervening time, of some variations on trivial or less material points, but you will, I trust for any such, grant due indulgence. With these prefatory remarks, I proceed to your questions.

To the first,—as to the attitude of the President and Cabinet, or the Members of the Cabinet respectively on the subject of the removal of Genl. Johnston from command of the Army at Atlanta, when it was under consideration.

At the time of the actual removal, the whole Cabinet concurred in advising and even urging it, and the mind of the president after most anxious deliberation was fixed upon it.

The conclusion had however been arrived at by him slowly and not without much hesitation, misgiving, and, even to the last, reluctance. He fully realized that grave objections existed to the removal of the commander in chief at such a critical time, in the midst of the campaign, when prestige and repute, tho' not unshaken, was still great and influential both with the Army and the people. He had, too, appreciation of the military experience and abilities of Genl. Johnston, without as I believe from all I heard and knew of the sentiments then and later, the least personal irritation or prejudice against him, and believed, if he could only be brought to change the views he seemed to entertain of the policy of defensive and evasive movements and to resort to offensive operations, he would probably be the best general to

command the army and evoke its fullest spirit and energies. But from original impressions of Genl. Johnston's military views and constitutional characteristics, as well as from the previous course of the campaign, he believed that Genl. J. was deliberately preferring a strategy of defence and evasion, by which the plans and attacks of the enemy were to be frustrated and repelled, and they led on to further and further advances into an enemies country to be wasted gradually by desertion, disease and the difficulty of commanding supplies, to bold and drawn offensive operations, by which, not without some risk, of course, of defeat, by victory, the invading army might be hurled back and the important State of Georgia at once delivered from danger and devastation.

Not only as a Military question, but even more as a political one under the exigencies and circumstances of the time, the President with the concurrence of his whole Cabinet, had the fullest conviction, that offensive operations with all the vigor and ability which could be exercised, both by the General and his army, were emphatically required.

Especially was it thought almost necessary to the cause of the Confederacy, in the then state of discouragement and partial discontent, which under the auspices of a captious Governor, existed and was spreading to some degree among the people of Georgia, that the important central City of Atlanta should not be abandoned without the exertion of our utmost armed force to prevent it.

Indeed during the course of the campaign, and under the feelings of the hour, the fate of the Confederacy itself seemed in the estimation of the people scarce less staked on the holding of Atlanta in security than in maintaining in safety the Capitol itself. At least to Georgia and the Gulf States, it appeared to be held in like estimation. At all hazards, therefore the President had thought and expected that the campaign for the defence of Georgia, should from the commencement be one of enterprise and of bold drastic offensive operations. Our Army had been, in anticipation of the rumoured invasion, of which we had of course intelligence, collected and provided in numbers and with munitions &c which strained the resources of the Confederacy, entailed uncovering or weakening other important points, and imposed many sacrifices of every kind, upon the Northern Frontiers of Georgia, with the firm intention and strong hope that the invading Host should on its first approach be engaged and hurled back in defeat and consternation. With this view and intent as to the employment of the army, there

had been grave difficulty and much hesitation on its formation in selecting the General in Chief. Genl. Hardee, from his connection with and repute in the Army, seemed a natural appointment, and the Cabinet and President would have preferred him, had he not on a previous occasion when temporarily succeeding Gen. Bragg, declared conviction of his own incompetency to such command, and agreed to hold it only until a successor was appointed. Whatever might be his estimate of Genl. Hardee's qualifications, the President thought such distrust of himself must render his selection hazardous and unwise.

Gen. Johnston was, of course, prominent in consideration for the appointment, but a majority of the Cabinet, with Mr. Benjamin specially decided from experience as he alleged while in the War Office of Genl. Johnston's tendencies to defensive strategy and lack of knowledge of the environment, felt at first repugnance to his selection. I, sustained as I think hesitatingly by one or two others, proposed and recommended Genl. Johnston. I previously had been disappointed I confess by the absence of enterprise in operation of Genl. Johnston in the Miss. Campaign, but, knowing his great inferiority of force and the many discouraging circumstances under which he acted, I had not relinquished my high appreciation of his ability and military qualifications for command, and confidently believed and urged that his military sagacity would not fail to recognize the exigencies of the time and position, and to direct all his thoughts and skill to an offensive campaign. The President himself greatly feared the tendencies to a Fabian policy, to which Genl. Johnstons military character would incline, but gradually as the claims of others for selection had been presented by different members of the Cabinet proffering them, and on consideration, none could be found to have the concurrent approval of a majority even of the Cabinet, the minds of most of the members, with that of the president himself turned more and more to Genl. Johnston. Finally, a majority of the Cabinet recommending, the President after doubt and with misgiving to the end, chose him, not as due exaltation on this score, but as the best on the whole to be obtained. Thus the appointment was decided on and made.

The course and events of the ensuing Campaign are too well remembered to need more than reference. With the views of the President when the situation and the nature of the operations demanded, we of course felt disappointment, mortification and increasing conviction of the ineradicable tendencies of Genl. Johnston military views to the strategy of defence and evasion, when he saw him retreat or be forced back step by step from

the Northern Frontier of Georgia through the passes and strongest strategic points of the mountains, with an Army which he acknowledged able to defeat the enemy, if it could only secure an engagement on a fair field. To show, too, that no obstructions of the mountains or opportunities of flanking by the enemy from separating troops, were the causes of such constant retreats, after the armies had issued from the mountains, and were on the plains of Central Georgia, where surely military enterprise and skill could have commanded an equal field, retreat was still persisted in, till our armies had found in Atlanta a refuge in front and behind its defences. My own mind had shared all the feelings of disappointment and mortification with the President, and perhaps more keenly than any other member of the Cabinet, because I had less anticipated their probability, and had hoped against hope until the actual fatal retreat to Atlanta, that all might and would be redeemed by engagement with all our forces, and drawn Victory.

My original preference for Genl. Johnston was believed by me to have been a mistake and that the President was right in his original misgiving, that Genl. Johnston would be irresistibly led to adopt and persist in a Fabian Policy. I believed it indispensable that Atlanta should be bravely battled for with a full force and that it would never do to allow the Army to be beleaguered there by an enemy when superior resources of men and means would surely accumulate on any single point made the Field of engaging struggle and last of final victory overwhelming forces and supplies. It would be only to repeat with no possible excuse the crippling disaster of Vicksburg, which was in my opinion the fatal turning point of the War.

Consequently, compunctious for having urged Genl. Johnston's appointment, I now felt entire change of Judgment and felt myself from previous responsibility, the more bound to recommend and urge a change of commander and the immediate adoption of vigorous offensive operations.

The other members of the Cabinet were concurring, and the removal was passed, upon the President's consideration. About this time, we were informed from various sources, that preparations were apparently being made for the abandonment of Atlanta. Genl. Johnston had been, throughout the campaign, the President thought, unduly reticent in the communication of his plans to him, or the War Department, and it was believed now that Genl. Johnston meditated another retreat south and intended to abandon Atlanta without drawn battle. For some little time before, and at this period, the President's mind was

more anxiously exercised than I had known it during the War, on the question of removing Genl. Johnston. He had on many accounts great objections to it, but on the other hand, his views of Genl. Johnston's military tendencies, and his conviction of the almost inability of decisively fighting for Atlanta were gradually forcing him to the conclusion it must be done. I can well understand and receive Senator Hill's graphic Report of the President's almost passionate emotion and emphatic expressions in relation to Genl. Johnston, if he would only fight decisively, in the conversation to which he refers. At this critical time, when we believed Genl. Johnston meditated evacuation of Atlanta, and all the Cabinet were recommending his removal, enquiry in some official form was made at the instance of the President, I think by myself as Secy. of War, to the effect, whether he would fight for and hold Atlanta. The answer was deemed evasive and unsatisfactory, and then and not till then, under the belief that Genl. J. really meant to abandon Atlanta without decisive engagement did the President finally decide and authorize his removal. Up to that time, frank communication of his plans or assurances to the President that he would not evacuate, without making decisive battle, would have kept him Commander.

As to your second question, I have challenged my memory, again and again, as indeed, I did, when writing my former letter to Mr. Davis, to recall to whom and in what form, the communication from Gen. Johnston was received, by the Confederate Authorities, at the Capital, which was considered so unsatisfactory and significant of a purpose not to defend with full force, but to evacuate Atlanta, as to bring the President to his final resolve of removal. That some such communication had been freshly received is certain, as is evidenced indeed, by the very terms in which the Telegraphic order for the relinquishment of command by Genl. Johnston is expressed. I fail, however, to find the matter distinct in my recollection. It would have been natural, in my mode of conducting communications with our Generals in command, that I should have as Secy. of War, telegraphed an inquiry on such points, directly to Gen. Johnston and received a telegram, in response from himself and I have always had a strong impression that a telegram from him, in response to one from me as Secy., was the vehicle of the communication referred to, but I can not recall the fact or pretend to vouch for it. Communications on general subjects, or in ordinary military routine, during my occupancy of the War Department, usually passed through the Adjutant General's Office, but

on matters of special interest or pressing importance, direct communication with myself was preferred and generally adopted. I kept no private or personal Record Book of letters or telegrams, but communications, whether by letter or telegraph, of an official character, passed to the Clerks for record, in the appropriate Recording Books. If such telegram from Gen. Johnston was received by me, it ought to have been recorded, and if all the official records of the War Department were preserved and transferred to Washington, it should be found among the recorded copies of telegrams at that time.

The foregoing will I hope supply all deficiencies existing in the former statement of my remembrances, and, indeed, I fear I have been betrayed into unwarrantable diffuseness and detail. I could with more time, condense and discard a good deal, but I have been so long retarded by sickness in the duty of answering, that I write now hastily to avoid further delay.

I would thank you to convey to Mr. Davis assurances of my high esteem and warm remembrances and best wishes. I heard during the fall of his irreparable bereavement with the deepest sympathy and pain, and only abstained from writing him at the time, from my sad conviction of my utter impotency to afford solace or relief under such affliction. I trust his better faith and the gentle ministrations of time are gradually healing the wound never entirely to be cured.

With esteem,

Very Truly yours,
JAMES A. SEDDON.

To Major W. T. Walthall,
Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Miss.

endorsed: Hon. Jas. A. Seddon, Sabot Hill, P. O. Sabot Island, Va. concerning removal of Gen. Johnston; 10 Feb. 1879; rec'd. 14 Feb. 1879; ansd. 19 Feb. 1879; L. B., 120,121.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

11th Feb. 79

Dear Major

I suppose the Genl. has either adopted the suggestion to publish in the Phila. Times, or he has felt disappointed as to the extent of the use to be made of his monogram. I think your letter did put the question of his answering Johnston more

strongly than you probably would have done if you had known his characteristics more fully, and that he has felt chafed by it—

Ever truly yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Maj. W. T. Walthall—

J. P. Benjamin to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

London 15th February 1879.

My dear friend,

I received this week yours of 20th ulto., enclosing copy of a letter to me from Major Walthall dated on the 14th Augst. last. I am mortified that Major Walthall should have been so long under the impression that I *could* be discourteous enough to leave such a letter unanswered. The truth is I never received it, and it must have been lost in a package of about a dozen letters forwarded to me to Paris by my clerk during the long vacation. I left London on the 9th August and did not return till the end of October, and during my absence one of the weekly packages forwarded to me by my clerk miscarried, and I have never been able to trace it. I can only conjecture that Major Walthall's letter was in the missing package for it is the first time since my residence in England that a letter has failed to reach me.

Reverting to the subject of your letter, I have a very lively recollection of the circumstances attending the removal of Genl. Johnston from the command of the Army of Tennessee, but unfortunately I have not a like recollection of the interview you mention at which the Cabinet was present when he commanded the Army of Tennessee (Army of the Potomac). It has entirely faded from my memory.[1]

So far as regards the Army of the Potomac my only recollection is that our confidence in the Generalship of Genl. Johnston was rudely shaken when we became convinced that he had been taken by surprise by the enemy and that a bridge had been built in his immediate front and crossed by a large body of the enemy before he had become aware of the existence of the bridge; all this within a few miles of Richmond where every foot of the country ought to have been perfectly familiar to him and where his scouts ought to have given him almost hourly reports of any movement of the enemy.

With respect however to the removal of Genl. Johnston from

[1] Error to Army referred to, it was while he commanded in Va.

the command of the Army of Tennessee my memory is actively alive because I was most anxious for his removal at a much earlier date. We had drained every resource of the Confederacy to furnish General Johnston with the largest army that we ever succeeded in gathering together. Every other position was denuded to furnish him with troops and munitions of war. He was in possession of the passes of a range of mountains affording admirable positions for offensive as well as defensive movements agt. an enemy destined to attack his lines and force a passage. His army contained large numbers of the inhabitants of the country who had gathered round him in defence of their homes. Every possible motive apparently urged him to fight. Yet day after day, and week after week his telegrams reached us announcing the abandonment of his positions one after the other without any serious attempt at defence, and as he fell back his force was diminished by the desertion of the men who found that their homes were being abandoned to the enemy. The telegrams from Mr. Seddon were urgent and finally amounted to a direct order to risk a battle at all hazards, anything being preferable to the fatal course he was pursuing, and still he retreated and finally debouched on the plains pursued by the triumphant enemy who had driven him, practically without resistance on his part, through the whole mountainous country down to Atlanta. Before he had reached the plains I became satisfied that he would never deliver combat. I was most anxious and urgent that he shd. be replaced by some other commander, but there was still hesitation until his purpose was made to continue the retreat of his army and to abandon Atlanta to the defence of militia; there was then an end of all doubt and the Cabinet was unanimous, (at least I remember no dissentient), in urging a change of Commander.

I must guard myself against misconstruction. No one has a higher estimate of Genl. Johnston's personal gallantry than myself, but from a close observation of his career I became persuaded that his nervous dread of *losing a battle* would prevent at all times his ability to cope with an enemy of nearly equal strength, and that opportunities would thus constantly be lost which under other commanders would open a plain path to victory.

I have thus given you my dear friend the recollections which you ask for. So far as the use of my name is concerned, I freely confess that it is not agreeable to mix in any way in controversies of the past which for me are buried forever. If at any time your character or motives should be assailed and my testimony needed,

I should be indeed an arrant coward to permit this feeling to interfere with my prompt advance to your side to repel the calumny. But in any other case, I long only for repose. I seek rest and quiet after the exhausting labours of 68 years of a somewhat turbulent or rather adventurous life.

Pray give my best respects to Major Walthall and explain my seeming discourtesy.

Ever yours faith'y
J. P. Benjamin

Hon. Jeff. Davis
Beauvoir, P.O. Missi.

Chas. E. Hooker to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C. Feby. 18th, 1879.

Mr. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Harrison Co.,
Miss.

My Dear Sir,

Enclosed you will find Response of Secty. of War to my personal application for your private papers, in archives of War Dept. I am disappointed at result of my demand, which seemed to be so promptly and frankly met by the Secty. of War.

If I can find some one familiar with the Record and have them examined by some one not connected with Adjt. Genl's. Office, I will do so and I hope with more satisfactory results.

Very truly your friend and servt.
Chas. E. Hooker

endorsed: C. E. Hooker; with letter of Secty. of War; Feb. '79.

War Department
Washington City,
Feb. 17, 1879.

Sir,

In accordance with your request I have made inquiry of the Adjutant General concerning the private correspondence of Mr. Jefferson Davis, and that officer reports that all letters on file of a purely private character were at the request of Mr. Davis delivered to Mr. Phillip Phillips of this city, in September 1874. The Adjutant General is of opinion that all papers remaining on

file have a public and historical value, though some of them contain matters of a private and personal character as well.

I have the honor to remain

Very respectfully
Your Obdt. Servt.

GEO. W. MCCRARY
Sec'y of War

Hon. C. E. Hooker,
M. C.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

New Orleans, 19th Feb. 1879

Maj. W. T. Walthall
My dear Sir,

Genl. Hood informs that he has satisfactory evidence, that Genl. J. E. Johnston before the battle of Seven Pines, contemplated the abandonment of the Capitol, Richmond, when McClellan's army should advance to attack &c, &c.

He also informs me that Col. Walton, has loaned to him several volumes of printed Docs. among which are all the reports of Genl. R. E. Lee.

He is enlarging the scope of his work, and says he is nearly ready to publish.

I told him I would refer you to him, about the volumes of Docs. as I did not (know?) which of Lee's reports were wanting in our collection.

I hope you have been relieved of your physical suffering, and that Mrs. Walthall and your children are well.

Unexpected detention here has prevented me going as promptly as I expected to Vicksburg and will prolong my absence. I may not get off before Saturday evening.

Could you give the Sea Shore Gazette an article on the futility of repealing the "test oath" and leaving the election law? The testimony of Judge Underwood as to his ability to pack a jury which would convict Davis & Lee, shows what was feasible before the Test oath act was passed, the answer of Underwood should be conclusive, as to the point of present necessity.

faithfully your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Wm. P. Johnston to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, D.C.
Feb. 20, 1879.

Dear Major:

Mr. Davis' papers returned by you are at hand. Thanks.

I knew the facts recited by you as to Beauregard's Report. It was the *time* at which it was submitted to Congress that I wished to know. I have examined the journals, ineffectually, for that session, but will look again, and if I can find anything will send it.

I am afraid my services are not very valuable, but they are cheerfully given.

With regards to Mr. and Mrs. Davis, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Major W. T. Walthall.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Vicksburg 26th Feb. 79

Maj. Walthall

Dear Sir, I send you some notes written under difficulties which will render much revision and emendation needful.

I go today to my old home and hope to get back here and leave for Memphis in say three days. Will duly advise you of my return to Beauvoir, which shall be as soon as possible.

With kindest wishes for Mrs. Walthall and each of your children, I am

truly your friend

Jefferson Davis.

Wm. H. McCardle to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, D. C. March 5, 1879.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, P.O., Miss.

My dear Sir:

Your esteemed favor of Feby 3 reached me in due season, and should have been acknowledged long since— I am glad to know

that my brief letter to the N.Y. Herald afforded you gratification. I regarded it my duty both to you and to Col. Lamar, to place you both right, and as I have received the thanks of each I am sure I did not err— Congress adjourned at 12 yesterday but is convened to meet on the 18th inst— Your name came up in the Senate Monday morning before day, and was the cause of some very lively talk— I learn that Lamar made a capital response to Geo. F. Hoar, and it has been much commended—

For once the democrats did not back down, but firmly maintained their position by refusing to pass the Army, and the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation bills, unless the Senate would agree to a repeal of the last oath, the Supervisors Election law, and a change in the manner of drawing jurors in the United States Courts.

I have in my possession a copy of a letter to you from Genl. Breckinridge, written at Charlotte, N. C., under date of April 30, 1865 in response to a request from you for his views in regard to the then situation, and the best course to be pursued— If you have not the original, and desire it, I will send you a copy—my copy comes from the family of Genl. B. and is of course authentic—

With kindest regards to Mrs. D., and best wishes for your health and happiness, in which Mrs. McCardle cordially unites, believe me,

Very truly yr frd.
(Signed) Wm. H. McCardle.

Mrs. McCardle bids me say that her sojourn here has *not* destroyed her taste for her "natural vittulls"—

James Lyons to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Richmond, March 7, 1879.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
My dear Mr. Davis:

I have wished to write you for a long time but you and Mrs. Davis were suffering from the afflictions of bodily disease and the death of your noble boy I could not do so— I thought that if I expressed all that I felt your heroic nature would turn in silent scorn from me and if I wrote (which I could not do) and you would say "merely common place"— I thought that Major Walthall would say (to) you better than I could what he saw and knew I felt, and would also tell you that I kept the image of the Father Mother and noble son always in my presence, and

I sent you by him a memorial of Lignum Vitae and Ivory, which I told (him I) thought was characteristic of your nature and character. All these I believed would testify to you and Mrs. Davis my undiminished esteem and affection and that of my wife of which she often assured him, and he promised (to) write me after he returned home—which he has never done. I see by the newspapers that you are well and travelling about, and have purchased Beauvoir—

I have no difficulty in writing you now therefore. If I had not the sense to write you I would be unable to abstain from doing so after the atrocious conduct of the Senate, and especially that infamous coward Chandler and hypocrite Hoar.

Pardon me for saying that in view of the conduct of the so called—miscalled—Republican party in all things and especially of the last most unjust, tyranical, and infamous conduct you owe it to the South, for whom this evidence of personal hatred, and the insult were intended, and upon whom they fall more than upon you, to put yourself in condition to become again their leader, or at least their defender.

Nothing would delight me so much as to see you again President and as that cannot be then my first wish is to see you again (in) the Senate of the U. S. if it must be the U. S.

My wife joins in best love to you and Mrs. Davis and in the hope that I shall soon hear from you—

I am as always truly yrs.

(Signed) James Lyons.

James Lyons to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Richmond

Hon^ble^ Jefferson Davis. March 8, 1879.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I was suffering so much from pain, physical, when I wrote to you yesterday, and so much from mental excitement caused by reading the proceedings in the Senate in which Hoar and Chandler figured, that I am not sure of what I wrote— I wish therefore to say, that my object was to beg you to ask the next Democratic Congress to return you from all disabilities. We were all as guilty, if I may be pardoned that word, and would be sorry, I at least would be if I were not, although we have taken the benefit of a legal enactment called Pardon, but we all feel, the whole South feels, that we have incurred a deeper and darker shame when we partake of any benefit denied to you, and

we feel what is worse, that the South is persecuted and cannot defend itself properly while you are outcast. A request to the heartless and corrupt power which oppresses you to remove its hand and cease its oppression would be no admission that you had done wrong— When I went to Washington to receive my pardon—(*all* my property having been seized and taken possession of by the Marshal) the President, Johnson, when he shook hands with me said well Mr. Lyons what have you done which requires a pardon?— "Nothing Sir," I replied. "I was a secessionists but I do not regret it, and have no apology to offer"— "Is that all," said he, and signed the Pardon— And when talking with Chief Justice Chase in my house in relation to your trial I said to him, the evidence upon which I shall rely for defence of Mr. Davis,—for his justification will be your message to the Legislature of Ohio of the day of declaring that if the Government of the U. S. attempted to coerce Ohio you would bring into the field to meet her the whole military force of the State.

Now my dear beloved friend, and leader, let not these villains oppress you and humiliate the South any longer, but come forward as soon as the new Congress meets and ask to be released from the iniquitous oppression which has been put upon you but under which we all suffer— If a sacrifice recollect that it will be another sacrifice for the Country for which you have suffered and sacrificed so much.

Best love to Mrs. Davis from Imogen and myself,

Your friend,

(Signed) JAMES LYONS

Jefferson Davis to J. C. Derby.[1]

(From New York Historical Society.)

Beauvoir, Missi.
12th March 1879

J. C. Derby Esqr.

My dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for your kind letter of the 4th Inst. as well as for the Copy of the "Sun" containing the report of the Potter committee and a synopsis of the debate in the Senate referring to me.

[1] Derby, James Cephas (1818-1892), a publisher, was born at Little Falls, N. Y., July 20, 1818, and was educated in the public schools of Herkimer, N. Y. When fifteen years old he was apprenticed as a bookbinder at Auburn, N. Y., and soon after established himself there as a publisher. In 1853 he removed to New York and founded the firm of

I had been so specific in my instructions to Maj. Walthall that he should not bind me to furnish Mss. on or before any particular date, that my disappointment on being called on for "copy" was expressed to him distinctly, but the "annoyance" he wrote of was not at the terms of your letter.

All of your correspondence with me, has been most gratifying & I have been frequently indebted to you for aid in the matter of published material. Please accept my renewed thanks for your courteous and useful attention.

Mr. Chandler waited long to resent what he considered an insult, when we were together in the Senate, and he by his "impertinence" received the only notice I ever gave him.

I hope, as you suggest, to survive the attacks of such as he, and trust our constitutional government may suffer no permanent injury, at the hands of ignorant and corrupt officials who may occasionally fill high places.

Maj. Walthall is steadily working, both in compiling & copying, as well as in corresponding with those who can furnish "reports" &c. &c.

We were told long ago that of making books there was no end. I am making the first experiment in that manufacture and am very desirous to bring it to an end.

Unanticipated obstructions have retarded the progress of the work, already beyond the period at which I expected to close my part of the undertaking.

With sincere regard & esteem

I am faithfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Endorsed:

Jefferson Davis
to
J. C. Derby
Mch 12th, 79

Derby and Jackson. He brought out many subscription books, Raymond's Lincoln, Headley's Grant, et al. In 1862 he retired from the publishing business, and became dispatch agent in the State Department, and was thus the forwarder to Europe of the official announcement of President Lincoln's death. In 1867 he was U. S General Agent at the Paris Exposition. For some years after 1868 he made his home at Aiken, S. C. Returning to New York he became active again in the publishing business. He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., September 22, 1892. He wrote Fifty Years among Authors, Books and Publishers, 739 pp., New York, 1884.

Wm. H. McCardle to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington, D.C., March 14, 1879.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, P.O., Missi.

My dear Sir—

I enclose you an open letter to the Hon. Van H. Manning, of Mississippi, on the subject of the speakership [1]— It has attracted a good deal of attention here, and thinking you might like to see it I enclose it—

It has drawn forth many compliments— In my last I informed

[1] Washington, D.C., March 11, 1879.

My dear Colonel: The interest I feel in everything that effects the South must be my apology, if one be needed, for addressing you this letter. The contest for the Speakership is the absorbing question of the hour, and I learn with a surprise akin to disgust that a very few Southern Representatives have reached the imprudent conclusion that it is "unwise, imprudent, and impolitic" to elect a Southern Democrat Speaker of the next House of Representatives! This objection is crystalized by the Hon. Mr. Atkins, of Tennessee, as reported in the following language: "The Democrats *cannot afford* to elect a Southern man Speaker of the House!"

Has it ever occurred to the Southern gentlemen who oppose the election of a Southern man to the position of Speaker on the ground that he *is* a Southern Democrat and *was* a Confederate soldier; that not one of them could have been elected to Congress but for the fact that they were intensely Southern and had also been Confederate soldiers?

It was these considerations that enabled them to secure an election over a carpet-bagger or a renegade, and if they think "the Democrats cannot afford to elect a Southern man" why do they not remedy the blunder by a prompt resignation? The Southern Democrats in the House are or they are not the equals of their associates. If they are equals they are entitled to the privilege of being elected to any position within the gift of the House. If they are the inferiors of their fellows, self-respect and a manly regard for the honor of those they assume to represent demand that they should retire from positions which they tacitly acknowledge they are unworthy to fill. I have no doubt that a carpet-bagger or a renegade can be found in every Congressional district in the South who will be quite willing to serve himself in Congress for $5,000 a year and mileage, and if the South is to have the brand of shame placed upon its brow, in God's name let it be so placed by some alien or renegade hand, and not by those whom the Southern people have warmed into life.

The contest for the Speakership seems to be between the Hon. Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, and the Hon. Joe Blackburn, of Kentucky. If Mr. B. is unworthy of the high position to which his friends desire to elevate him, let his Southern opponents say so like men. If he is dishonest or incapable, let them have the manliness to state their objections boldly, and not attempt to whip the devil round the stump. If he is incapable, or false to principles, let them select some other Representative for the distinguished honor. While such pronounced and leading Democrats as General Tom Ewing and the Hon. John A. McMahon, of Ohio; the Hon William R. Morrison and the Hon. William M. Springer, of Illinois; the Hon. Gabriel Bouck, of Wisconsin, and many others whose names might be mentioned, are warmly and zealously urging the election of a Southern man as Speaker,

(you) that I had a copy of a letter from Gen. Breckenridge to you in 1865, and if you have not an original, tendering you a copy— I stumbled on, sometime since, a volume containing a very spicy correspondence between yourself and Genl. Scott, while you were Sec. of War— If you have not got this correspondence, and desire to have it, I think I can get you the vol

it seems passing strange to see a man of his own section and his own faith stabbing him in the back, and damning him with faint praise, for no better reason than that he is in personal and political accord with the people of the South.

If, in the language of Mr. Atkins, as reported in the Radical organ of this city, "the Democrats cannot afford to elect a Southern Democrat Speaker," how can they afford to have more than 100 Southern Democrats as Representatives in the House? And if the party "cannot afford to elect a Southern Democrat Speaker," in Heaven's name how has it managed to "afford" to have Mr. Atkins as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations for the last two years? The chairmanship of that committee is almost equal in dignity, importance, and power to the Speakership, and to be a member of that committee is equal in dignity to the chairmanship of half the committees of the House; and yet, oddly enough, Mr. Atkins doubtless thinks "the Democrats can afford" to have him in that important position until he hears the cheerful invitation, "Friend, come up higher."

Another thing the objectors to Mr. Blackburn or any other Southern Democrat forget: there are forty-two committees in the House of Representatives, and the chairmen of twenty-five of these in the last Congress were Southern Democrats. I have often thought, in looking over these committees, that Mr. Randall had taxed human credulity and the patience of the Democratic party to the utmost limit; but to the best of my recollection I have never heard of one of these eminent chairmen objecting to his appointment by reason of his birthplace, residence, or previous condition of incapacity To our friends who lay so much stress upon what they are pleased to call "prudence" (pusillanimity is a better word) I beg leave to suggest that the victories won in this world by manliness and courage are almost as innumerable as the sands on the seashore, while those achieved by "prudence" (so called) can be counted on one's fingers. In the contest between Mr. Randall and Mr. Blackburn I am for Joe Blackburn, first, last, and all the time, and for Mr. Randall never. As I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Randall, no personal feeling tinges my opposition to him. I oppose him because I oppose all of his school.

With the exception of his views in favor of "Home Rule" and his opposition to bayonet rule, Mr. Randall holds no political opinion in common with me or with the Southern Democracy. He is for hard money, while we favor a liberal issue of Government paper. He favors a high protective tariff, while we of the South are for free trade. He is opposed to aiding the South to build up her waste places by granting to us such moneyed favors as have been extended with a lavish hand to the North and the West. These reasons are quite sufficient with me, but if more were needed Mr. Randall furnishes an all sufficient one in his advocacy of Samuel J. Tilden for the Presidency in 1880, to which I am unalterably opposed.

Thanking you for your manly advocacy of Joe Blackburn for Speaker, permit me to suggest that the Southern man who opposes him and sustains Mr. Randall in his efforts to renominate Tilden is making a great gulf between himself and the people who sent him here. Neither Mr. Randall nor Mr. Tilden are favorites with the Southern people, and this for the reason that neither deserves to be a favorite, and the Southern Representative who aids either may prepare to wrap the drapery of his couch

containing it— Was your correspondence, referred to in your last, with Governor Clark?

I suppose some Senator has sent you the Record containing the debate in reference to yourself, to which I referred in my last letter, but fearing they may have neglected it I will mail you a copy myself—

With best wishes, believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yr frd.

(Signed) Wm. H. McCardle.

Jefferson Davis to L. Q. C. Lamar.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, Harrison County, Miss., March 15, 1879.

Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar—My Dear Sir: Please accept my thanks for your defense of me against the petty malignity of Hoar, Blaine, and others. I am truly thankful for the kindness of the other Senators who spoke in my behalf; but it was needful, for my entire satisfaction, that Mississippi's Senator should be heard in my vindication.

The vulgarian, Chandler, has nursed his wrath long, and taken a characteristic method to revenge an insult I gave him when we were together in the Senate. No one need call him an ass, for he has saved all men that trouble by confounding an oath to support the United States Constitution with a like solemn obligation to support the government. Such ignorance might relieve from responsibility for aiding the government to destroy the constitution it was formed to administer.

about him and lie down to unpleasant dreams. When he returns to his constituents he will not be met with the welcome plaudit, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," but he will be hailed with the chilling order, "Depart, ye cursed! We trusted and honored you, and in return you betrayed us!"

The election of Mr. Randall will excite only disappointment and disgust in the South; but the nomination of Mr. Tilden, for which he is laboring, will produce a wide-spread revolt, and under its blighting influence the Solid South, as a political factor, will be known no more. In future it will be remembered only as one of the things which perished in the using. I have the honor to be, Colonel, very truly your friend,

William H. McCardle,
Of Mississippi.

P.S.—I regret that my favoring free trade I must come under the imputation of being a very ignorant man or a deceiver In his speech at Philadelphia last July Mr. Randall was reported in the New York *Herald* as having said "he would candidly say that he always set down a man who talked to him of free trade as being either an ignorant man or a deceiver." This is all very sad, but there are people who are profoundly indifferent to any opinion Mr. R. may choose to express of them, and so I dismiss the question as to whether I am fool or knave to a higher tribunal.

If a convenient opportunity should occur, you will oblige me by giving my cordial thanks to those Senators who united with you in repelling the paltry attack so gratuitously made upon me.

I am, as ever, truly your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Paul H. Hayne to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

"COPSE HILL," GEORGIA RAIL ROAD.

Address:
P.O. Box 275,
Augusta, Ga.

March 15th, 1879.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I am glad to learn thro' the Mobile letter enclosed, that your *health* is not *so* bad as we had reason to dread; and that you are now engaged upon your *great work again.*

May God grant you health and strength to complete it!

Herewith, I send *two Poems,* which I feel assured will interest you; because they are so closely associated with our home.

One, you see, was published in London, and sent me thro' the courtesy of U. S. Minister Welsh.

With these verses he wrote me a letter in which he expressed an *earnest desire* for perfect *reconciliation* between the *sections.*

With best wishes, and hoping to hear that my communication has not miscarried, believe me, *my dear and honored chief,*

Always most faithfully,
(Signed) PAUL H. HAYNE.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Maj. W. T. Walthall. 1879

My dear Sir,

On another part of this sheet you will find some brief references to the subject on which we were conversing this morning. The confusion which has arisen in the minds of well informed persons as to sectional responsibility Mo. Comp. arises I think from failing to make a close analysis of the votes in the progress of that measure, and resting their conclusion on the final votes. Thus, as my memory serves me, it will be found that the North will be found responsible for th[illegible]rohibitory clause, and that the

South took the act admitting Mo. cum onere. When the question arose as to extending the line through Texas, and taking away a part of her territory, and putting it under the prohibition against slavery north of 36.30. the North was in favor of it. But when the proposition was made to recognise the binding force of that line, by extending it through territory where it was contended slavery did not then exist, the North, with great unanimity opposed it. For reasons which were set forth, and led in 1854 to the enactment of the Kansas Nebraska bill, so meanly repudiated in 1858.

I am not sure that I have the dates right, but of the results, I feel quite certain. I hastened to prepare this note expecting to deliver it to you before you left & now send it for your investigation.

Respectfully & truly yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

References sent Maj. Walthall in letter attached.

1820—The North forced the South to accept the so called Missouri Compromise as the price of the admission of Missouri as a State—See Yulee's analysis

1850—The North refused to recognise the binding force of the Missouri Compr. by extending the line to the Pacific Ocean, but at the same time, took a large part of Texas, a slave State, because it was North of 36—30, and added it to the territory subject to the condition of the so called Missouri Compromise.

1854—In the Kansas Nebraska bill it was declared, that by the action of 1850—all territory was left free to immigration, and that the institutions of the future State should be determined by the people thereof.

1858—The North repudiated the doctrine of the Kansas Nebraska Bill, and the necessary conclusions from the legislation of 1850 substituting for both, the new fangled dogma of Squatter Sovereignty. See bills & discussion.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Miss.
17th March, 1879.

Dear Northrop:—

Yours of the 12th inst. presents the plan which I would prefer as well on account of ourselves, as the cause we served faith-

fully, and better than our critics have admitted. A monograph embracing the whole of your administration of the Subsistence Dept. is needful for which I have written and propose to write on that subject. Our enemies in the C. S. Congress gave the power of impressment to Generals in the field and when it was not used by them, it was held that the Subsistence Department was responsible for the deficiencies in supplies, though it was notorious that they could not be bought with the only currency we had in the last years of the war.

Genl. Lee had been some how impressed with the idea that Noland and Ruffin were incompetent for their special duties, and though he did not disparage you he spoke of what he deemed peculiarities, no doubt among which, was your claim that he should exercise the disagreeable power of impressment, conferred on him, but withheld from you.

He was a great and a good man; but like all men had defects, which we have no wish to draw from "their dead abode" but "justitia fiat."

Genl. Gorgas has sent to me an account of the operations of the Ordnance Department. Col. Myers was first sore headed and would not reply, since then I learn he has softening of the brain and cannot write of the past.

When Kingsbury of the 1st Dragoons told us how near he came to having his brains knocked out by his horse, do you recollect how angry he got at being told that he would thus have furnished to the world evidence of his having that article? I wish we could sit down together and remount the river of our years. Even the weary days of our camp in the Creek Nation had their happy hours, especially when Bowman performed the part of Fadladeen to Trenor's Lala Rook.

My daughter Maggie Hayes gave birth to a daughter on the 12th inst. and my wife who is with them in Memphis, writes that it is a "splendid child" and that both mother and infant are doing well. The first child was a son, who died in the first year.

The climate of this coast has the reputation of being most favorable to old people, for that or other reason, I suffer when business compels me to travel and improve on my return. Except a cough which was increased while on a recent trip to Vicksburg and Memphis, my health is now good for one who has passed the years allotted to man.

Give my cordial thanks to your wife for her kind message. My son had become a companion, was the promised stay of my house. He has gone before, I soon must follow.

May he who rules unite us in a better land, where the tears will be wiped away which Earth has no power to dry.

With love to you and yours, I am, as ever,

Faithfully,

Col. L. B. Northrop. (Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Robert A. Ransom[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New-Bern, N.C. March 23rd, 1879.

Major W. T. Walthall,

My dear Sir:

Your favor of 7th inst. is just received. For ten days I have been absent from my office. As far as I can I will reply to your inquiry. During the winter of '55, '56 while the 1st Cavalry was stationed at Fort Leavenworth an unpleasant disagreement arose between Col. Sumner comdg. and Lt. Col. J. E. Johnston, owing to the latter's unwillingness or inability to comply with the discipline of the former. Sumner established certain regulations applicable to *all* the officers of the Regt. Johnston wished to comply with them only so far or in such way as suited his inclination or convenience. Sumner was unyielding and a bitter feud arose and was kept alive entirely by Johnston and the followers he secured in the Regt. This state of feeling continued all through '56, and into '57. In the spring of '57 my health was so poor that I resigned the adjutancy of the Regt. and went on sick leave, and was subsequently placed on recruiting service, where I remained for nearly two years. The trouble between Sumner and Johnston was kept alive, and Johnston's influence prevailed to such an extent that instructions from the War Office sent Johnston in command of the *larger* part of the Regt. into the Indian country during the summer of '57, virtually relieving Sumner of command of his regt. He (Sumner) obtained leave of absence and was away from the regt. for several months. The campaign under Johnston had the beneficial effect upon his partizans in the Regt. of opening their eyes to his real character, and of re-establishing proper feeling in the regt. between the Col,—Sumner,—and most of his subordinates. This I ascertained from many of those who had blindly followed Johnston in his almost mutinous course towards Sumner.

In the winter of '57 '58 the difficulty between Harney and Sumner occurred which culminated in the trial of Sumner for

[1] Major General C. S. A. from North Carolina, died Jan. 14, 1892.

challenging Harney and in his acquittal. Johnston finding Sumner in every way reinstated in his Regt. sought and obtained from Secty. Floyd the appointment of Quarter Master Genl. This severed his connection with the 1st Cavly.

During the time that Johnston was Lt. Col., he did no appreciable duty except upon the campaign to which I have alluded, the one of '57, so far as I know. His presence only sufficed to engender bad blood, and his influence was any thing but beneficial in the regt. During nearly the whole of the winters of '55 '56 and '56 '57, Col. Johnston was upon the sick report, though not a day passed when at all practicable that he did not appear on horseback. His office and pleasure seemed to be to foment discord among the officers toward Col. Sumner. He would publicly and offensively criticise the orders from Regt. Hd. Qtrs., and his quarters were the resort for all the disaffected, where Sumner was usually the target for injurious and malicious practise. I regret that I am not in possession of papers which I can refer to. My memory only supplies what this contains, but as to his—Johnston's—actions during my presence with the regt., there is no particle of doubt. If I had been Sumner he should have left or I would have shot him. Sumner however won in the end and deserved to, although Johnston by Floyd's partiality was promoted. Ill fortune has overtaken me about my records and manuscripts, and I am now trying to replace them to some extent, having recourse in so doing to the War office in Washington. I may have some delay in preparing for you the paper I promised relating to Drewry's Bluff &c &c., but if the proper records cannot be recovered or reproduced, you shall have facts and only facts, although they may be fewer than I would like to supply and not all that you and Mr. Davis wish. Not a day shall pass after I get what is necessary before I send you the statement.

With much regret that I was absent and caused delay and with high regard, I am

Yours very truly,

R. Ransom.

P.S. Please remember me affectionately and faithfully to my true and tried friend Mr. Davis and to his dear wife.

endorsed:
Gen. Robt. A. Ransom; account of the quarrel between Col. Sumner and Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston, 1st Cavalry. New Bern, N.C. 23 March, 1879; recd. 27 March 1879; ansd. 9 April 1879.

James Lyons to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

To Richmond (Va.) March 28, 1879.

Major W. T. Walthall,

My dear Major,

Your letter of the 12th afforded me much pleasure. How could a kind letter from one whose history is so interesting as yours, and who, upon personal intercourse with him, I found as interesting as fame described him whose placid, frank, manly brow spoke to my heart in the tones of humanity and heroism? In whose lines were plainly written cool courage and a kindly nature.

I received this morning a copy of the Columbus Democrat of the 21st, for which I suppose I am indebted to you. It contains a piece headed "Jefferson Davis," warmly opposing the idea that Mr. Davis should ask that the disabilities imposed upon him (by) the Legislature of his Country, upon the ground that to do so would be a humiliation to him, and a triumph for his unprincipled and tyrannical enemies. I cannot concur in these views. In my humble opinion, humiliation to Mr. Davis and triumph to his enemies, to such enemies is impossible, on the contrary their triumph is now in his exclusion from all the honors of the Government, and even the society of his countrymen. They think it is their work, and their victory, and they have neither the head nor the heart to appreciate the elevation of the nature which spurns all honors and enjoyments which are to be acquired by what he regards as a moment of dishonor; and unfortunately there are too many in the South, like those who were Confederates,—all men who were Confederates are not Davis's.

When I went to Washington to receive what was called my pardon I met with Col. Singleton and others in a great crowd at the President's doorway who say *you* may as well go home, it will be useless for you to apply. But I did,—when I went into Johnson's room, he offered me his hand, which I took, and said, Well Mr. Lyons, what have you done which deserves a pardon, and I replied "Nothing sir—I was a secessionist and a member of the Confederate Congress and I have no apology to offer." He then asked me to take a seat and gave an order to the Atty. Genl. for my pardon,—*if in his opinion my case demanded it, or was fit for it.* When I met the Atty. Genl. he read the President's note tc me, and announced that in his

opinion secession was treason which I instantly denied, and he bullied me until the turn in the discussion gave me the excuse to remind him of the victories of the so called traitors in the field and then he caved in. Now I have always regarded myself, and not them, as the victor. They had seized everything I owned which could afford me one cent of revenue. Ought I to have permitted them to retain it? To compare myself to Mr. Davis would be I know to compare small things with great, which I do not mean to do, and yet the experience of a small man may sometimes afford a useful hint to a great one, as the humble mariner, who could not manage a ship, and simply heaves the lead will ofttimes save the Admiral and his ship, and so the great Napoleon in that spirit—(I found occasion to remind President Davis,) said "the man who disregards the prejudices of a people can not govern them." Mr. Davis is in every great quality vastly above the great mass of mankind, and yet he is too self reliant, and has too much contempt for the opinions of those who differ from, and here allow me to say may be found one of the most fruitful sources of his failure and the only true word that Foote ever said against him was, "he regarded the War as a personal quarrel always standing upon the point of honour," and thus the advice of men who could have made wise suggestions to him was lost to him. Shakespeare has well described him in his description of Henry the fifth by his father,

> He is gracious if he be observed,
> He hath a tear for pity, and a hand
> Open as day for melting charity
> Yet notwithstanding, being incensed, he is flint.

perceiving as I thought this quality and the disastrous effect it was having, I asked him to come down and address the House of Representatives upon the state of affairs and our cause generally, because I felt sure that it would do great good at home and abroad and make the people of the North and of the World understand our cause and our *right* in the War. I was in constant intercourse with members of the British nobility who were often at my house and I knew they were with us and for President Davis had an admiration almost equal to mine and with them his voice would be potential. It was with a view to get at those men that I urged him to remove my old and loved friend James M. Mason from London and plant him here as his right hand where he would at all times tell him the truth, and not do, as Benjamin did when he asked me to talk with the President

upon a certain subject, and in reply to my question why don't you? and he answered, "He won't let his Cabinet talk to him unless he asks them," and I said, "then if I were you I would quit the Cabinet." Mason was totally unfit for a Court, or for an intercessor, and I knew it, and in proof of it when he came to see me after his return I said to him one evening over a glass of old Madeira, "Well, Mason, how did you like Palmerston upon a nearer view?" he replied "I never saw him." "What," said I, "a Confederate embassador to his government never to call upon the man who controlled it" and he answered, "he never called on me as it was his duty to do, and I never called on him" ! ! ! How much was lost by this mistake! In a recent letter to me the Earl of Derby who was formerly my guest, says "I felt every blow which was struck you as if it had been a part of England which was stricken."

Please tell Mr. Davis, with my love, that he must make the sacrifice as he regards it, no matter how great,—*for the South*—we want him in the Senate where he cannot be slandered by cowardly liars, and we through him. Write me.

With great respect,
Yours truly,
JAMES LYONS.

P. S.
Mr. Davis ought to recollect too that while he is ostracised sectional hate can not cease, that he will not be the first great man who took upon himself the sins of others and made retribution and that his continued refusal to be relieved is construed as a slur upon the many brave Confederates who have been returned to Congress. If sacrificed at all it will be only another sacrifice for the good of his Country, and to that I am sure he would even treat Zac Chandler as a gentleman or treat Hayes as if he was an honest and lawful President. In the present depraved condition of the Press their opinions should have no more influence than that of as many flies (?). I would have acknowledged your favour sooner but I have been very sick with ague.

J. L.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
9th April 1879.

My dear Northrop:—

On my return from Memphis, I received yours of the 29th ult., and am grieved to learn of your protracted suffering. It

sometimes happens that relief comes through acutest suffering, would that severe irritation might lead to the expulsion of the foreign matter from your knee. You will understand that I am expressing a wish, not venturing an opinion on a subject of which I am ignorant, and you specially informed.

J. E. Johnson's forte is the suppressio veri, it was as visible in his reports as in his "narrative." The waste and loss of public property, resulting from his needless and hasty retreats from Manassas and Yorktown, and his failure to provide a bridge across the Pearl River, when he evacuated Jackson, Miss., exceeded in money value the destruction by Sherman in his "March to the sea."

I recollect your struggle against Johnston and Beauregard to compel Col. Lee to supply the army without being victimized by would be contractors, and that I concurred in your views. Also remember that Genl. Johnston wanted larger issues of bacon than was justifiable under the circumstances, but I cannot give the exact information you desire about his tabulated statement. Such of my papers as were saved from the enemy were taken via New Orleans to New York. They were supposed to be safe in the hands of friends, but were pillaged very extensively. Every one of Genl. R. E. Lee's confidential letters were abstracted and most of those of J. E. Johnsons' shared the same fate. An envelope was left endorsed, "Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Aug. 3rd 1861, three papers enclosed." The enclosures were missing. One of them was probably the paper you want, as that would be about the date of a reply to my letter to him of August 1st 1861, of which a copy is herewith enclosed. These were complaints by the Generals against the railroad companies and by the latter against the generals commanding at Manassas. It was shown that cars with supplies were detained at the head quarters station instead of being promptly unloaded and returned, and it is a memorable fact that troops at Richmond who should have been on the field before the battle began did not arrive until it had ended. It could hardly have been entirely the fault of either or of both the complainants; the Quartermaster General, the Commanding General at Richmond, the Secretary of War and the President of the Confederacy must share the blame, as those could have corrected the neglect. I do not recollect the contents of Mr. Daniel's letter on the subject.

I instructed my assistant Maj. W. T. Walthal to write to Dr. Moore and request him to furnish me with a monogram on the medical Department of the C.S.A. He has not replied, the which I regret as that Dept. was ably administered, doing much

in the development of our medical botany, and ingeniously supplying many deficiencies.

We were involved in a great war without any preparations. Since Christians were thrown into the arena to fight unarmed with wild beasts there has not been less equal conflict.

The Surgeon Genl., like another, a dear friend of mine, was not a politician, too honest to yield his convictions to the interested applications of members of congress, he encountered their displeasure, and prejudice, radiating from that center deprived him of the credit due. Now you see why I wanted a report from him, and why it is thought doubtful as to his giving the information you suggest I should seek from him.

You are quite right as to my views on Hood's Tennessee campaign. I left the army with the understanding that if Sherman started towards the sea that our army was to follow him. By our superiority in calvery it was thought practicable to prevent him from foraging on the country and by the addition of auxiliary troops to our army, while that of the enemy was decreasing by sickness and desertion, resulting from fatigue and hunger it was hoped a victory might be gained.

I met Beauregard at Augusta on his way to take command. Hood explained fully to him my policy and hopes, he cordially accepted them, went on, joined the army, changed his program to an advance into Tennessee, left the army and the execution of the new plan devolved on Hood, who has avowed himself the author of the movement and taken as far as he could the whole responsibility of it. The error was in supposing Sherman would countermand, to protect Tennessee or Kentucky, or both. As to the rest it is not fair to judge after events have given new data, as it were original.

I have in vain endeavored to get a statement from Genl. Gilmer in regard to a matter especially entrusted to him. He never refused and it may be that his failing sight is the cause of his non-compliance, but I should not hope to get a declaration from him, that he prevented Beauregard from giving up Sumpter, unless he has heretofore made such declaration and would refer to it. Can you advise me as to that?

I do not know how cars were obstructed from use as Mr. Daniel says, but have great confidence in any statement of his, in regard to such a matter.

I do not think the salt mine in Iberia was worked before the war, but will get positive information; if it was known it certainly was not used. The price of salt in New Orleans would not have justified it.

I appreciated Noland and Ruffin, as you did. The latter I have understood since the war, is hostile to me. Why, I cannot imagine. He was born in the county in which I was reared, and his mother's family and mine were very near friends, and they are so to me now, to the second and third generations. Many were offended because not given higher rank, if all were worthy some had to be chosen, and the choice was not condemnation, though not flattering to such as had to wait. Yes I do ride occasionally, bought a creole filly with some appearance of blood, but no pedigree, she walks well, has a light elastic trot and when broken will suffice for our sandy roads and my short trips in search of air and rest from reading and writing. It is the first horse I have owned since the war.

Please give my affectionate remembrance to Mrs. Northrop and your children and accept much, very much of the same from your,

Sincere friend,
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Apl. 11th, 1879.

My dear Davis,

I have had a great deal of trouble in racking my brain to meet all the points which are necessary to make Johnston out the calumniator that he is. But it is done conclusively yet it has to be rather a minute affair. I want to use that paper he sent to you I think getting a sort of plebicite of the army as to what they wanted and had been accustomed to eat. I want to charge causing discontent in that army. Many complaints were refuted. I perceive that Gen'l Taylor has written a book and in a paper sent me, are extracts; he cuts down Johnston well and Stephens handsomely and puts Longstreet in the right place, a real "Minetaking."

I have proof that Johnston *did* know that his cattle were got from exposed districts and ordered Noland's agent in Loudon not to buy any more of them after the county had been depleted. Every charge he makes I report him. I wrote you last spring that if possible he ought to be demolished.

I am trying to fix Beauregard too, am waiting for letters from Charleston. I do not think there is a spark of honour in either of them. There is no great regard for truth or justice. He makes out Genl. Jackson to have been captious and con-

ceited. Taylor is right that winter's march was "foolish." What a charming writer he is,—the most brilliant prose I ever read, far superior to his father I expect. He is a scholar, a man of learning and apt in using his reading.

Do try and remember about that paper I refer to. When I send you my paper you can press it down as much as you like. I am afraid it will have to be long to be well guarded. My knee improves slowly; it is tender and can't bear me without the crutches. Winter is breaking up, no doubt the warm weather will promote absorption.

When will you be ready to satisfy your enemy— "Oh that mine enemy would write a book!" Taylor is cruel on Pemberton—if in earnest—if the newspaper did not accept his critique as such I should have suspected irony in the credulity of those believing the charge of treachery. Pemberton has I believe been very poor. I perceive that he contemplates an article against Johnston.

It is now within a few days of 4 months since I was on a horse.

Do you remember the paper to which I allude, Johnston's book exposes his weaknesses;—let us exhibit them.

I have heard that at 7 pines McLaws' division had occupied the left of the line, and was familiar with the ground down to the stream and should therefore have been in the attack—that Whiting's was brought at a run on double quick to give him the credit; they came with their mouths open, without ambulances, medicines or other preparations and McLaws' surgeon and hospital equipage had to attend them.

In such a fight, knowledge of the ground was essential to all the company commanders. Can't that point be made?— Certainly, it was a blunder.

Adios, yours ever,

L. B. N.

endorsed:
L. B. Northrop; ansd. 24th April '79.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Apl. 17th, 1879

My dear friend,

Yours of the 9th reached me by mail in due time I suppose. The next morning I wrote 3 letters,—1st to Mr. S. Barton a

friend to both of us, stating that I wanted to compare my recollections of having seen a paper to the effect that Bgd. was about giving up Fort Sumpter, that the fact that Gilmer was sent there in consequence,—that he caused some special defences to be arranged and saved the fort were facts in support of this recollection; and that the credit of saving it was attributable to him generally, and that I had spoken to him on the subject subsequently, in which I understood him to have assented to my attributing its preservation to his action,—asking him—Barton —to ruminate on these points and give me any traces of memory relative thereto, which he could recall.

I wrote a similar one to Kean Chief clerk in the War dept. at Lynchburg, and another to Genl. Lawton of Savannah, asking him to see Gilmer on the subject, narrate my impression as above and give me the result,—that I did not write to Gilmer supposing his bad sight indisposed him to correspondence.

I did see some writing which satisfied me that B. either announced that intention, or his belief that it would be impossible to preserve Sumpter, and I several times spoke of it. Certainly Gilmer would not have been dispatched there without such a foundation. I want to touch that point, and to show by Jordan's article to Harper's Magazine in 1865 wherein you were abused by him (as well as myself) that there was a conspiracy between Johnston Bgd. Jordan—Lee (Col. R. B.) to upset me and let the army suffer to relieve Lee from the "disparaging" position you had put him in by subordinating him to me, as he complained: that this purpose was continued by both of them and appeared in Bgd in numerous complaints from Charleston, instead of attending to the defences, so that Folly Island was neglected and Sumpter would have been lost but for Gilmer's mission. I don't know who else to write to.

I think that if you were to write to Dr. Moore and tell him that you wish to sustain the fitness of the appointments you made, especially in his case,—wherein his independence of politicians caused prejudice, he will see your *right* to his testimony.

Last evening I read of the death of Gen. Taylor, and am sorry for your loss, and grieve myself for though I never met him I had imbibed great admiration of his abilities on Red River. He overcame the dislike I felt for his father, due chiefly to your narration of scenes at Jefferson Bks. (mixed up by the bye) with Rousseau and his Emelie and sucking the cobs.

We grow wiser as age advances and I suspect your haughty and sarcastic style of younger days may have given the old general cause of antagonism to you. I laugh now in thinking of

your cruelty to old Col. Whistler who at Wilson's store one morning asked you to lend him your grey horse to ride to the Vindegres, you replied, "Oh no Col. I am not going to lend you my horse to run away from home." Poor old fellow, he took it so humbly that I was sorry for him at the time,—I think, though enjoying it as much now while writing as formerly. You were terrible sometimes. Andrew Johnson never forgave your alluding to his having been a tailor and took his revenge at Fortress Monroe. What a hell of malice this world is,—Foote you know published an article accusing me to be a "heartless wretch" to the prisoners and declaring that he attacked your govt. from the first day he entered Congress to his desertion. The Sumpter point ought to be made out. Wife sends love.

Adios. yours ever, L. B. N.

L. B. Northrop.

endorsed:
L. B. Northrop; ansd. 24th Apl. 1879.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Miss.
24th Apr. 1879.

Dear Northrop:—

I have sought in various way to get the paper about the tactics and habits of the men in the army of the Potomac, and all received are the copies of the two unimportant papers enclosed. Both Johnson and Beauregard, as appears by subsequent revelations were only engaged in undermining the administration, electioneering with their troops and making a record for themselves. Surely this was not the discharge of their duty, or the means likely to defeat the enemy. To consult the soldiers as to what they would eat, was to play the part of a tavern keeper, rather than that of a General, and would naturally result in causing dissatisfaction with a government fully prepared instead of being as we were compelled to improvise everything. It is no uncommon case for a slanderer to charge to the subject of his malignity the offences committed by himself and to appropriate the good deeds of the assailed as his own. I do not know any one who would probably give from memory any valuable answer about that "statistical table," indeed few are willing to bear testimony about anything. The fact of having made it and your having exposed it, should condemn the act and the actor, whether or not the taste of the soldiers might be approved.

Col. Graham of S. C. told me that the loss of Folly Island and the consequence thereof was due to negligence, that Beauregard was warned but did nothing until it was too late. I wrote to him, no answer received. There never was so much credit where so little was due, as in the case of Beauregard at Charleston. It is not unlikely that he did think Fort Sumpter untenable, as an Engineer he would foresee that the upper part of the work would be demolished by the bombardment, and not see that the debris falling on the outside would soon render the wall proof against shot and shell. Such proved to be the fact. The heroic Elliott held the place under a long and heavy cannonade. When I last saw the fort under fire Beauregard was with me and seemed to feel that all was his work, just as some one has wittily said: "that if one should say to him if Bonaparte had followed your advice at Waterloo he would have been victorious," he, Beauregard, would accept it as a just tribute.

In the matter of Gilmer's mission to Beauregard I remember when he was retreating from Columbia, S. C. that he directed his march toward Wilmington, which was to enter a cul de sac, this was in violation of instructions, and so gross a blunder that I sent Gilmer with a letter to him requiring him forthwith to change his march so as to move toward Charlotte, N. C. and gave to Gilmer another letter authorizing him if Beauregard hesitated to obey to relieve him from command and assume it himself. Beauregard obeyed and Gilmer returned to report to me. May this be the event you remember? Or was there another? Col. W. P. Johnston when writing the biography of his father, General A. S. Johnston, sought information from many quarters as to Beauregard at Shiloh, the answers were weak compared to the oral statements they had made, but enough to show that Beauregard was far in the rear at the battle of Shiloh and ignorantly ordered a withdrawal from a field already so nearly won that persistence would have insured a complete victory. If you have not done so a reading of that book will, I think, gratify you. There can be no doubt of the venom of J. E. Johnston, Beauregard and his tool Jordan, and I have known none of their conspiracy against me personally and officially from an early period of the war, the misfortune is that it was not then discovered.

Yes: I would be glad to have and to use fully the information in regard to the yankee who robbed the prisoners of their rations, his name, rank and circumstances of his appointment, etc, etc. As there was *one* case I am glad he was a yankee. That old Buzzard Warner, met me since the war, and stated

that the prisoners he had seen denied the statements about their ill-treatment and expressed much gratitude to him, Warner. His claim for services to the United States Government was not that of which he boasted to me. It would unquestionably be well for you to bring in the whole matter. Our enemies represent you and me as harsh and cruel. My knowledge of you and my opinion of myself, assure me that no two men could be found less liable to the charge of cruelty to prisoners or harshness to any helpless thing. Do you remember that the Richmond Examiner, one of J. E. J.'s strikers, before the time (I do not know how long before) the complaints were made about the prisoners food, published what purported to be a bill of fare of the prisoners on Belle Island, representing them as living luxuriously, and contrasting it with the hard fare of our soldiers. This—if for the purpose of creating discontent in the army was a proper supplement to the statistical table of what the soldiers preferred to eat. I have sought for, but have not found a copy of the paper.

As to the battle of Seven Pines, it was a series of blunders, and the ignorance of the ground showed criminal neglect, but this if Longstreet's statement to me, was correct is only part of the criminality. He, L., said that the enemy had been ten days across the Chickahominy before the battle began. Yet, Johnston assured R. E. Lee after it had commenced that it would only be an artillery duel across the stream. This showed that he did not then know that the enemy had crossed the stream. There was no plan and all the movements were to the last degree faulty. I was an eye witness of the action on the left of our line, but too late to have that done, which should have been done first, i, e, to move a force down from Mrs. Prices! so as to attack in flank and reverse, instead of crossing an open field, in front of the enemy's masked batteries. I sent to Magruder after I saw the blunder, and finally went myself, to hasten the movement as above described, but night closed, and our troops were withdrawn from the field before it could be executed, and the force coming down being too small to act alone I countermanded the order and they countermarched It was Griffith's Brigade. Magruder was not found.

The new Iberia salt mine seems to have been known to the Indians as a place where they could gather salt on the surface of the ground. At a later period Judge Avery, the present owner of the land, sunk a well, and made salt by boiling the water drawn from it. Broadwell saw when he visited the place that it was a deposit of rock salt, and furnished blasting powder

to blow up the bed. Judge Avery consented to the working of the mine for public use and thus it was developed. The navigation laws of England required vessels sailing from Liverpool to take a certain quantity of salt, it was used as ballast and sometimes I have heard would not sell in New Orleans for the amount of the duty. With improved methods and machinery it may be hereafter a source of revenue.

Cannot some of your subordinates, say one who copied your answer to Johnston's table recollect better than I, what was in it. The general fact that he opened a canvass instead of advising with you and sustaining the right against clamor, is enough to condemn such conduct.

Ever truly your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
25 April 1879.

My dear Friend:—

I wrote to you yesterday a long letter on historical matters, postponing to another occasion some remarks on personal observations. I hope you are right in the supposition that with age I have gained wisdom and lost hauteur and sarcasm. If I have not acquired the "greatest of all charity" better appreciation of my own weakness has probably given me more forbearance towards others, than existed in the pride and self confidence of youth.

In the controversy with my Col. at Prairie du Chien I was right as to the principle from which it arose, but impolitic in the manner of asserting it. A mean fellow misrepresented me, the Col. believed him and assailed me harshly, imputing to me motives the reverse of those by which I was actuated. Then I became wrong as angry men are apt to be; and the smoldering fire kindled your wrath as my friend. In after years the Col. and I knew each other and I grew to love and honor him, "despite my wrongs, by hasty wrath and slanderous tongues."

Poor old Col. I am very sorry to have said anything to him which others thought was offensive. I did not feel unkindly to him, and even at this remote time will explain the matter to you. I was sure if he had my horse he would go off and get drunk at some house in the nation, and stay there until he was brought

back. Just such a case had occurred at Green Bay, and he came near being dismissed. His large family was dependent on his pay, and his wife would have expected me to keep him out of trouble, rather than to help him into it. She died recently at extreme age, but retaining her mind, which was very bright to the close of her life. I saw her frequently after the war, and she spoke of my visits to her as a great joy. The old man was living when I was Secretary of War and made me a friendly visit.

Rousseau died lately, he left numerous children and in the humble walk he trod, after leaving the army, was much respected so good did his Emily prove.

I did not know of the article by Foote to which you refer, indeed after I published [him], in 1851, as "constitutionally a liar" I having twice before that tried to bring him to a settlement with deadly weapons, his sayings and doings were never considered by me entitled to notice. The knave was elected to the C. S. Congress as a friend of my administration, beating Savage, who was angry with me. It is only since the scum has been thrown to the surface that such corrupt material as he has come to light. Jam paulum majors canamus.

Did you not mistake in writing the age of your filly? You wrote seven months, but it seems to me much longer since you announced her birth. Your Eolus colt is very tall, was the horse so? I like a horse such as Genl. Z. Taylor described as his preference a horse that was "big when lying down." He was a man of very strong common sense and honest as the magnetic needle. You do not over-estimate Genl. D. Taylor. He was as true as he was bright and his friendship was warmest when most needed. His loss is to me a very great and profoundly sad one.

I have been suffering lately from an attack of my old enemy neuralgia in the head. Sometimes blinding in its effect. Trusting that your expectations as to the good effect of spring weather on your knee may be fully realized, I will again urge you before another winter to come and stay with me.

With love to your wife and children in which Mrs. Davis would unite if now here, I am,

Ever faithfully,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

L. B. Northrop.

A. R. Lawton to L. B. Northrop.

Savannah, Georgia, April 28, 1879.

Col. L. B. Northrop,
Charlottesville Va.

Dear Colonel:

I availed myself of the first opportunity after the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. to have a full and free conversation with Gen'l. Gilmer, touching the subject you referred to. Genl. Gilmer remembers that the condition of things in Charleston Harbor was approaching a crisis, and the President thought it would be best to send to that point the Chief Engineer of the Confederate Army. The President supposed that engineering skill and experience were specially needed at that time, and he gave more than ordinary powers to Genl. Gilmer, in the premises. I do not understand from Gen'l Gilmer that he had any collision whatever with Gen'l Beauregard, though he may have had with other of officers of that command. I do not think Gen'l Gilmer has any information to give on this subject, which would be of any value to you in making any issue in connection with the state of things at that time in Charleston Harbor. I am still ready to serve you whenever I can do so.

Yours truly,
A. R. Lawton.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) April 29, 1879.

My dear Davis,

I fear that you will find me annoyingly active, but once in, it is my instinct to pursue my end. As I grow older tenderness for the friends remaining increases, and from my heart I pity the troublesome task before you, but you are responsible for any trouble I give. "You began it," I was content. I want to make the point and shall do it; that if transportation, local and by rail, and gold and unlimited credit in England Johnston implicates you for crime for not having paid it with cotton,—with such complete organisation of my bureau as existed—skill with generals, whose only victory, or repulse of the enemy was an accident, who threw away victories and thought retreats should be considered as "brilliant victories;" want was inevitable, with curtailed territory yielded by them, and environed coasts.

I think there exists an indisposition of people to tell what they know,—it is American,—no gain no trouble. Lawton and Kean have not yet replied. Barton has beautifully. I have written to Judge Campbell and to Charleston again about the Sumpter affair and Barton has written to Reiley of the Adjt. Genl's office. I am going to find the address of Charles Maury and write to him. Can you make out that Bgd. was sick at Shiloh, not in the battle, certainly 2 miles from the river, and neither could, or did know, the state of affairs, and therefore the officer next on the field should have commanded to the end of the battle and Tennessee recovered.

I have written to Macon Ga., for information respecting this point on Johnston. He claims to have eluded Patterson, and in the article of extracts from Dick Taylor's book, which I saw, the credit of doing it skillfully is conceded. I do not think he ever was warranted in attempting to elude him, if he could not beat him, his business was to check his junction with McDowell; to attempt to get away from him was risking certain ruin to both him and Bgd., with a force double Johnston's, Pn. ought to have attacked him; had Johnston first attempted the junction, he must have been demolished. But he did *not* attempt to elude him, and Patterson with much the longer route, must have relied on an observed negligence, for he got off 12 if not 24 hours before Johnston was informed of it; thereon he moved to Manassas. Johnston's army was to have marched and would not have been up in time, but for the cars which he did not contemplate. It was a chance repulse, and had McDowell been named Changarnier we would have been whipped next morning.

If you can make out this point, I shall assume it, and make an effective paper; it is very impregnable; if you can't, I am trying. It does one's heart good to meet with men like Barton. He writes thus of Fort Sumpter,

"I have a faint though distinct recollection that some body in command at Charleston proposed or intended to give up Fort Sumpter and my recollection is, *meant* to fortify the *wharves* by putting heavy artillery there and that Genl. Gilmer put a stop to the project; the impression is rather in my mind that that somebody was Col. S. G. French. . . . I never saw Bgd. my estimate of him is not high but I do know a great deal of J. E. Johnston. It has always been my opinion that he did us more harm than all the Yankee generals combined; that to him more than to any other man or cause, our failure is to be ascribed, and that if he had met his deserts it would have been by the sentence of a court martial at the hands of a file of soldiers. The man has no idea, no country, no faith except one

—Joseph E. Johnston. He is selfish hollow false and has shown in his book most uncommon skill in suggesting what is untrue and suppressing what is true. I get angry when I think of what I know of him. &c &c''

Have you written to Lamar and Reagan, they ought to know of these two points. R. kept up an interest in the details. Adios L. B. N.

P.S. Did not Gilmer renew the fortifications at Sumpter with sand bags; perhaps you mentioned it in your late letter. You need not reply to this—reading it may strike some old recollection, and rouse it. When Reily writes I may have something to tell. Judge Campbell may know. I directed to N. O. believing him there. Welford used to be friendly but he loves quiet and is connected with Seddon.

P.S.: Johnston and Bgd. were the tools of Jordan, the latter in 1865 published in Harper's magazine an abusive attack on you and me. I was a ''weak feeble mind'' who had ''become a Catholic'' and was occupied with my ''small affairs in Charleston'' which exhausted my capacity, a sort of parish doctor. You were infatuated, surprised all who knew me by the appointment for which I was notoriously unfit; then followed the charges of Manassas, just as Johnston states them, that J. and Bgd. tried to remedy them &c &c. You upheld me. I wrote a ''letter of surpassing insolence to Genl. Bgd.'' You among others would not ''add to the usefulness of their chiefs of staff by making them Brigadiers.'' I cut out the paper and found it lately. To none but a congenital simpleton could a man of any sense have ascribed what Johnston attributes to me. I compelled Genl. Cooper, contrary to Seddon's desire, to (one word illegible), that Jordan was an impostor and had with Bgd's sanction been acting out as official position ''of Chief of staff'' which had no existence and enjoying the emoluments and title of brigadier general without the rank. After this I saw no more of that signature, ''Brg. and chief of staff.''

I want to know what has become of him, if to an ignominious end, the greater disgrace of his tools the two generals. All that stuff about the excursions, not anticipating the enemy in the use of food, came from him and Fowle, I believe. Johnston forgot having ordered Noland's agents not to buy any more cattle in Loudon Co. Johnston claims to have lost nothing in the retreat from the Peninsula. If I could ride something could be picked up.

Can't you recall about the paper you referred to me, giving what the soldiers wanted and had been accustomed to;—the

faintest recollection would be enough for me. I remember at the time saying that if you had the power of a sovereign, you ought to have him shot. I have a copy of Daniel's letter which was made for me. It is conclusive as to the negligence of both Generals which kept troops as well as provisions from the field. The flour I sent from Rchd. was old flour bought before we got there; wheat was at 60. I shut up the market to fix it myself and sent this old flour invoiced at cost to State of Virginia $9 or 9.91; they fell into the pitt inadvertently set for them. I have the notes of that affair and two letters from Cole on the 24th and 30th of Jan. which ought to meet the alleged telegrams of 16th and 19th of that month to me about accumulations; those telegrams should have gone to the shippers who sent him invoices, perhaps did.

As I thought last summer, I still think. Johnston must be discredited if your book is to be accepted as authority, he has the affections of the mass of people, whom he injured.

P.S. If a sonorous and pedantic style would be more agreeable, and as Johnston quotes Gil Blas french in history, I might edify him by Exceptio probat regulum or Necessitas non habet legum, he is puerile.

He has been incautious in treating of me, supposing correctly that nothing he could write would break my silence. His trickery is expended on you. I have taken up every point he has made, and exposed his misstatements thoroughly. I am waiting for replies to some letters. If Judge Campbell is not in N. O. tell me. When will you need my paper? If you do not like my paper to go in your appendix with such omissions as you think best, I will publish a little pamphlet of about 15 pages.

I wish to make a paper that will be serviceable to you and propose to take leave of Johnston somewhat in this way.

I revert to Genl. Johnston's statements that during a period of 19 days he never had over 2 days rations, sometimes none,—that absolute destitution was not infrequent—while surrounded with plenty of flour and beef easily attainable he declares.

He might have inferred that some general considerations in the interest of the subsistence of "the armies of the Confederate States" had stopped the purchase of flour then; that it had not come from Rchd. because it could not, which was suggestive of an examination into his communications previously overlooked. He might have applied the instant remedy of ordering the purchase of flour as a reserve for the occasion of the next destitution, if not before it. He shows forth that improvidence characteristic of the reckless destruction of the meat when no enemy

was pursuing. It is instructive "history" and shows that he ought to have been "as summarily removed" as was his "excellent chief commissary" who representing the subsistence bureau in that army should have applied the obvious remedy, on the principle that necessity disperses the rigidity of a general rule of policy.
endorsed:
L. B. Northrop; historical; ansd. 20th May '79.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) May 14, 1879.

My dear friend,

The day after mailing my last I received your letter, and the package enclosing another, with extracts and &c. I have notes of the full amounts of rations at Manassas from 21st to 27th July inclusive, and if I knew the number of men after the battle, I could show exactly how many days were on hand. Any quantity of beef at grazing farms was available and a pursuing army should not desire anything more. I have had men march contentedly on nothing but poor buffalo without salt for over 10 days. Alleging that there not having been more than 2 days as one reason for not pursuing is a suspicious argument and Taylor writes that any time within two weeks he could have taken Washington and gone to Baltimore with a brigade. The book I sent you is Johnston's Eulogist and says that the river was fordable above Georgetown. The 75 cars used as storehouses at Manassas and 18 loaded with cannon at Fredericksburg explain the insufficient supply of flour and my only concern, and not much, is to prove, that he had more without knowing it. If you can estimate the strength for those 9 days I would like it given when you write, which need not be till you hear from me again. Genl. Gilmer remembers that the condition of things in Charleston harbour

"was approaching a crisis and the President thought it would be best to send to that point the chief engineer of the Confederate Army. The President supposed that engineering skill and experience were specially needed at that time and he gave more than ordinary power to Genl. Gilmer in the premises."

I do not understand from Genl. Gilmer

"that he had any collision with Genl. Bgd. though he may have had with other officers of that command."

Gart. Gilmer says:

"I do not think Genl. Gilmore has any information to give on this subject which would be of any value to you in making any issue in connection with the state of things at that time in Charleston harbour."

I wrote instantly again to Lawton narrating my recollection and asked him to recall my remarks to Gilmer and his answer or assent,—requesting him to amend if I was in error. I will give the reply. Barton's letter with this and I hope more from Reily will warrant you in making your point, and an allusion from me in my paper will warrant you in calling on me for my grounds. I told Lawton that a friend had brought the "Narrative" to my observation and I would make the point that when Generals lost territory or claimed retreats as "brilliant victories" neither gold European credit or perfect transportation could feed armies in an environed country.

I am truly grieved at your neuralgic headaches. Moisten the brow, temples and back of the ears with chloroform. You acted very virtuously with old Whistler, even if you had not, I do fear that I would not have been virtuous enough to regret it, for my eyes dance with fun whenever I think of it. Your humility surpasses his in making confession to me. I must be careful of future references to the past.

Warren was a spy (?) his vengeance prompted refusing the food for the departing prisoners and avarice selling the best of the rations to the officers. He was never disturbed,—let the Yankees draw the inference of this solitary case of ill treatment by a Confederate officer. Your classmate C. J. Wright wrote to me about cruelty to prisoners and I edified him with the respect which the possession of slaves caused white people to hold for their own race,—cruelty to prisoners was impossible among southerners, and only *credited* by them by personal and visible evidences of it,—that while that upright man Wirz was hung and I ought to be,—Warren was unmolested if not rewarded, which I believe he was. He never published my letter.

Many thanks for your proposal to winter with you. It is not possible for me to leave home, if I had no duties to detain, and was alone, or if those here were dead, I would be disposed to harbour with you indefinitely. I know your nature.—Muscles heavy enough to manage in *perfect equilibrium,* long bones from hocks and knee to pasterns, increased stride and speed. My colts are not leggy but of good size, and great body. Latona was foaled on Sept. 8th my natal day. Nonpareil would have suited

as well as the name of the mother of Apollo and Diana. My wife sends love to you both. I trust that atrocious pain will not remain.

Affectionately yours,

L. B. N.

P.S. R. G. H. Kean does not remember about Gilmer's mission.
endorsed:
L. B. Northrop; ansd. 20th May '79.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(From The New York Sun of June 22, 1890.[1])

Beauvoir, Miss., May 20, 1879.

My Dear Friend: I have in vain sought for the paper in regard to what the soldiers under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston informed him they would like to eat. Efforts at the "Archive Office" in Washington develop the extraordinary fact that most of his letters have disappeared after being filed, as appears by their index. * * * Johnston sought in various ways to evade orders and cater to the reported preferences of the men; the repeated instructions to save stores were grossly disregarded on his needless retreat from Manassas. Careful to make a record and gain popularity, but careless as to the public interest, and seeking like a demagogue to ingratiate himself by throwing on the Administration blame for every real or fanciful discomfort, it was a part of his remembered career to encourage complaints against the commissariat by canvassing among the men as to what they would like to eat. After learning they preferred bacon to beef, what is to be said of the burning of your packing establishment, when that flight was commenced in which no men pursued?

Many silly people talk of the mistake in not sending out the crop of cotton and having funds thus in Europe. Johnston is not the only ignoramus who does not know that the crop of 1860 and 1861 had mostly gone forward before the birth of the Confederacy—that it all belonged to individuals, and the C. S. Government had not money enough to buy it nor ships to transport it. The next crop was imprisoned by the blockade, and much of it in the interior closed by want of land or river transportation.

[1] The above excerpt of a letter from Mr. Davis to Col. Northrop appears in a special from Baltimore to the New York Sun written by Eugene L. Didier, who states that the original letter was in his possession at the time the special was sent. The present whereabouts of the original is not known.

The number of troops at Manassas was about 31,000, new arrivals covering the losses in battle. There was nothing said to me after the battle about want of supplies or transportation as preventing pursuit. Then it was fortifications with garrisons on the south side of the Potomac. Good night. Affectionately yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

B. J. Sage to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

New Orleans May 21, /79.

Hon. Jefferson Davis
Beauvoir Harrison Co Miss.

Dear Sir:

As I pass to some New York business, I wish to stop to see you for the pleasure of getting your views on some points; and to learn if I can serve you at the North or on the way.

If in the recent bond between Eaton and Blaine the former had had the "Republic of Republics", he could have demolished Blaine by citing pp 228, 355, and appendix E, as to Webster's utterances.

By the way, I am thinking of trying to place a copy *gratis* in the hands of each member of Congress, and of the government, before this session closes. By this means, the gathered treasures can be at once utilised—"placed where they will do the most good." I prepared the book for just such occasions as the recent debates, and I do not care to profit by it; I shall, however, try to get some one to divide the expense with me.

I have had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Dorsey *recently* she looks remarkably well and is quite cheerful

Yours faithfully

(Signed) B. J. SAGE.

Jos. J. Davis[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives.
Washington, D.C. May 23d, 1879.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir,

My friend, Mr. Clymer of Penn., was at Fortress Monroe a few days ago, with Mr. McKinzie of Ky., and relates an inci-

[1] Davis, Joseph John (1828-1892), a jurist, was born in Franklin County, N. C., April 13, 1828, attended Wake Forest College, graduated from the law school of the University of North Carolina in 1850, and began prac-

dent which I inclose. It illustrates the feelings of a brave man in humble position.

It gratified me and, though I have not the honor of your personal acquaintance, I send it to you. I have more respect for that soldier than I have for Conkling, Blaine or Garfield.

I am, with great regard,

Jos. J. Davis.

endorsed: Jos. J. Davis; about scene at Fortress Monroe.

(Enclosure in letter from Jos. J. Davis to Jefferson Davis.)

Being at Old Point Comfort, the other day with my friend Mr. McK.—— of Kentucky, an ex-Confederate Officer, we visited the Fortress and on entering met an Irish sergeant of whom my friend inquired where Mr. Davis had been confined. The sergent pointed out the two casemates, where upon my friend in a tone of *assumed* anger remarked to me "that Mr. Davis was the greatest traitor who had ever trod the Earth, and that the Government should have hung him" ! ! The Sergeant drew himself up and replied with great warmth and evident indignation,

"By God Sir! that is a question upon which there is a difference of opinion!"

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va., May 29, 1879.)

My dear friend,

Yours and Maj. Walthall's enclosures are received; thank him. Judge C. has not answered, though he wrote "prolific notes" after getting out of prison. Lawton has written again,—that Gilmer is "*indeed*" a cripple is gone to the mountains, so soon as he returns will call his attention to my statements, and as I asked get him to confirm or amend. You have a copy of the 1st statement given; Barton is a true man, he says he knows a great deal of Johnston; if you want any light on special points, he may aid, and is willing; you can let me know if worth while.

The only doubt about that bill of fare, is its source, from one of these instructive generals *it came*,—to one of them I will attribute it, or both conjoined, as they united in the "corre-

tising at Oxford, N. C. He served in the Confederate army as captain, was taken prisoner and confined at Fort Delaware. He was a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives, 1866-1867, and a member of the North Carolina delegation in Congress, 1875-1881. From February 12, 1887, until his death at Louisburg, N. C., August 7, 1892, he was a justice of the supreme court of North Carolina.

spondence'' to amend my proceedings; it shall be noticed as a part of their joint proceedings to amend mine.

It can't be doubted, that your papers have been robbed as well as the archives. Unhappily for our tempers, the rectification of wrong seems relegated to the day of doom, usually. I have proof that Bgd. wanted Moses Wick chief commissary to borrow large sums from Banks and individuals, to appoint R. B. Lee inspector Genl. of Subsistence with large powers (stated) and set up a commissary de^{pt} of his own. He and Jordan worked hard but I defeated them in Carolina also and then wrote a letter to Genl. Cooper, exposing his ignorance and folly. I have fixed up everything but some little points thereto. I hope you will assert his being the fountain from which Hood's move sprang. The country will accept your word, as well as your statement respecting his move towards Wilmington, and his alteration about Whiting's cooperation from Petersburg, which Hoke declared they were waiting for when I denounced his letting the enemy run off without pursuit after beating them from their positions,—they flying in disorder before his eyes.

I kept R. B. Lee well supplied with money after Shiloh and when Bgd. before appointing Moses Wick told Broadwell that they wanted money, which they did not—the latter B. offered to raise $500000 for him.

The new system of gleaning the country was planned in the winter of 62-63 because Bgd. having lost Tennessee and all hopes of meats from Ky., by letting off the enemy and converting the Shiloh victory of A. S. Jn. into a defeat next day. It was put into operation in the spring (Apl. 13th I think). He and J. E. J. attacked it like simpletons as I shall set forth and Bgd. was for overriding Lee and orders and setting up an independent commissary, which could not have been practicable without celestial depots were ready to replenish them Just conceive of my ordering accumulations of corn in Charleston to make sure of its defense, and his order to deplete that provision, by ordering 5 bushels of grits for extra allowance for every 100 rations of coffee and sugar,—not procurable hardly for hospitals. There were not mills in Charleston to have ground it. The South was deficient in sense and character.

My wife this morning asked me what I had been laughing at after daybreak; we sleep in the same room during winter. I remembered revolving your reminiscences about Ed. Howland and his mustang. I always had a tenderness for his idiosyncracies, and therefore for his big headed steed—''Saded el Keress'' and think that the motto ''Honi soit qui mal y pense''

would have prevented my answering the laudation of his delicate mussle by a comparison of his rump—as both fitting a "pint cup." I think that somebody else most have tomahawked him. Dick Taylor omitted A. S. Jn's sensitiveness on that subject in honouring his capacities, as he most truly did in all other respects. Your sly promise to avoid such criticism on my bantlings if we should meet told, for I blunder out "but my colts ain't that way,"—the driving power is there; broad rumps swelling loins big bowells deep thorax and breasts not under wide. I am going to raise race horses and sell them at saddle horse prices, a double cross of Boston, with Fairy Washington and Leamington, verbum sapientur.

I am now unable to walk, but am on horseback busy at raising grass and corn for feed for horses, and hog for me and mine to eat, after the first working I shall try and write up my rough draft which will show that no President either friend or foe could have done otherwise than have sustained my administration of the Commissariat. The hostility of Congress, their unintermitting supervision and repeated examinations, instituted in every instance with prejudice against me,—compelling approbation, confirmed by Baldwin's letter informing me after the war of his declarations on the floor of Congress as to the conclusions of his committee on the means of defense,—all sustaining my narrative, clumsy as it may be, to which force will be added by the fact that I declined your first request from an indifference to public opinion and nausea of the subject and only yielded my disinclination to your right to my narrative, as you were maligned by J. E. J. for tolerating and sustaining me. You could not have done otherwise honestly, for I managed well, and no other could have done better, after I had got into it.

Reily forgets about Gilmer's mission. Barton promises to think of some one else to write to.

You must have felt snubbed very often in your attempts to extract information. Your papers and the archives at Washington have been both pilfered suppressio veri on a bold scale.

In former days I should have said, "Curse everything." *Now* I say, "patience is a great virtue." My grandmother used to impress that on my negro nurse. She misunderstood it and used to tell me "Patience devert you." I could not see the fun in it, and lost the benefit of the lesson, until taught the true meaning by experience painfully acquired.

Adios,—kind regards to Mrs. D. and Maggie.

Affectionately, yours

L. B. N.

endorsed: L. B. Northrop.

Wright Rives to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington City June 1st 1879.

Dear Sir,

I received your long letter yesterday and am much obliged for the advice it contained. No one understood the printing question better than you did—and the bill you introduced in 1859 was as near perfection as could be, and had it become a law, the Government would up to this time saved not less than $6,000,000.

I have read and reread your speeches on this question, and now, with all the facts of experience, I do not think a line could be changed. The Radicals have made use of the printing office, —like all the other departments, and have obtained from it more plunder than from all the other departments put together; they know its value and fight for its continuance. As I said the debates were taken from us, because we were democrats, and was put in as an amendment to the sundry Civil Bill in 1873 by John Sherman. We printed them for 40 years, and during the whole of this period there never was a complaint or dispute in regard to a single cent. It has cost at the Government office about $40,000 a year more than our proposition, and aside from this, by it the Radicals through their Public printer have sent out every speech for campaign purposes free of cost to the Republicans. In the democratic investigation in 1866 by the House Committee, they showed how much more the debates were costing than by us; also that under a proper system (based on your speech) that $500,000 a year could be saved. I gave data to Mr. Manning last Congress; and his committee showed up frauds equally as great. There never has in the existence of this Government been anything, as corrupt as this Government office. Singleton was still angry the last I heard from him about a week ago. I think it best not to see him, but let time settle it, and in his calmer moments he will see his injustice. I will do right and act for the best interests of the Government, and you can rest assured that I will so expose this corruption that the people will demand its abolition. I will do it for two motives,—the 1st, to prevent the radicals from using it, and 2d to protect the government and these are my only motives. I may not gain by it, but the taxpayers will. My father had the highest veneration for you. Of course, he differed with you in 1865, as all cannot see things in the same light. I sent you yesterday the Republican,

the most bitter of party organs containing an editorial. It was severe on Singleton, but I wished to call your attention to the place, where in referring to you *as a person of honest convictions.* I think this a high compliment coming as it does from the bitterest party organ in this country. By the by, I learn that you have not a complete set of the Globe,—let me know which numbers you have missing—(the Session and Congress) and I will try and send you what I can, as I want you to have them on account of old friendship, and they will be invaluable to you. Let me again thank you for the contents of your letter. If I can be of service let me know.

Your friend,
WRIGHT RIVES.

endorsed:
Wright Rives.

J. A. Stevens[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

Columbus, Miss. June 13th, 1879.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Dear Sir:—

Lest you think that one of my objects in addressing you this note be to secure your autograph I will mention now that I have had your signature ever since 1860 when you were in the U. S. Senate, and if such were my purpose at this time I should not hesitate to say so candidly.

After expressing the pleasure and the honor felt in taking your hand at the late Press Convention at Pascagoula, I write to say that my motive in sending this is to deliver a *friendly message* received for you five or six years ago in the territories. I wanted to mention it at Pascagoula, but knew how you were worried in the Hall, and it was not my luck to be on the same boat with you upon the excursion to the Gulf. In 1874, I was travelling out West, and met at Denver City, Colorado, an old U. S. Army officer, who gave his name as *Col. Steen.* Learning that I was from Mississippi, he at once alluded to you and your record in the Mexican war; said he knew you well, as also Gens. A. S. Johnston, Lee and Bragg, and among other things, mentioned that he served at Buena Vista as a Captain of Dragoons. When we parted after several weeks of, to me, a very pleasant acquaintance, he told me if I ever saw you again, to be sure and

[1] Newspaper editor of Columbus.

present you his kindest regards as an old Army comrade. Never hoping to have the honor of a personal introduction, being obscure and unknown, the matter soon passed entirely out of my mind until presented to you in the promiscuous crowd at Pascagoula. Immediately after returning home, I had the curiosity to see if history bore record of any such affair in the Mexican war, and found in a "Life of General Taylor" that a Capt. Steen was brevetted for gallantry at Buena Vista. That was the last time the subject occured to me. This gentleman said he was retired after 37 or 47 years service, (I have forgotten which) and did post duty during the late war in the territories. In person, he was rather large and portly, had small, light blue eyes, somewhat aquiline nose, and a soft low voice. I remember one remark he made about Gen. A. S. Johnston that struck me at the time: it was that he seemed to have a greater control over men as an officer than any human he ever met.

Will you, Mr. Davis, at some leisure moment, be kind enough to write me a line as to the identity of this gentleman?

Re-assuring you of the pride I shall ever feel in having cast my *maiden vote* for you,

I remain
Most respectfully, your friend,
(Signed) James A. Stevens.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Memphis
14th June 1879

Maj. W. T. Walthall
My dear Sir,

Your postal card received. I expect in say two days to leave for New Orleans and D. V. to be at Beauvoir in a week or ten days. Shall be glad to hear from you and still more so to see you.

your friend
Jefferson Davis

G. W. C. Lee to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Maj. W. T. Walthall, Lexington, Va. 17 June 1879.
Beauvoir P. O., Missi.

My Dear Major:

I have just received your letter of the 11th inst., enclosing a copy of the one of 29th Jany. last. I find the original of the latter among a large number of letters handed to me upon my return here, not long since, after nearly a year's absence, and which I have not yet been able to attend to. I don't know why it was not forwarded to me, as I gave the Clerk of the Faculty my P.O. address from time to time with a request to forward my private letters, some of which he did forward, and some he did not—among the latter the letter in question. I am very sorry for the delay, and can attribute it only to the "youth and inexperience of the clerk," who is in most respects a very excellent young man.

To come to the subject of your letter, however.—

After I was taken prisoner, at Sailors Creek, with the greater part of the commands of Genl. Ewell, and Genl. "Dick" Anderson, and was on my way to Petersburg (between Burkeville and Petersburg, I think) with the officers of these commands, we met the U. S. Engineer Brigade under the command of Genl. Bonham, whom I had known, prior to the breaking out of the war, as one of the Captains of the Corps of Engineers—in my own corps.

He did not apparently recognize me, and I did not make myself known to him—but began talking to Genl. Ewell in a loud tone of voice which could be distinctly heard by all around.

I heard Genl. Bonham say, among other things, that "Genl. Weitzel had found, soon after his entrance into Richmond, a letter from Genl. Lee, giving the condition of the army of Northern Va., and what he proposed to do should it become necessary to withdraw from the lines before Richmond and Petersburg—and that the letter was immediately sent to Genl. Grant." In answer to some look, or word, of doubt, from Genl. Ewell, or some one else, Genl. Bonham replied, "Oh! there is no doubt about the letter, for, I saw it myself,"—I think he added. I received the impression at the time, or afterwards, that this letter was a confidential communication to the Secretary of War in answer to a Resolution of the Confed. Congress, asking for the information early in 1865.

When I mentioned, some time afterwards, this statement of Genl. Bonham's, to Genl. Lee, the latter said—

"This accounts for the energy of the enemy's pursuit. The first day after we left the lines, he seemed to be entirely at sea with regard to our movements. After that, though I never worked so hard in my life, to withdraw our army in safety, he displayed more energy, boldness and skill, and judgment, in his movements than I ever knew him to display before."

Of course I do not pretend to give the exact words of either Genl. Bonham, or of Genl. Lee, but only the sense of them; but I think I have quoted the words themselves quite accurately.

Please excuse the scratched appearance of this letter, but I prefer to send it as it is rather than to lose to-day's mail in rewriting it.

I am very much obliged to you for your kind interest in my lawsuit. I have had two decisions in my favor in U. S. Courts, and the case now goes to the Supreme Court, where it will be taken up and decided, in course, I am told, in from two to four years.[1]

I am sorry that you have not been able to satisfy yourself in regard to the failure of supplies. I can't see how any one with the most ordinary sense or fairness could presume to blame Mr. Davis for the failure. I am disposed to believe now, as heretofore, that it is one of those accidents which are constantly occurring both in peace and war, and which are often more noticeable in war in consequence of greater effects, or consequences.

I return the copy of your letter, as I have the original.

Very truly yours,
G. W. C. Lee.

P.S. Please remember me most kindly to Mr. Davis when you have the opportunity. G. W. C. L.

Jefferson Davis to Fred S. Ferguson.

Beauvoir P. O., Harrison Co., Miss.
18 June 1879.

My Dear Sir:

Yours of the 9th inst. writing me in the name of Confed. Soldiers Memorial and Historical Association of your county to attend a grand mass meeting to be held on the 4th of July has been received. For this mark of kind consideration, as well as

[1] Suit for the recovery of Arlington, the home of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

for the honor conferred by selecting me to be the orator of the occasion, I am sincerely grateful, and regret that the state of my health and pressing engagements combine to deny me the pleasure of meeting the Confed. Soldiers as invited.

Please express to associates my grateful acknowledgment of their kindness and accept for yourself the cordial regard with which I am

Your friend,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

P. S. Privately I will communicate to Maj. Walthall your invitation to him.

Yours,
J. D.

To Capt. Fred S. Ferguson,
Montgomery, Ala.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus (Va.) Monday 22d June '79.

My dear friend,

My eyes have been sore and painful rendering exclusion from light necessary. I send you the enclosed, because I can't take extracts, and have no one to do it. It will appear to you needless yet correctly portrays Bgd. and Charleston. The people were sick of Jordan. If Bgd. is demolished, many will be glad. In the last of May 1862, he was much troubled about his commisariat "the chief being a great invalid" "or great suffering could ensue." June 3rd applied for his being relieved and Moses Wick appointed; June 10th Adjt. Genl. did it. July 15th Lee asked Bragg to relieve him at his own request—done in a very complimentary order. Many months after Bgd. wrote to Lee, was delighted at his having been relieved at his "own "request by Genl. Bragg, that his object in applying for his "relief was to make him inspector Genl. of subsistence, enlarging "his duties and sphere of usefulness, and relieving him from "being under the hampering of his Chief of bureau." &c &c I have the copies of all these papers, made officially by Lee, in his complaint to you, which you made me report on, though I begged to be let off. Before that he had reported scurvy in his army as caused (by that commissary Genl.) I went to Moore Surg. Genl., examined sick reports,—nothing of scurvy found, fewer hemorrhagic cases than usual—I retorted that I had taken

special care of that army, that it was the best fed and although Genl. B. had converted it from a victorious army under Gen. A. S. Johnston into a retreating one camped in an insalubrious place, yet it was free from scurvy, though from causes other than food, mentally and physically predisposed to it. It was a false charge. He is a very feeble man. His persecution of Guerin at last roused the people, and this disturbed him. He sent "Genl. Gonzales" to say he had nothing against G. was sorry of his difference with his chief of staff but it must go on to its proper end. He had no part in it.

I have papers showing his active persistent persecution, explained to the war dept. as a consequence of his uneasiness about the subsistence of his troops.

He is a dishonest man, or a most heedless one. I have written again to Barton. I have just got a characteristic letter from Holmes. He is happy in that most rare phenomenon, the having a "noble, kind, considerate" son in law with whom his wife (Holmes daughter Elisabeth) and "3 beautiful well bred well behaved children" the old paladin is "contented and happy," his letter is charming and fresh, like the youthfulness of honesty everlasting. He comments on the *Bible,* and on *you,* with appropriate unction, respectively. He unwittingly purloins John Hunter's eulogium on Opium "Magnum donum Dei" and informs me as original—that "the Bible is the great gift of God." If I was to tell him all about the history of what he calls the Bible, it would vex his soul, and he would say; that such literature was unscriptural—and scold at me. He refers to several friends and writes "As for Jefferson Davis I look upon him as "the great sacrifice of the age, his and not Lee's name should fill "the hearts of the Southern people; for he was the embodyment "of the Confederacy—pure true generous and brave. May God "forever bless him, here and hereafter."

He writes that "my remembrance of him was grateful to his heart." I touched that most upright organ I suppose, by telling him that esteeming him as one of those "men of good will to whom the Angels promised peace *even* on earth Xmas night A.D.I I looked on him, as being in invincible ignorance, and hoped to find him in the 'aula celestium' if I was so happy as to reach them—after living in 'Minor Orcus' here, and passing through the one impending." I do not know if I ever told you that I had named my place "Minor Orcus" when I got it.

Kind greetings to Mrs. Davis and most earnest wishes for your well being and health, Affectionately, L. B. N.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Department of Archives and History.)

New Orleans
4th July 1879.

My dear friend,

The dreaded event has occurred. Mrs. Dorsey ceased to breathe about 4 o'clock A.M. She was known to be dying early in the night. With labored breathing but otherwise painlessly she passed the night. She had been for some days expecting death, was resigned, calm and hopeful. She said she was at peace with the world, and feared not to meet her God. She took the communion and hopefully looked beyond this life to a better state. She was pleased to receive your message and sent loving remembrance to your family, and self.

After she was unable to converse, her mind remained entirely clear and composed. In repeating to her the beatitude Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God, she responded by repeated motion of the head.

You know more than most others how self sacrificing she was, how noble in sentiment, how grand in intellect, but you cannot know how deeply grateful I am to her for years of unvarying kindness & service & therefore cannot realize how sorrowfully I feel her loss.

We leave tomorrow evening on the packet for Natches, after the interment I shall return without delay.

You will I know regard it as a labor of love, and it will also be a favor to me, if you will write an obituary notice for the Sea Shore Gazette and for any other papers you may choose.

Please give my cordial regards to each of your household and believe me

faithfully

Maj. W. T. Walthall

Jefferson Davis.

Marcus J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Cape May N. J. July 9th, 1879.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Sir,

I have been here for some days with Gen. Pemberton, from whose official military books and papers, I am making copies for the publication to be made by the U. S. Govt. I get many new

lights on the Vicksburg Campaign, and I feel confident that the mere publication of the official documents will not only fully vindicate Gen. Pemberton, but will show that he acted throughout that trying ordeal with the greatest vigilance, good judgment and discretion.

He and I have talked a great deal about you, and he desires to be remembered to you in this letter.

I enclose a statement from the official records in the Adjt. Genl's. office at Washington, of Grant's *effective* strength on 30th June '63, the report nearest to July 4, of any on file. I have furnished Gen. P. with a copy. Gen. P. has read me the MSS. (as far as completed) of the book he is writing, and I am greatly impressed with it,—it will certainly fully vindicate him, and place Gen. J. in an undesireable position.

I leave for Washington this p. m. I hope to be at *Beauvoir* early in Sept.

With great respect,
Very truly yours,
MARCUS J. WRIGHT.

endorsed:
Marcus J. Wright; return of Grant's forces at Vicksburg; ansd. by Walthall, 3 Sept. 1879.

Geo. W. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Villa Maria, Dubuque, Iowa.
July 28th, 1879.

My ever dear friend:

Perceiving that the yellow fever has broken out at Miss. City I write you this short but sincere note to ask you to come to this my *new* home on the hill side and out of the crowd of the town to remain with us until after the scourge shall have left your present residence. I'll promise to return your visit some time next winter. There is no man on earth that I my wife children and friends would more heartily welcome within our doors than your own well beloved and honored self.

If you can do so furnish me with the address of the Surgeon or if he be dead of the Asst. Surgeon of the Regt. in which my cousin Joseph Shannon served under you in the Mexican War.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) GEO. W. JONES.

Jefferson Davis, Esqr.,
Bovoir or Mippi City, Miss.

Robert Ould to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, Va. Aug. 1st 1879.

W. T. Walthall, Esqr.

My dear Sir,

After further reflection upon the subject I adhere to the views expressed in my former letter respecting my agency in the preparation of the paper. I think it best that it should be prepared by you or Mr. Davis. If you fear that you might mistake any fact, I will be happy to render any assistance after the paper is prepared, if you will forward it to me for inspection. Or if in its preparation you desire to find out anything about which you are uncertain, I shall be happy to give any information in my possession.

Yours truly,
Ro: Ould.

endorsed:
Hon. Robert Ould, Richmond, Va. 1 Aug. 1879; recd. 4 Aug. '79.

Alex M. Clayton to W. T. Walthall.

Wood Cote Missi. August 6, 1879.

W. T. Walthall Esq.,

Dear Sir,

Yours of 24th ult. with its enclosures is recd. I do not know the scope and tendency of Presdt. Davis's work. During the time, when it was expected that he would be tried for treason, I addressed him a letter, on the subject, in which I took the ground that there was no treason in his case. He wrote me that he had transmitted my letter to his counsel, Mr. O'Connor. I have thought that it placed the conduct of all who like Mr. Davis obeyed the orders of an organized Government, on my defensible ground. Those who organized the Government were the parties if any who were guilty, not those who yielded obedience to it. If the discussion of this question at all enters into his work, I should be glad that the views contained in that letter should be considered.

I have found no writer on Public Law, except Hallam who sanctions the doctrine advanced by me. I preserved a copy of my letter, and if it is desired, will be gratified to submit it to you and Mr. Davis. I know the Supreme Court of the United States has since taken a different course, but our Appeal is to future

times and other Peoples, through such works as those on which the President is engaged.

The Members of the State Conventions which passed the Ordinances of Secession might have incurred the penalty of Treason; but those who obeyed those ordinances, and the Laws of the Confederate States, were entitled to the protection accorded to de facto governments, especially when those governments were so strong that it required the full military strength of the opposing government to put them down.

Very Respectfully
Yrs.
ALEX. M. CLAYTON.

J. L. O'Sullivan[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New York, 10 August, 1879.
24 West 30th St.

My dear General,

In conversation some time ago with Charles O'Conor, he mentioned to me a circumstance, of no great importance perhaps, but not without its interest, which he thought you probably did not know, and which I told him I would communicate to you. Possibly you might make some passing mention of it in the book which I rejoice you are writing, and for the appearance of which I am one of the tens of thousands who are impatient. When will that impatience be gratified? When it is published I should feel not less delighted than honored if you would give me a presentation copy with your autograph on the title page, for old times' sake and for my fidelity through good and through evil (and most through evil) to my States Rights principles.

The circumstance above alluded to is this. When Charles O'Conor volunteered to be of your counsel in that great state-trial for "treason" which your enemies never dared to bring on, he had received a request to that effect from a number of prominent lawyers of New York, and among the signers of the letter was *Daniel Lord,* one of the most eminent and venerated members of this Bar, an old Conservative Whig, and the very incarnation of all that was reputable and respected, loveable and beloved in this community (I have sketched Daniel Lord's portrait, not Mr. O'Conor's own, as might naturally be supposed).

[1] John Louis O'Sullivan, diplomatist, was born on a British man-of-war in the Bay of Gibraltar in 1813; graduate of Columbia College, 1831; minister to Portugal 1854-1858; died in New York City, 1895.

I read in the papers that you have collected the most complete collection of all that has been published about the great conflict of principles and ideas which came to the issue of arms in 1861–5. Has a pamphlet of about 150 pages which I published in London in the spring of 1862, in the form of a Letter to President Pierce, (bound stiffly in green, with the title of "Union, Disunion and Reunion,") the honor of a humble place on your shelves? The collectionneur likes to have all and every thing, good, bad and indifferent. I have myself but one copy, but I will send you that, if you have not got it. It contains a good deal of good truth about the causes that led up to the Civil War. Slidell at the time wrote me a handsome letter of thanks about it. I tried by letter to get some of my friends in New York to publish it here, but they did not. I had hoped to induce Pierce to start and lead a movement for an armistice for the purpose of holding a Convention to amend the Constitution. But that was a vain dream at that time. The germ of the Civil War was in the Constitution of 1787. And it was Alexander Hamilton who, more than any other man, planted it there.

Ever, my dear General,

Faithfully and truly yours,
J. L. O'Sullivan.

Pray remember me very kindly to Mrs. Davis.
endorsed:
J. L. O'Sullivan about Ch. O'Conor &c &c and a pamphlet by O'S.

Alex. M. Clayton to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Wood Cote Missi. Aug: 18 '79.

W. T. Walthall, Esq.
Dear Sir,

In response to your letter of the 11th inst. I send the paper referred to. It is brief, but in my view comprehends the essence of the doctrine. Do with it what you like.

I am obliged to Prest. Davis for his kind remembrances, and should be gratified to receive a letter from him. The old make no new friends—and therefore cling more closely to those they knew and loved in former times. Please remember me in all kindness to him.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,
A. M. Clayton.

Extract from a letter addressed to Hon. Jefferson Davis Jany. 5, 1868.

I have never believed that, according to the law as laid down by its pages, there was any treason in your case. In *Rebellion* or in *Insurrection,* the Government against which the movement is directed treats the parties engaged in it as *individuals,* and first calls on the civil authorities for the suppression of the outbreak, and the punishment of the offenders. The military may be called to aid in the consummation. But when the Civil Authorities are powerless for this end, and when the Courts are closed, then *Civil War* exists. Then the Government itself acknowledges its inability to punish the offender, by the ordinary course of legal proceedings, and when it accords belligerent rights to those arrayed in opposition to it, it confesses that the case has passed the bounds of *municipal,* into the province of *International Law.* It admits that they are beyond the reach of the civil law, and they therefore apply to them the *Law of War.* Thenceforward it becomes a War between Governments, and the individuals engaged on either side are equally under the protection of that law. The whole communities are responsible as *Governments,* no single individual on either side is responsible, so long as his conduct is in conformity with the *Laws of War.* The concession of belligerent rights means this, if it means any thing. This concession once made and acted upon by both parties, cannot be retracted but through a breach of faith. This is the meaning of Burke's declaration, that he does not know how to frame a bill of Indictment against a whole people.

When the Supreme Court of the United States in the Prize cases, and Chief Justice Chase at Raleigh, threw out a different intimation, they overlook this important distinction, and when it is brought fully to their consideration, I cannot but think they will recognize it, as a living vital principle, which they can not disregard or set aside. There is no consistency in the opposite view. *Belligerents* when they have arms in their hands, bound to give and entitled to receive the protection afforded by the Laws of War—*traitors* when disarmed, deprived of that protection, and subjected to the municipal law, from which they had been acknowledged to be exempt, by the very fact of the recognition of the International Code as one of their rights. It seems to me no Court would willingly countenance such an inconsistency—none is so constituted as to take cognizance of offences against the International Code, in the exercise of its ordinary powers.

This does not call in question the decision against the right of secession, by the laws of arms,—it maintains there can be no punishment of individuals, for the assertion of that right, under our organized Government, so far recognized as to have extorted acknowledgement of its belligerent rights. This involves and comprehends an acknowledgement that the municipal code of the adverse power does not extend to them. The one is a necessary exclusion of the other. Inter arma silent leges.

August 18th, 1879.
A. M. Clayton.

Copy.

A. K. McClure[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

The Times
Philadelphia.

Aug. 25,

Hon. Jefferson Davis.
Dear Sir—

I have been prevented from answering your favor of the 10th inst, by absence from town.

I can find no way of ascertaining the contents of the paper left by the Elder Blair, beyond what I have communicated to you. It is in the keeping of the younger members of the Blair family, and their instructions are not to publish while any parties in immediate interest are dead. (alive)

It is probable that the exact contents are not known to any one outside of the family, but the facts that such a paper exists: that it accuses you of interposing personal ambition to obstruct peace, and that it is not to be published until after your death, I am fully satisfied.

I think it important that you find your Ms. account of the interview, and give to the country now, without seeming to invite controversy, the facts of the visit of Blair to Richmond,

[1] McClure, Alexander Kelly (1828-1909), a journalist, was born in Perry County, Pa., January 29, 1828, and after receiving an elementary education as a farmer's boy, was apprenticed to a tanner but soon took up newspaper work. In 1850 bought an interest in the Chambersburg Repository and made it an influential anti-slavery organ. He was a delegate to the National Republican Conventions of 1856 and 1860, and in the latter had much to do with the nomination of Lincoln. In 1875 he established the Philadelphia Times, and was editor of that paper until 1901. He was the author of several books: The South: Its Industrial, Financial and Political Condition (1886); Our Presidents and How we Make Them (1900); Recollections of Half a Century (1902), *et al.* He died in 1909.

would be a proper thing to do, and it would prevent an important error in history relating to an important event to both North and South.

Please think it over and let me hear from you further. In the meantime, if I get any further information, I will advise you.

Yours etc.,
(Signed) A. K. McClure.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus, Albemarle Co., Va.
Sept. 8th '79.

My dear friend,

Lawton has not written again, but Gilmer's statement that he was sent to Charleston by you with "extraordinary powers," with the facts that heavy guns were mounted on the wharves of Charleston and Magrath's (?) quotation of the "Circle of fire," seems enough to support any statement you may make in relation to the evacuation of Fort Sumpter having been contemplated.

There is no doubt of Cummings statement that he furnished Johnston's army with 90000 rations during the "clean retreat" to Atlanta when he did not have over 72,000 men.

I have data enough to warrant and support the assertion that Johnston's narrations about the Commissary Genl. and the government, for tolerating the proceedings of the former, are a tissue of mis-statements which I will refute in detail, and show to be incompatible with the principles and practices of the Commissary dept. from its initiatory proceedings at Montgomery, and throughout; that the views of both generals were shallow, expressed without comprehension of the condition and resources of the country, before the war, at the time of their censures, and subsequently. That the statements of Gen. Bgd. on commissary affairs at Manassas; at Corinth; and Charleston were unsupported by the facts,—respectively in question.

That any one reading his report of, and after the battle of Shiloh, in connection with the reports of all others concerned (except Jordan called general) will perceive that he is incompetent to give a trustworthy account of matters not conformable to his feelings and on careless examinations; that his converting into a ruinous retreat a victory already won, which would, and was intended to have recovered Tennessee and Ky. rendered imperatively necessary my plan of gleaning the whole remaining territory, that this system was approved by all who considered

it, and assailed only by those two generals. That continued investigations of a hostile congressional committee, eager to blame, sustained my course as wise, and efficient, especially the final committee on the resources of the country, which gave me a general and exceptional approval.

That Congress stultified itself in removing me, that the man succeeding me could not amend my system, or practice; and questioned as to the ability to feed Lee's army gave an answer which some months before I had reported. That I agreed with you to open the commissary dept. on the condition that I should not be commissary genl., that Genl. Griffith was the appointee, who was to take it, and then afterwards declined so I went on, and you could not change what was being well done, as was abundantly proved as above, though I was ever ready to comply with an intimation from you. Bgd. alleged that he was waiting at Drury lines for Whiting to come up; you wrote that he prevented his cooperation by countermanding the move; please tell me who ordered Whiting's move, Lee or the War Dept.? In what form did Bgd. prevent Whiting's move?

I am sorry to see that Genl. R. Taylor says that you thought well of Hood's move on Nashville, that Bgd. went to Hood and returned saying that Hood was confident of success and as you approved of the move he could not be blamed for not interfering to controll it. Taylor puts the responsibility on you, and justifies Bgd., in fact Taylor censures you for it. In the absence of positive orders from you to Bgd., to take personal command of Hood's army and countermarch, you will I fear make a hard point though Taylor might be in error and you strictly correct.

I am disposed to prepare a pamphlet and publish it if you like my plan. I do not want to be simply defensive, if I say anything, I want to be aggressive, as the only efficient way of cutting the ground under my assailant. If you can spare time think a little and let me have the benefit of your superior controversial experience.

I am permanently more crippled than ever, and have but little use of my limb, though there seems a slow improvement; age is adverse to much. Kind regards to Mrs. Davis.

Yours affectionately,

L. B. Northrop.

endorsed:

L. B. Northrop; 9th Sept. about Bgd. and Johnston with inquiries.

Crafts J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Wrights Grove, Cook Co., Ill.
Sept. 12, /79.

Hon. J. Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
Dear Friend:

You must not yield to the irritating causes that beset you. Though as the head of the Confederate Government you are the great Target—that is the natural result of your position. You are not—you have never been more abused than was Mr. Lincoln nor Grant—not half so much as is Hayes or either Sherman. A man who is not abused evidences that he is little cared for—is not prominent. Once you were in position when you had a voice in anything—abuse would cease. If it did not, you are able to take care of yourself—well able with any one. Recollect also that in the Senate more than anywhere in the world your voice would be potent—it would be heard at every fireside in the land, and where no word—no statement in a book will ever reach. The criticism would not be so great or severe—because it could be answered at once to your peer—but a book never.

Besides I urge again more persistently that no man has a better chance—none ever offered to be of use—not only to the people who co-operated with you—but to the whole nation—one now in terrible dangers from sectional broils. You see how it is running as I wrote you it would. Great loss and injury to all must result if these feelings continue. I do not shadow what their course shall be—but they must be one and the great chances you have had will teach the course to you—if you can forget all but the whole country. I do not know you could do good but now is your only chance and the greatest of all. A year or so even your own people will grow out of your way and your feelings. Others or young men will not give way—but growing out of the memory of the war will take their own course in public affairs and push the worn out aside. Now there is a disposition to concede to you Mississippi Senator and you should not in my judgment push your last chance for yourself or family aside—when you might fall as Adams in line of battle.

It would be strange doctrine and have a strange result to me—disastrous enough, if known I urged a matter so persistent and adverse to my section—I discard the Section pact and seek to have one from my Alma Mater and old friend clear yourself and

do a great good ere goes away. These papers I do not care so much for—though of course they have a certain power—but interest influences the words of each days paper and some sensation no matter what will make each issue circulate. Error is not corrected and a known error will be persisted in to circulate a paper if nothing better for the day is at hand.

I notice the Ed. of the . . . States is lecturing here—but there is no abuse of him or his doctrine that I see.

I do not think what was said of my Pension claim will hurt me —On the contrary any intelligent discussion of my case—as compared with many—will make the claim stronger. More especially after the Shiloh contest—the hottest of Aug . . . which I volunteered and as Sherman certifies did as much as any other man to gain success and avoid defeat, and when made sick and naturally so, by my voluntary efforts because of the general order, I had to be dismissed as Gen. Ord says solely to save my life—when not a shadow of stain or cause existed except extreme debility arising in the line of duty—instead of giving furlough not then allowed and thus I lost the pay of 300$ per mo. and was under nomination as General for gallant deeds at Donelson and Shiloh—The fact of sickness is admitted by the pitiful pension of 10$ a mo. from Sep 9/62 when I ceased to be paid as Colonel. No wrong could be greater—nor no claim. The telegram must have been a breach of confidence in some clerk of the P. Bureau or some you wrote to. Of course your friend will know. I live in the hope of getting justice and being enabled to meet you. Remember us with regards as always

(Signed) Crafts J. Wright.

Horace Edwin Hayden[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

St. John's Rectory, Brownsville Pa.
Sept. 15, '79.

His Excellency,
Jefferson Davis,
Hon. and Dear Sir,

This spring you very kindly replied to my inquiries as to whether the Confederacy had ever authorized the use of explosive or poisoned rifle balls as charged by Mr. Lossing. I did not ask

[1] Confederate soldier, clergyman Episcopal Church in West Virginia and Pennsylvania; member of the Society of the Cincinnati, librarian Historical and Geological Society at Wilkes-Barre.

you for the right to publish your letter in that connection. My subsequent investigations have resulted in a paper in which I prove: 1st, that the Medical Department of the U. S. contains no report of U. S. soldiers wounded by such projectiles and can give no information on the subject; 2d, that the Confederate authorities including yourself, Genl. Gorgas, St. John and Elliott of the C. S. Ordnance Bureau, deny the charge in toto. The C. A. Archives in *Washington* and Richmond contain "no evidence that poisoned or explosive musket balls were used by the Army of the Confederate States" (Letter from Adj. Genl. U. S.); 3d, that Mr. Lossing's "explosive and poisoned balls" were both patented by the U. S. Patent Office and were in no sense "explosive or poisoned balls" and were used by the U. S. And 4th, that the U. S. did purchase 110,000 Gardiner musket shell, issue 35,000 to the Army 10,000 of which were abandoned in Va. and 10,000 used at Gettysburg. Moreover I procured at the U. S. Ordnance Office a box of 12 Gardiner Musket shell the patent for which I note. You will see that I have gathered together quite an array of facts in our favour and against the U. S. and I believe the paper if published by the Southern His. Soc. will help to set at rest this slander against our Government. I beg therefore the *privilege of quoting your favour as far as it bears on this subject.*

This summer I met Genl. E. L, Dana U. S. A. and he informed me that at Gettysburg the Confederates did fire explosive musket balls at his command, and his Ordnance officer assured him that they were U. S. ammunition which our forces had the day before captured. Thus slowly we get at truth. And if every Confederate would use his opportunities to correct such slanders we need have no fear that posterity will fail to do justice to the grandest defence of principle this century has ever beheld.

I need not assure you, Honored Sir, how fully I sympathize with you in your many trials, and with what sincere affection and reverence I sign myself with prayers for God's continued blessings on you and yours,

Your most obedient servant,
Horace Edwin Hayden.

endorsed: Revd. Mr. Hayden, for permission to make extracts from my letter about explosive bullets; ans. 24th Sept. 1879.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(From New York Public Library.)

Beauvoir P. O. Harrison Co., Miss.
25 Sept. 1879.

My dear Friend:—

I have received your letter of the 8th inst., and first reply to your inquiries on the subject of Hood's march into Tennessee. After the defeat of our forces and the consequent capture of Atlanta, I went to visit the army then under the command of Genl. Hood. I had various conferences with the Genl. and corps commanders, and before leaving discussed fully with Genl. Hood, the operations which might retrieve what we had lost from the time the army left Dalton. The information at the Headquarters was that Sherman was short of supplies, and depended on the R. R. from Chatanooga for food for his army. That he was deficient in cavalry and land transportation. Our troops were reported dispirited, but somewhat recovering from the baleful effects of a long retreat. My opinion was that Sherman would either move toward Southern Georgia to cut off supplies for the army of Va. or towards the Atlantic. The destruction of our powder factory at Augusta and the R. Rds. being intermediate objects. Under these circumstances my advice was to move the army to some elligable point upon the Chatanooga & Atlanta R. Rd. and there entrench it with whatever would strengthen the position selected. This it was supposed would compel Sherman to move to attack him, and if he insisted upon retaining possession of Atlanta would necessitate the division of his forces. If when he came to attack the selected position, Hood should not find the spirit of his army such as to justify him in offering battle, then he was to retreat towards Gadsden on the line between the states of Ga. and Ala., and thereabouts, in the strongest position he could select, to make a determined stand, and fight a conclusive battle. But if Sherman should follow him so far, preferring to countermarch and move towards the Atlantic. Then I asked Hood if he could follow him and reach Augusta as soon as Sherman could. He replied that his line of March would cross the streams higher up than Shermans and that he ought to reach Augusta before Sherman. My reply was that if he could get there with in three days of the time when Sherman would arrive, I would endeavor to prepare such defense of Augusta as would detain the enemy that long. Further that I would direct Genl. Cobb, commanding in Ga., with all the means

at his disposal to obstruct the roads, destroy the bridges, and otherwise detain Sherman's march as much as possible. That our superiority in cavalry would enable him to prevent Sherman from foraging on the Country, and reduce his army to very narrow straits for supplies, all this being understood and accepted, I went to Montgomery to get the militia of Ala. ordered to co-operate with Hood, if he reached Gadsden, and to have a depot of supplies made there for his army. I then returned to Augusta, revised the works of defence there, put Col. G. W. Raines in command and directed Genl. G. R. Raines, chief of the torpedo service, to make all needful preparations for his method of mining the approaches to Augusta. I had in a private conversation with Genl. Hood informed him of the purpose to assign Genl. Beauregard to the command of the District including Hoods' army. Hood, like the soldier and patriot he always showed himself, readily acquiesced in the arrangement. At Augusta I met Genl. Beauregard under orders, and en' route to Hood's army. I explained fully to him the plan of operations heretofore related. Genl. Hardee who had just left the army of Tennessee was traveling with me, and fully informed as to that plan, I asked him to join me in the con ference with Genl. Beauregard and from his better knowledge of the troops and of the country to give Genl. B. his views on the subject. He closed the expression of his opinions with the significant expression "I cannot say that the plan will succeed, but think it the best which can be done, if that does not succeed no other will." Genl. Beauregard seemed entirely pleased with the plan and I supposed would earnestly engage in its execution. We each took our opposite way, I went to Richmond, where I received from him a telegram of the 24th of November, which unfortunately has been lost, but my answer to it indicates its character, and it was certainly the first information I had of the purpose to march the army into Tennessee and to leave Sherman free to go to the Atlantic. My telegraphic answer was as follows: "Richmond, Va., Nov. 30th, 1864. Genl. Beauregard, Care of Col. Wm. Browne, Augusta, Ga. yours of the 24th received. It is probable that the enemy if short of supplies, may move directly for the coast, when that is made manifest you will be able to concentrate your forces upon the one object, and I hope if you cannot defeat his attempt, that you may reduce his army to such a condition, as to be ineffective for further operations until Hood reaches the country proper of the enemy, he can scarcely change the plans for Sherman's or Grant's campaigns. They would, I think,

regard the occupation of Tennessee and Kentucky as of minor importance.'' Signed Jefferson Davis. This shows that I didn't contemplate a movement into Tennessee, as the means would cause Sherman to countermarch. My memory is that the dispatch to which I sent the above reply showed that the army had so far departed from my plans as to make it doubtful whether it could then be executed, and that in such doubt I could only express the opinion that the movement proposed would be ineffective for the purpose indicated, and to leave the commander in the field to exercise his discretion under the circumstances. If happily he should be able to carry on my original design. My wish in that regard was sufficiently apparent in my dissent from the proposed change. I send you some copies of letters, unfortunately I have not those to which I answered. You will see from them that I informed Hood that the assignment of Beauregard upon which we had conversed would depend upon his willingness to accept the duty, and that after I met him in Augusta and conferred with him the order was given. Also that he was notified of further communication from the Ajdt. Genl. sending him copies of orders to his predecessors. These were particularly J. E. Johnston and J. B. Hood. And that he was impressively told that he was to exercise the immediate command of troops wherever he was present with them. Taylor in the passage you refer to was much in error, and his information was probably derived from Genl. Beauregard. Nothing could have been more foreign to the feeling of Taylor than to do me injustice, and delicacy probably prevented him from asking me such questions as would have prevented him from making so grave a mistake. Hood was of manly generous spirit, and after the failure of the Tennessee campaign, boldly assumed the responsibility for the inception and execution of that movement. A military [man] will hardly concede Genl. Beauregard exempted from responsibility of the commander, by the plans of his junior officer, or the willingness of that junior to bear the blame, and hence a cunning man would naturally seek for a higher authority for the act. In one of the letters you will also see a remark about marching to the Ohio River, but that was to be subsequent to the defeat of Sherman's army, which it was hoped might be beaten in detail. Quite another thing from moving away from Sherman, and leaving him with rapine, fire and sword to desolate the Southern Atlantic States, and unite his army with that of Grant for the overthrow of the Confederate Capitol.

In regard to the movement of Whiting from Petersburg to

Drury's Bluff, I believe the only order was one which I gave orally to Beauregard. On Saturday evening preceding the battle I conversed with Genl. Beauregard, who seemed very inexact as to the strength of his command. I directed him to order Whiting to make a night march from Petersburg by the —— road, which would enable him without being seen by the enemy's scouts to join him before morning, that the troops would rest on Sunday, as Butler's movements did not indicate a near approach of his forces before Monday, that then with his concentrated command he should attack and defeat Butler, cutting him off from his base, compelling his troops to surrender or disperse. Beauregard answered that he did not know where he could find a courier who knew the roads, and could safely carry the order to Whiting. It so happened very soon afterwards that a courier from Whiting arrived, and I said "He can take your order back." He did not write the order immediately, said it had to be very carefully drawn, and I left him to prepare and send it.

The next morning Col. Melton, A. A. & Insp. Genl. Irwing with Genl. Beauregard called at my house with a message from Genl. B. to the effect that he found that he had troops enough without depending on Whiting, and therefore had not sent the order for the movement as I directed, but had ordered Whiting to move up on the direct road from Petersburg to Richmond, to co-operate in the attack. I said, that I had told Genl. Beauregard, who had suggested that plan of the great danger attending such movements, etc., etc., etc.,

Col. Melton renewed the statement that Genl. B. felt he was independent of assistance from Whiting. The time had passed and the opportunity was lost. I had only hoped that Genl. B. was correct in his expectations. You were with me on the field the next day and know the result.

I notice your point as to the absence of positive orders to Beauregard to take command and countermarch Hood's army. I hope it is sufficiently answered by this letter and the copies which I send with it.

Before I knew the army was going into Tennessee my plan had been frustrated. On the 6th of Dec. 1867 Beauregard addressed me a long letter in justification of the campaign into Tennessee, and vindicates to himself his failure to execute the proposed plan of pursuing Sherman, but ingeniously makes his argument upon the condition of things which existed when our army had reached the Tennessee River. In the first sentence and in many others you will see the skill of an artful dodger. I have not found my letter of the 30th of Nov., which

he acknowledges without noticing my telegram of that date. I send you a copy of his reply, which if nothing else existed would show his responsibility for the Tennessee Campaign.

You have been falsely assailed when singly intent upon your duty and the public welfare. You were undermined by party Hacks in Congress and self-seeking Genls. in the field. So far as I understand your plan of a memoir on the Commissariat of the Confederacy I approve it, and that it may not be hidden in a little red appendix, but clearly presented in the text, believe it would be better appreciated and more generally read if published in a pamplet, which I might take the liberty of freely using. You ask for the benefit of my controversial experience. I give it to you in a sentence, Severe facts, but gentle words.

May God grant to you relief from your lameness. I wish you could come and share our home and soft climate during the winter.

Mrs. Davis joins me in affectionate regards to your wife, your children and yourself.

Yours affectionately,
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, 6th Oct. 79

Dear Major Walthall

Accept my thanks for your prompt attention to the matter of Genl. Wright. He made a proposition to which I replied. He has not been able to fulfil his offer and has not been recognized as holding the position described by him.

In writing to him as an esteemed friend I did not deem it needful to keep a copy of my letter, and the extract he sends does not show that he not I originated the idea of exchanging records &c. Would it not be well to ask for a copy of my letter. I am willing to perform all I promised, and will not exact more than the equivalent promised.

To shield him from embarrassment would give more than the spirit of the agreement would claim. It is well he should understand how meanly we have been treated and that we see in it evidence of his inability to do what he supposed he could perform when he wrote to me.

I like Genl. Wright and do not attach blame to him for the

frauds enacted by the Adjt. Genl., but he should not, having utterly failed himself to meet expectation seek cause of complaint, even if we had said, the contract having been broken on your side is void.

I am glad to hear that Mrs. Walthall is better, with love to each of your household I am your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus (Va.) Oct. 7, 1879.

My dear friend,

Thanks for papers; they are conclusive, irrespective of your telegram and the last communication from Bgd. The copy of his long letter convicts him. Hood fell back towards Gadsden, Sherman watched his movements, Bgd. ordered Hood to send a *division* of cavalry to Wheeler, H. objected, and sent a brigade, because more would damage his move to Tennessee, Bgd. instead of stopping him, allowed his change of the order and sanctioned the move. Your plan was begun, he cooperated in it, and then let it be abandoned, let Hood go off "275" miles and there began his defense of what had been done before.

You write that I was "with you on the field" in the battle on the outer lines around Drury,—this is a mistake. I started soon in the morning, and late in the day, long after the enemy had been for two hours flying towards Proctor's Creek, I became convinced that Bgd. was very uneasy and would do nothing, so I started for Rhd., met Hoke, told him that we were remaining idle, "checked by one sentinel" and "a few flankers in the woods, while the enemy were flying by us;" he replied "we are waiting for Whiting" I answered W. is not coming, or he would have been up, the prey is before you, and you are letting it escape, he repeated "we are waiting for Whiting,"—I said, handing him a biscuit—"here is a piece of hard bread for you," "nothing more is coming off here." I went to Major Drurys, staid over an hour there, you came up and went on soon, I did not approach you. Shortly after some cannon were heard, I supposed something might have begun, and again went to the field. I spoke to Preston Johnston, but did not go near you. During the morning our troops, near the river, where the fight had been begun, did some firing. I suppose at the flankers of Butler's van, which was a sufficient indication for

Bgd.—with the sight of the flying enemy—to have at least cleared the woods in his front and made certain of the condition of affairs. If able to have driven Butler from the lines yielded which he (B) had converted into lines of defense—Bgd. ought to have moved out, and if practicable to have intercepted his retreat. I am certain Bgd. expected to be attacked, and feared to move out. I do not know enough of the roads to understand how Whiting could have made a junction with B on Saturday night. Bgd. had yielded the outer lines to Butler, who occupied them; perhaps Butler did not occupy them till Sunday I know not; but Bgd. did not make that objection to you, and Whiting's courier I supposed satisfied you both that the move was practicable. Bgd. you say was "inexact." I doubt if he ever had distinct ideas about anything during the whole war, except the vision of making himself appear a hero, with the consciousness that he was a dramatist and a blunderer.

I have read recently Sidney Johnston's life and mourned over him, with personal grief, though I never saw him, and can conceive how much his loss must have pierced your heart—it was a terrible trial to your fortitude.

That book I sent you calls the Nashville expedition the "Davis Hood campaign." I admire Dick Taylor; think his performances on Red River equal to anything Jackson did, but his blunder in sustaining Bgd. was shallow, he needed asking no questions of you, he knew that Bgd. was put by you in command of both armies—his troops and Hoods—for combined action and unity of purpose.

I want to unite Johnston Bgd. and Jordan as the common fountain from whence sprang all the calumnies against the commissaries. I sent you the slip from Harpers published by the last for you to read and *"return."*

Johnston only reproduces Jordan's libels about Manassas, Jordan wanted revenge, on *you,* for not making him a brigadier, on *me,* for forcing the decision that he was an impostor, with Bgds sanction. He did not appear at the Drury fight. Was he left in Charleston, what has become of him? When the war broke out was he not under charges for some rascality in the U. S. Q'masters dept.? Did Bgd. ever complain that I had treated him with "insolence" as Jordan avers? Did any other General assail the methods of the Commissariat?

You write that Hardee was with you in the Conference with Bgd. and quote his words—is he alive? If so better write to him.

You speak of conferences with the corps commanders and

that the army was recovering their spirits somewhat from the "baleful effects" of the retreat from Dalton to Atlanta; be careful; J. E. J. quotes both Hardee and Lt. Gen. Stewart I think, to prove that the men were not dispirited by that retreat but on the contrary were in fine spirits and perfect confidence in the Genl. commanding; better leave that comment out of your book; allege fatigue from a long retreat which implies impaired spirits.

I would be glad to profit by your invitation "to winter" with you and thank Mrs. Davis as well as yourself. Age does not recover from disorganised knee joints, under renewed damage. I am seriously lamed, and have to get up at daybreak every morning to start my "small affairs" as Jordan calls them though unable to follow them up.

My wife is old and feeble and can't do without me. I say my Pater Noster under an instructive state of affairs, and can't neglect them, or desert my wife to seek pleasure,—even if I could travel. I hope we will meet in Purgatory, for as I pray for Pius IX and my admirable mother, it would not be consistent to expect you to escape and I am *certain* I won't. I gave my place a name; admonishing me of my future or next abode, when I leave this.

Purgatory is a "sweet hope"—as heaven is called for the Evangelicals, if not for *it,* I would be saddened with the possibility of "going farther and fairing worse" as the Irishman expressed it—the aula coelestium are remote.

May God prosper you and yours; my wife sends her love, finding that I am writing to you.

Adios, yours ever,
L. B. Northrop.

My dear Davis, you have been most villainously maligned and North and South alike worship only the dollar, and the sensualities of life, and seem indifferent to existing virtue or past rascalities; what you can't prove, let *carefully* chosen forms of words show intrinsic truth.

P.S. Do you want Lawton's letter to me giving Gilmer's statement that you sent him to Charleston with "extraordinary powers"?

endorsed:

L. B. Northrop; ansd. 1st Nov. '79.

W. M. Polk[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

To His Excellency—
Ex President Davis,
Dear Sir—

Pardon me for troubling you, but I am obliged to, seeing that you alone can give me what I want. My father Bishop Polk wrote you a letter on Sept. 27th 1863—It contained some observations on the Battle of Chickamauga—I have lost the copy kept, and therefore now apply to you for one—

You will confer a great favor by sending it to me—as without it my father's vindication will be incomplete—May I trouble you too for copies of any correspondence had with Bishop Polk in reference to his acceptance of his original commission as Maj. Genl. My father's memoirs will soon be ready for the press I hope—

Mr. Frank S. Lyon of Ala. my wife's father is staying with me. He desires to be remembered to you—

With great respect,
Your obdt. servt:
(Signed) W. M. Polk.

Oct. 17th, '79.
288 5th Ave.,
New York City.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
1st Nov. 1879.

My dear Friend:—

Since the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst. I have been suffering so much from a painful affection of the right hip and limb, that this acknowledgement has been delayed.

[1] Polk, William Mecklenburg (1844-1918), a physician, was born in Ashwood, Maury County, Tenn. August 15, 1844, graduated at the Virginia Military Institute in 1861, and during the Civil War was for several years assistant chief of artillery of his father's corps (General Leonidas Polk). He graduated M.D. at the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1869, settled for practice in New York, was professor of therapeutics at Bellevue Hospital, 1876-1879; professor of obstetrics and gynecology at New York University, 1879-1898; and dean of the Medical College, Cornell University, from 1898 until his death in 1918. Dr. Polk contributed many scientific articles to the journals. He also wrote much on the history of the civil war, and in 1893 published a biography of his father, Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General, 2 vols., New York.

Your remark about Beauregard having departed from my plan of campaign until he got 275 miles off, and from that point undertook to show its impracticability, is equally applicable to all the answers I have received to my inquiries on the subject. They all discuss the question from the standpoint of crossing the Tennessee River. When I said you were with me on the field at Drury's Bluff, I only meant that you were there also. My recollection being that we rode back to Richmond together. The direct road from Petersburg to Drury's was in view, if not occupied by the enemy. A circuitous route, by what was called the Chesterfield road was available for the movement of Whiting. It was by that his courier came and returned. On Sunday morning Col. S. Melton A. A. G. called to deliver a message from Genl. Beauregard. Said B. had decided not to bring Whiting to him, as I had proposed, but to let him come up by the direct road on Monday. I reminded him of my grounds for objecting to that, and he replied that Genl. Beauregard said he had troops enough to dispense with Whiting if he did not make a junction. I need not tell you as I had told Beauregard that an attempt to make a junction of troops on the field of battle moving from opposite directions with the enemy between them was extremely hazardous, and had been seldom successful. Melton also bore a letter to the Adjutant General. I do not know its contents. I have tried to get from him a statement in regard to the message he bore, but he has never replied. I have heard that he had turned "radical" and been made a judge in South Carolina.

Jordan I understand is in New York. I yielded to much pressure and once nominated him to be Brigadier. The Senate refused to confirm him and —— (too dim to read) explained to me that General J. E. Johnston had informed him that Jordan, as Assistant Quartermaster was a defaulter and under charges for embezzlement, and would have been tried but for his resignation on the secession of Virginia. The reason was quite satisfactory to me, and when the Senate adjourned I considered the nomination as extinct. But the Senate at a subsequent session took up the nomination which should have returned at the close of the session in which it was received, and under influences, which certainly were not those of the public good, went through the form of confirmation which I treated as a nullity. General Hardee died sometime ago, I applied to his son-in-law, who was his staff officer, in the hope that he had left something about the conference with Beauregard, but nothing was found. I have no knowledge of any complaint of

Beauregard against your treatment of him, and suppose Jordan must be responsible for the word "insolence." Nor do I remember that from any other source than the —— (too dim to read) under Johnston and Beauregard, were the methods of the Commissariat assailed. When supplies became short, grumbling was the natural consequence, and you remember that the Congress gave power of impressment to Generals in the field, not to the Commissaries, and you have not forgotten the result.

It was an officer of Lieut. Genl. Stuart's corps who came to me, after the corps commanders had left me late at night, to warn me against any attempt at active operations. He said his Regt. he was Col. of Alabama, had suffered so much that they were unwilling to fight any more. I sent for Genl. Stuart in the morning and reported the interview, he said that the man was a sort of crazy man, and got rid of it as well as he could. You say Jordan did not appear at the Drury fight, so far as I know he never was under fire during the war. Genl. S. D. Lee who commanded another corps of that army, told me that the spirits of the troops were reviving, and mentioned as evidence of it, that the men would call out when he was riding near their camp, "We'll charge intrenchments General, etc, etc." When I reviewed that army, with some familiarity with the expression of troops, ready to dare, and to do they looked to me as wanting in the elan I was accustomed to see in the Confederate soldier. Col. Peter B. Starke, who commanded a body of Cavalry, detached from the main army, asked me after the review how I liked the looks of the troops. I acknowledged to him that I marked in them an air of depression, which I was not accustomed to see in Confederate soldiers. He asked me to come and review the Cavalry, and said there was none of it among them. A letter from Hood, which like most others of value to me has been stolen, explained his failure to tread upon Sherman's heels, and force him to battle, as due to his want of confidence in the troops at that time to perform desperate deeds. Having no fear of Hood's death, and always impressed by his earnest friendship for myself, I waited for his forthcoming book to make satisfactory revelations in regard to the movement into Tennessee. He was a true friend and a gallant soldier, but might fall short in defending truth, lest he should thereby offence those with whom he wished to be friendly.

My dear Northrop, what the world denounces as impracticable, crabbed men, are the only ones who never look at the rack to see there is fodder in it or not, they are not the blessed in this

world, and I have come to think that the apothegm in regard to the eternity of truth, and its final prevalence must find its fulfillment in the future state. I dare not attempt to discuss a doctrinal question with you, and will only say, if we do not meet in Paradise I join you in the hope that we shall meet in Purgatory lest we go further and fare worse. I am deeply grieved to hear that you are so lame, and disappointed that you cannot come to winter with us. My wife had looked forward with pleasing anticipation to our reunion, and her joy would be if instead of leaving dear Mrs. Northrop, you would bring her with you (my heart would be less sore after seeing you both in our house V.D.) Our home has a name less significant than yours, and was given by its former possessor to express a beautiful prospect. The air is soft. In winter especially the sea breeze is invigorating. The oranges are shining golden on the trees, and our pine knot fires soar in the chimneys, in their light I try to bury my unhappiness.

Mrs Davis joins me in love to you and yours.

As ever, your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

C. W. Frazer to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Mr. Jefferson Davis, Memphis, Tenn. Novr. 11, 1879.

My dear Sir,

Your very kind letter of the 31st Oct. (ult.) was received, and I was not the more certain after than before that the case presented would meet your earnest and prompt attention, and that being fully informed, you would pass the proper judgment.

I send you by express all the papers on file in the War Dept. as received from Genl. Wright on my application for the whole record. I do not remember that I made any statement, (I could have made a strong one) if I did, it is not with Genl. Wright. Since writing you first, I have examined my papers, and find none, the only thing being my memoranda book, or journal.

Should you in reading these papers and such others as you may have, conclude to say anything respecting your message or the affair, explanatory or in the way of postscript or correction (and such would be of incalculable satisfaction to my family) I would merely suggest, that if it could be put in the shape of an *indorsement* or *foot note* to the message, or to those or rather the original papers, and be so published with them, that it might be the best way.

You will readily see, that, inasmuch as the United States have seized our records and among them, the dispatches of Genl. Jones, and statements of Maj. McDowell and Hunter &c., and intends publishing them and your message, that I ought not if I could, withdraw the statements of Van Leer, Wilkins, O'Connor, Hunter's (first statement) and Genl. F's, all made while in prison, and without any other information or conversation with *citizens,* than had transpired up to the 9th Sept. 1863, and certainly not without any knowledge that there were any *reports* and telegrams in *our* War Dept. concerning it.

I know and I know you and Genl. F. would vastly prefer, that your message and addenda should be the only reference to it on our side; for it is a sorrowful task to refer to the inability or cowardice of even a conscript, who put his hands on a gun in such a cause as ours; but self protection and honor demand that some of the truth be told, and it was elicited with no intention of *publication,* but with the sole view of correcting in history, an impression which being once made, could be only properly answered in that way—and hence our silence to the last moment. I append a list of papers sent, on the last sheet, and hope they may reach you in good time, and that you may be physically strong enough to carefully wade through them, without fatigue if not annoyance. Were I able to leave here, I would at once go to Miss. City, and read them for you.

I am very respectfully Your obt. svt.
C. W. Frazer.

(List.)

Genl. Burnsides (on surrender)
" Shacklefords "
Col. Dr. Courcey, "
Genl. Frazers "
Sheliha, chf. staff.
Cowan to Martin.
McDowell to Stringfellow.
Wright to Jones.
Hunter to Gorgas, out of prison.
P. D. Hunter, in prison.
Wilkins to Frazer "
Van Leer " "
Wilkins and Vanler " "
O'Connor to —— "
note of Frazer to V. & W. "

The falling of Cumberland Gap on the heels of Vicksburg and other woes brought out condemnations and remarks and created impressions that would not otherwise have been thought of or made, and met a spirit in the Confederacy that would have condemned Moses and the prophets unless their action had been as quick and timely as the drawing of the water from the rocks.

(You will see that Maj. Printup of the Ga. Regt. changed his mind, while moving to a Northern prison; he was emphatically in favor of a surrender some *before* Genl. Burnside came up. I now remember a remark I made to him and others, as to the troops never having been in action &c.—I said I had, and if 200 *brave* men would stand by the flag, I would change its color to black, I had no response, but enough of this.)

The wounds that then bled afresh at every wrench have been healed entirely in some, cicatrized in others, but as to some few (I think you are one) death alone will close them, as I *now* believe the United States flag will taint the breeze that floats over the resting place of the *last* Confederate; so that, history can now to a certain extent be dispassionately read, where it is not personal, and fading impressions can be obliterated by it.

C. W. F.

endorsed: From C. W. Frazer 1879.

Crafts J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

U.S.M. Hospital,
Chicago. Dec. 4/79

My Dear Friend,

I have and I thank you for your last and kind letter of Nov. I had no other point in asking you, other than that I wanted the statement of one, on whom I could absolutely rely, as I only could and would on you. The whole thing I consider absolutely ridiculous. It was right for you to escape—and that point decided any means whereby you could be certain to do so, was right.

Dear Friend I write you at once, for I do not feel right—scarcely able to do so, rightly I am today far from well. I have never been well since Shiloh. Today I feel very badly indeed as if I could not be worse,—It is on that account I write you at once, because it is one of the possibilities I may not be able to write you again.

I do not know how far you stand with your own friends of the Confederacy. There are times when (I) doubt if any thing is legitimate. You can depend scarcely on anything or on any one. I have written to one or two of your friends on matters I had in thought or hand, but I have either got no answer—or answer such as you would not have made—nor in your true interest to make. It would appear as if we were to change position politically again. Looking to the country, rather than to

political party and really think it just as well for the general interest of the whole country. It is possible for you to come up if you can be quiet.

Of course I cannot say this to any but you—My friends are near all Republicans—some not. Mathews—Davis—Burrough Plumb—Oglesby of the Senate—Garfield—Banks, Butler, Ewing —Banning—&c. of the House. Waite—Drake—Swayne—of the U.S.C. and court of claims. The two Shermans and the President—as also the Secretary of the Pres.—these are some of my friends.—I do not know that any are extreme Republicans—but what so ever they are, in the new deal the solid south are sure to come to the front and to power. Why not you—if those of the South stick together and to you. I am far from sure they will. You did not reply to the question I put you some time past. Who were your friends in Senate, in House—Have you any who will stick. Political friends generally mean nothing.

I asked you the question because I had some points I wanted to make. Before I had this last letter I had obtained from the Dept. abstracts from reports about your capture and disguise —were especially from Adj. Gen. Townsend—I had also written a review quite caustic of Gen. Wilson's article, I do not care much for lesser men. I do not know how it will be received by your friends. I know it will not be well received by my own. But Davis I cannot calculate the effect of ill receipt against an old friend whom I think unjustly dealt with. On this question I had sent an article to the Pha. Times. Could I have got it in a Chicago or a Cin. paper (for which I write) I would try there, but it occupied too much space. I do not know that the Times will publish—but if they do they will send you copy. Of course I do not know how it will read—or how be received by you or your friends. You have to omit or conciliate to get before the public and I have tried my best to work on the Hays feeling. H. and wife have (been) old friends of my family, and R. his clerk is especially so—his wife was dhr. (of) an Epis. Clergyman. What I could do—what I thought right to do for you or your wife I have done and I have written whether it please you or not. I hope it will please you and do you good for I fear it is the last I can ever do for class mate or friend.

Should it please you (the article) then so far as you can let your friends show the Times, that their publication has been no loss. I have ordered quite an extensive circulation of some hundred among your friends and mine.

I have tried to aid in this defense both you and your wife. I have stated how different your views and mine are and of course your wife's. Perhaps they may not reach your convictions but they are my honest ones.

I hope to meet you next year but I fear I may not judging by what I feel as I write you this most hasty and imperfect letter—the best I can do today. I know I am getting infirm, and troubles effect my brain a little—Next year I shall be July 13/78—70 years, and my wife 69. I may have a photograph of each for you should I reach near next June. I recollect your wife very vividly though I saw her but a moment when you were Sec. of War. I always regretted my daughter did not make herself known to you, when she was often in Richmond during the war—her husband a commissary under McGruder. Ex.P. Tyler was very kind to her.

Now as ever
Your friend,
(Signed) CRAFTS J. WRIGHT.

Hon. J. Davis.

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
11th December 1879

My dear Maj. Walthall

I only expected to find you in the Pavillion after preparing the notes.

You had told me you would not return to me, before leaving.

Does not Yulee's analysis show that the North imposed the prohibition and that the South accepted the "compromise" after failing to get rid of the incumbrance, on the admission of Mo.

I cannot be a full blooded Bourbon, for the point as to my objection to Yulee's charge against Mass. has entirely passed from my memory. The fact as I recollect the action of Mass. was, that she made a threat of secession, conditional and dependent on a number of things the Legislature could not control, and that the threat or intimation was not redeemed.

Ever faithfully,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Maj. W. T. Walthall
Lotos
Favor of
Thornton

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
Sat 13th Dec 1879

Maj. Walthall,
My dear Sir,

I gave Thornton a slip cut from the San Francisco paper having some historical references which I thought might be a valuable addition to those we have heretofore made. I also send you the dying warning of Z Chandler which you will see has been manufactured for effect, as have the last words of other criminals. Please return when you have read them, & we will talk over it some time hereafter.

Did you see my letter to the Editor of the Rock Islander? and a notice of it in this mornings Picayune? I send you both papers.

Very truly yours,
Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(From New York Public Library.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
13th Dec., 1879.

Dear Northrop:—

I have this day received yours of the 10th. Col Broadwell has been dead for some years. It is probable that I may get the information you want from his Uncle, J. W. Payne, who engaged actively in the shipment of sugar from Western Louisiana, his own crop, as well as others. He, as the Uncle and patron of Col. Broadwell took a deep interest in all that concerned, and was generally acquainted with all he did during the war. Mr. Payne is now absent from his home, New Orleans, but is expected to return in the course of a week. He is my personal friend, and has been my business agent, or factor for more than thirty years. He combines a retentive memory with great accuracy of statement, and I hope will be able to tell what you wish to know.

I mailed to your address the copy of the "Lost Cause" which you sent to me. A new addition of the work with some enlargement has just been issued in New York, and somebody forwarded

a copy of it to me. That part of it which concerns us is the same as in the former edition.

In regard to the particular matter of which Pollard treats, and quotes a note of mine to Sec. of War of Oct. 31st, 1862, I cannot speak with entire certainty. I well remember that there was a stringent law to prevent cotton trading with the enemy, also that the belief was very generally entertained that cotton was necessary to him to maintain his finances, but I more particularly remember that a proposition was made to send bacon and flour through the Yazoo Pass and down the Tallahatchie into the Yazoo, and that I refused to permit it, and for reasons which were probably not given to the public, but which I think were subsequently stated fully to you, and were at the time acknowledged to be satisfactory. I will state the case now. Anticipating the attempt of the enemy to use the stream flowing out of the Mississippi River at the Yazoo Pass as a safe mode of turning Pemberton's position. I employed some men to cut heavy trees at proper places for the obstruction of that navigation, and regarded the proposition to send in supplies by that route, as a ruse for opening the navigation. Subsequent events convinced me of the correctness of my supposition and my recollection is that though you disapproved of my decision when it was made, you agreed upon the above showing that I had been right. I cannot fix the date of the proposition to which I refer, therefore am not sure that it is the same as the one on which the note was written to the Sec. of War and quoted in Pollard's Book.

I have been quite ill for several weeks though partially relieved, have not entirely recovered. This reference to my physical condition may serve as an intimation to you that I always desire to know how you are when you write.

My wife joins me in affectionate regard to Mrs. Northrop your children and yourself.

As ever your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Dec. 15th, 1879

My dear friend,

I have had much to do and a little sore throat. Thanks for your last and kind wishes, and invitation to the bright oranges and balmy air,—contrasting with the cold of this region; let

the rescally Confederate politicians say what they did, you *are* a practical man. If there is a purgatory you are willing to prefer it to faring worse. I will drop theology merely reminding you of your effort to infuse a little into me after the champagne treat which you gave us on the eve of your departure from Fort Gibson.

I sent you a letter to forward to Col. Broadwell for me, and today have received the "Lost cause" which I gave to you, scratching out what I had written because I had found another copy of it for my own use. Joe Johnston had a Q'master of his own selection I believe who was a defaulter of millions lost gambling I heard who bought at high prices 50000 or 60000 bushells of corn at high prices which was in exposed localities all of which was lost. I am trying to get the details. A very clever man, James Hunter, a civil engineer, told me in '61 that he had proposed to Johnston to put up tramways between his camps and the Junction without success; in consequence, hundreds of horses were killed pulling through the mud. It was a general's business to have attended to it of his own head, situated as his army was. He could have got quantities of forage in Fauquier and Loudon which he did not while his horses were starving, the deaths of horses were numerous. I am trying to make these thinks out.

I send a slip of newspaper, Bgd is trying to shift his ground about Shiloh; it is reported he has a book in print. I hope it will come out and fix his positions. Preston Johnston let him off too easily, and ought to sift this matter. He is well able to do it. Can you not get him to do it? The son of A. S. Johnston should strip the peacock of his plumes. P. Jn. studied that affair fully. Can't you stimulate him? It is reported that Joe Jn. is to introduce a bill to make Grant a Captain Genl. for life with a large salary.

Universal suffrage with an elective judiciary and what is called state education (of the head) with no religion will or has made this government a nefarious organization to deprive men of their noblest rights and minorities of their vested rights.

There is no room for love of country, all this talk of virtue and honor of states and paying of their debts is stuff, such constitutions as now are said to exist with universal suffrage and an elective judiciary, are incapable of making contracts; and can't bind their successors. Conscience must not be talked of, it yielded the point when under constraint the states agreed to repudiate confederate state debts; if conscience yielded to force, it ceased to exist. I am not a Virginian and now care for

no state. I am a "ticket of leave man" bound by my parole to appear for trial whenever called on by the President of the U. S. and laugh at the praters of state honour "Patriot candidate for an office" "patriotism the last resort of scoundrels" as old Dr. Johnston asserted. Do tell me confidentially must you not discredit both Johnston and Beauregard as preliminary to commanding the confidence of the country in your statements?

I hope you are strong and free from sciatica. I know by my own experience that a hot iron passed rapidly over the seat of pain in the hip is the best remedy for *that* as well as other pains of a neuralgic character. I have seen the voice much restored by using it over the seat of the vocal cords externally. I have used it on my knee in former times with great effect. Get a cylinder of iron one inch thick the diameter of a half dollar with a curved rod of this shape issuing from its center ⊙ to put the finger one inch from the cylinder, hold it over a lamp, when the finger becomes too hot to bear the heat, *then* pass the under surface which was in contact with the flame rapidly over the seat of pain very often, continuously, it will not scarify or raise the skin, and will not hurt much, will cause a glow over the surrounding parts, and give prompt relief, and if repeated whenever the pain recurs will relieve the suffering for days and do substantial good; you will like it soon. It is better than chloroform externally, or any other rubeficent. If you can see Beauregard's book before you publish it will be best I think.

Do you know if it is in the publishers hand?

I hope you and Mrs. Davis are well. I was 68 Sept. 8th; my body feels age, I feel that I have more sense than formerly but my feelings and tone and character seem to me the same; others seem to change with time. Purgatory is my consolation.

affectionately yours,

L.B.N.

endorsed:
L. B. Northrop; Dec. 1879; answered Jan. 14, 1880.

Hunter Davidson to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

10-A Pall Mall, East.,
London, S. W.

16th Dec. 1879.

My dear Mr. Davis:

About two years ago, a ship that belonged to my department and on board of which I was living, in the River Plate, was

destroyed by gun cotton, and in her I lost everything of any value I possessed, including all my papers and correspondence.

Soon after our war, you were kind enough to give me a letter in commendatory terms of my Services under your Administration and that letter was of the greatest value to me on several occasions. I find myself here now, and my claims to having been the first to use Torpedoes successfully in war, or to have organized a regular system of Torpedo defence, disputed.

The Russians claim precedence, and the English, of course ignore everything but what they have done themselves.

It is all important to me that I should be able to establish the fact, (which my letters lost two years ago would easily prove) that I was the first to organise a regular system of Electrical Torpedo defence, and to destroy vessels thereby in War. (The *Commo. Jones* was completely destroyed at the time, and the *Commo. Barney* lost 36 lives and was towed to the Washington Navy Yard and broken up.) Also that I was the first to inflict injury upon the enemy by the use of the "Spar Torpedo", and to escape with my command uninjured. (As in the attack on the "Minnesota")

If you will kindly give me a letter to the above effect, and saying something you may think of value in reference to my services, you will confer a great favor and benefit upon me.

At the same time I beg you will give me the address of Mrs. S. R. Mallory, or any of her family.

There are many of your friends who are exceedingly anxious to know when your work upon the war, which I often hear you are writing, will be published. Such a work would have a large sale in Great Britain.

With my kindest remembrances to Mrs. Davis and best wishes for you all, I remain,

Faithfully your friend and servant,
(Signed) HUNTER DAVIDSON.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Albemarle Co. (Va.) Dec. 20, 1879.

My dear friend,

I am sorry to learn the death of Broadwell; he was a man of honourable interests and integrity—few Americans like him. It seems that your sickness continues. I gave you some of my experience the other day, and undeterred by the possible suspicion of pedantry, will now venture on a little science, without

demonstrating it however. The generation of the vital functions must be aided, as age renders the disturbance of the equilibrium of the vascular and nervous systems, more easy and frequent. The capillary action is the most potent of the forces of the vascular system, and through the skin and backbone we can get at the spinal system; deduction is plain, wear flannel shirt and drawers and when you feel badly your skin will indicate it. Have a good fire made in your room, double a blanket to lay on, and toast your whole back and body just as long as you can stand it, if too hot, draw off a little, but keep at it, until conscious of feeling much better. This proceeding acts like a charm even in summer, in damp weather it is specially good. My wife would die before doing it; she thinks it an unbecoming position, but as we have lived some little in the woods it is not unsuitable. It will cut short an impending catarrh otherwise inevitable —more promptly than a dose of opium or other anodyne; it is a superadded force, not a management of internal forces already enfeebled. "Rashon" as the Osage says.

I want to contrast Sidney Johnston's conduct—retreating through Nashville and trying to procure stores at the risk of being cut off, with Joe Johnston's burning Thoroughfare and Manassas stores when there was no danger to him or to those depots. When I was considering the chances, to determine on using the great packeries at Nashville, Shelbyville and the current of stock to those places, or of driving the stock south with no suitable buildings for large operations, I believed that Johnston would have to retreat and Nashville be possibly lost, but if beaten I knew not where there would be safety so acted accordingly. I prohibited from the first my chief commissary from shipping stores to Bowling Green except for temporary use, except on the application of military force when S. Johnston ordered some accumulation of them. Yet I issued thereon such an order of force as was right; this proves my expectations and belief in the danger of Nashville. Thoroughfare was safe, while Jackson held the lower part of the valley, and J. Johnston covered the line from Occuoquan to Leesburg. If he and Jackson were beaten or driven, Richmond must have fallen and nowhere was safe. Neither General was consulted, the future was as open to me as to them; the one general acted like a cool far seeing enterprising man; the other acted like the creature of circumstances, and *now* utters shallow afterthoughts, which strangle one another. I don't want to blunder for want of knowledge of facts. Just tell me if this relative view of antecedent facts, as to Nashville and Thoroughfare concurs with

yours. Thoroughfare was established in Oct. it was as safe as anywhere during the winter and opening of spring, and *while* we could confront the enemy; if we were unable to do that, where was a safe place? Thoroughfare had suitable buildings, water and a R.Rd. and had to supply beef and pork to the army, to collect from outside and the surplus was cured; under the same circumstances I would put it in the same place. Johnston could not altogether abandon that country untill McClellan had and he did not. Read over this and tell me if you concur, if you do not I will drop it. I want to raise no disputable issue.

I was sorry to see in a paper yesterday a statement that Mrs. Dorsey's will is to be assailed. I thought that the statement of Mr. Farrar was conclusive. You were bound to maintain that will. I hope it will not worry or occupy you much. You want to know my condition. There is no chance of my recovering much use of my limb. I walk with a stick weakly and with pain, but am just as cheerful as formerly, and the comfort of toasting my back is large compensation in the material order, and the purgatorial institution which I expect to enter hereafter corresponds with my spiritual condition, so I am "rectus in curia totus tires atque volundum" as I feel when I get on the back of my elegant grey. My wife is shut up with cold; on my reading your kind messages she mused and said, "Ah what a handsome man he was when I first saw him,—the very man to captivate woman," so your message must have been agreeable to her.

Adios. affectionately yours,
L. B. Northrop.

endorsed:
L. B. Northrop; ansd. 14 Jan. 1880.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
Jan. 14, 1880.

Dear Northrop:—

I have received your letters with enclosed slip. Beauregard's statement about Shiloh might be better worth if he had been actually upon the field before ordering a retreat. The difficulty in Preston Johnston's case as in that of any other who writes on that subject is the impossibility of getting men to state in

a manner to be used, the truth as known to them orally, they have said to me many things, which in that miserable spirit of harmonizing now endemic—they cannot be induced to put in writing. Governor Harris of Tennessee, now U. S. Senator was by Johnston's side when he was wounded, helped him from his horse, and when he died went to look for Beauregard, the second in command. He found him far in the rear, I think he said two or three miles.

Harris has been a personal friend of mine, manifesting always much interest in my welfare, I am therefore, unwilling to press him for a statement which he does not appear to have been willing to make to Preston Johnston. He is a fearless and a truthful man, would not prevaricate or mis-state, but might refuse to answer. You are quite right in your apprehensions about Bowling Green, and as a consequence, the danger of making Nashville a main depot. It would not have been proper in me to reveal a distrust which might have created a panic and especially while I was hoping for the arrival of arms, which if they had been received, would have enabled me to give Johnston an army equal to his necessities. General Gilmer the engineer was sent by Johnston to Nashville to procure the necessary means to fortify the town, he received neither aid nor encouragement, so that when the forts on the Cumberland and Tennessee fell, and Johnston with his small force had to retreat, Nashville had no preparation for defense. You truly contrast his conduct on that occasion with J. E. Johnson's retreat from Manassas and burning the packing establishment at Thoroughfare Gap, as well as numerous stores at his own Headquarters. When no enemy pressed him, and when not even the invitation of his fires could induce the enemy to pursue him.

Kingsbury writing of the Battle of Buena Vista said, if the last shot fired at the close of the second day's fighting had killed General Taylor, the morning's sun would have risen upon the curious spectacle of both armies in full retreat from the field on which they had fought. So it was with Johnston and McClellan. The latter countermarched, and the former retreated with out having a definite object, destroying large and valuable supplies, which had been gathered for the army, and the want of which was subsequently to be bitterly felt. In the condition of our army, as accurately described by you, and of the R. R. transportation which we possessed, I did not then see, nor do I now perceive why Thoroughfare Gap was not a suitable place to collect and cure meat from our exposed frontier. Subsequent events certainly show that the burning was most un-

necessary and that the supplies could have been brought away even after our army had retired towards Richmond. I do not think Johnston can say he retreated because McClellan no longer threatened him, he certainly did not know of McClellan's counter movement when he decided to retreat, and if there be any justification in his turning, it must be that his retreat was forced, and that he feared the supplies would be captured as soon as uncovered. A like hasty evacuation and destruction of public property marked his operations elsewhere as at Yorktown and Jackson, Mississippi. All bad enough but the worst of all was the case to which you refer. After reading over your statements carefully, I do not find in the premises or indicated conclusions, anything in which I do not concur.

I do not know when Beauregard's memoir will be published, I suppose Jordan could tell, if indeed it is to be a recital of things known in the past, or at present, or if not, to be worked up from future gatherings.

I am much obliged to you for your suggestions as to the treatment of my ailments. I have lived longer than the period allotted to man, and have suffered more than is often man's fate. You are older than I thought you were, but a mistake of that sort on my part is not surprising, for I was asked recently to state my age so as to settle a dispute between a friend of mine, and an acquaintance of his. I answered 70, and did not recollect until after we had parted that I was a year older. I am truly grieved to learn that your lameness continues, and that you have no hope of relief from it. If you were not a medical man, or were not in the habit of applying the rigid standard of truth to everything, even in an examination of yourself, I should have more hope that you might be mistaken. I am sorry you could not escape from the cold winter of Virginia and gratify us by a visit. Mrs. Davis joins me in affectionate regard to your wife, as well as yourself, and children, I am as ever, cordially,

Your friend
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus, Feby. 2nd, 1880.

My dear friend,

The severity of winter is on us. I have a sore throat, have to keep in and watch the fire; we have mass in Charlottesville semi-monthly. I could not go. My signora did, and astounded

me just now by taking up her prayerbook to look over the epistle read yesterday, for me to help her to understand it, but in vain. I consoled her by St. Peter's declaration that it was hard to understand, and as St. Paul in the case in question says he "speaks foolishly" we had better give it up and humbly confess that we speak a great deal of foolishness habitually. So you will please to consider compassionately whatever I may write now. I prefer to write just now to my last living contemporary friend than to attempt enlightening my wife on an author always too difficult for me.

I am truly sorry that you suffer hopelessly from any causes, eye, old wound, sciatica, and general neuralgia. Helas que faire, I can only pray for you believing that He before whom is ever present all possibilities of being, with all their contingencies, wills that his providences shall be often consequent on the charitable remembrance of one human person for another.

I send you Lawton's letter. I have failed to extract anything more, having tried.

I wrote to Ruffin asking for information as to the propositions mentioned in Pollard's book and of another, never brought before you. I asked for the vouchers of the parties that Lincoln had sanctioned them, of the respective routes of delivery and reception. He promised to answer, subsequently wrote that the papers which he had deposited in the library of Virginia had been stolen, that his summary of testimony was in the N. Y. Herald of July 1st 1865. I endeavored through a friend to get that summary, was answered that no one not connected with the office could have access to the files of that press. I shall again ask Ruffin for his *recollection* of these vouchers, and of the aforesaid routes of exchange.

I wrote to French in N. Y., who has become rich, he answered cordially giving me nothing. I wrote again more specifically. He remains silent, purposely so I think; don't care to be troubled is the explanation. I have now an impartial contempt to all politicians; and indifference to American generally. Older nations have traditions and idealities.

I wrote to Parker Campbell. He also has become rich. He was Genl. Polks appointment; I got him afterwards,—a real business man, evidently well bred,—answered cordially at first, but silent to my second letter.

The principles of Christ our Lord are sublime and the very best rule of life, but for those who are not governed by them the code of honour and the "39 commandments" of the Irish Code constitute the only rules which compel courtesy and hon-

ourable dealings. Good manners, true politeness and real gentlemen will be things of the past—only traditional in the next generation of Americans.

My letters and enquiries to many people in S. Ca. Va. and N. Y. have imparted the idea in the latter place that I am writing something at your instigation. I have been informed that something of that purport appeared in the Tribune, and French said that I could not do justice to myself without criminating the party who was urging me to write. I replied that J. E. Johnston's book was the cause of my contemplating an article, that I would be very glad if he would furnish me with any facts to my advantage,—criminating you, that if I referred them to you, your statement thereon would I knew be more favourable to me than any I could make—no answer.

Did you ever read Wilkie Collins' little novel called Griff? He and Little Peter were street Arabs,—the latter cared for by the former; Griff's dog was poisoned; they buried him in the rain; at the obsequies, Griff said, take off your hat little Peter and denounce the poisoner, and solemnly turning said "say Damn him Little Peter." Damn him said Little Peter.

I am frequently tempted that way, but seriously have the most profound pity for Americans in particular. The love of comfort, sensualism and money being omnipotent.

When I hear again from Ruffin will write you but do not expect to get any details, the reference to the N. Y. Herald seems a finality.

Remember me to Mrs. Davis.

Yours affectionately,
L. B. Northrop.

P.S. Just written to Ruffin.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
14th Feb., 1880.

My dear Northrop:—

In Hood's recently published book "Advance and Retreat" you will find a conclusive answer to the misrepresentation that his movement into Tennessee, instead of following Sherman was the result of my instructions, also proof of my having given all the aid which was within my control to enable Hood to defeat Sherman's further progress toward the South. See pages 245, 255, 273 and 278.

The assignment of Beauregard after our full conference at Augusta should have prevented the embarrassment reported to have been realised from the necessity of drawing supplies from a Department not under the command of Genl. Hood.

I thank you for the letter of Genl. Laughton and will try again to get a statement from Genl. Gilmer as to the orders under which he was sent to Charleston and the subsequent instructions with which he went to meet Genl. Beauregard when retreating from Columbia, he seemed fatuitously to change the direction of his army towards Wilmington which would have been to put it in a cul de sac. Then I gave Gilmer two letters, one requiring Genl. Beauregard immediately to resume the route to Charlotte, the other directing Gilmer in the event of Beauregard's hesitation to obey the instructions of the first letter to relieve him at once, and assume command, and then to go on to execute the instructions of the first letter, so as to put the army between Sherman's forces and other troops of the Confederacy.

I applied long ago to Gilmer for copies of these letters and can only attribute it to his failing sight that they have not been received. I have always regarded him as a very true and able man, and do not intend now to suggest anything the reverse of that opinion.

Mrs. Davis joins me in cordial regard to Mrs. Northrop, and yourself. I am, as ever,

Sincerely your friend,
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

William Norris[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Hillside, near Reisterstown, Md.
February 15, 1880.

My dear Mr. Davis,

I see by the papers, that a publishing agent is en route to Beauvoir, and an irresistible longing, that the Signal Corps should be alluded to by you, approvingly, in the forth-coming history, is the cause of this letter. I am sure that you will look upon it as a pardonable weakness.

While making History of the grand events of our sublime struggle, I can scarcely flatter myself that you recollect much about the Corps which I had the honor to command; its services, were necessarily neither glittering nor Fame-chronicled. But I believe, they were useful and efficient, ashore and afloat and

[1] Major Signal Corps, at Richmond Dec. 10, 1863.

that as soldiers, their bearing was always loyal and gallant and true. Strongly confirmatory of this opinion and in terms very flattering to myself, are a number of testimonials, from our ranking officers, both Army and Navy. (At the time, I contemplated entering the service of the Khedive of Egypt as Chief Signal Officer.)

If, from this testimony and from your own opinion you *could* give us three lines, telling that we did *what we could,* (however little) for the honor and glory of the Confederate cause, it will be a source of the deepest gratification to us, to the end of our lives.

We are all looking with the deepest anxiety for "the History" and in our daily prayers, we never forget to thank God, for giving you health and strength to complete it.

Your namesake, now 14 years old, sends you his love; he is a noble boy and bright as a diamond. He and his younger brother (Catesby Jones) are among the first ten, in a school of two hundred. I shall send you Jeff's photograph.

May we not see you, at Hillside, this summer? My wife joins me in that hope and with kindest regards to Mrs. Davis and *very best* wishes for yourself.

Sincerely yours &c

WILLIAM NORRIS.

P.S. Would be glad to know that you received a pamphlet several weeks since—"The Monitor and Virginia."

endorsed:

Wm. Norris; of Signal Corps; ansd. 20th Feb. 1880.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(From The New York Sun of June 22, 1890.[1])

Beauvoir, Miss., Feb. 18, 1880.

There was no doubt in my mind as to the facts you have discovered, but the difficulty was to find authentic proof. Among my letters of that period (July and August, 1861) I have found one written to Gen. J. E. Johnston, at Manassas, from Richmond, Va., dated Aug. 1, 1861, from which I make the following extract: "A few days since I received a telegram from Beauregard stating that some of the regiments were without food. An addendum was appended from Col. R. B. Lee, commissary, that the deficiency was of hard bread and bacon, and that he was

[1] The above excerpt of a letter from Mr. Davis to Col. Northrop appears in a special from Baltimore to the New York Sun written by Eugene L. Didier, who states that the original letter was in his possession at the time the special was sent. The present whereabouts of the original is not known.

offered abundance of beef and flour by the inhabitants of the surrounding country. I returned the telegram to Gen. Beauregard and called his attention to the inconsistency. If under such circumstances the troops have suffered for food, the neglect of the subsistence department demands investigation, and the proper correction, not only to remedy the evil, but to afford an example which will deter others from thus offending." I do not know what Gen. Beauregard's explanation was, but I find a letter addressed to him by me, Aug. 4, 1861, calling his attention to a letter he had written to the Hon. Mr. Miles on the wants of his army which had been read to the Congress, of which I wrote to him as follows: "Some excitement has been created by your letter. The Quartermaster and Commissary-Generals feel that they have been unjustly arraigned. As for myself, I can only say I have endeavored to anticipate wants, and any failure which has occurred from imperfect knowledge might have been best avoided by timely requisitions and estimates."

I do not recollect what Miles's letter contained, but, as my memory serves me, it was a statement that the want of transportation and supplies had prevented Beauregard from pursuing the enemy after the battle of Manassas. For I called his attention to the fact that he moved troops from the extreme left in the night, say seven miles, to provide against an anticipated attack upon our right, and, therefore, could not have known how completely the enemy had been routed. The neglect of providing means for hauling supplies from the depot to the camp at Manassas was in keeping with all of Johnston's subsequent career. I will here confess that I have never read more than detached pieces of the malignant and false work which he has put forth as a narrative. I have always intended to read it, as a necessity, but have put it off as one does the taking of a nauseous medicine.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus (Va.) Mch. 8th 1880.

My dear friend,

Your two last have reached me. My wife has been sick with a catarrh for 3 weeks shut up now convalescing, and thanks to Jordan's "Parish doctor" I never hd medical bills to pay.

I expect to get Hood's book soon the "new system" which Johnston condemns and on which he lived from Dalton to

Atlanta; t'was to meet just such cases as Hood's, and provide troops in exhausted depts. I do believe that Dick Taylor was next to Sidney Johnston, though he did carelessly overlook Beauregard's delinquency. You say you are going to try Gilmer again, in vain I believe, but what matters your statements are enough as against Beauregard. I answered all of the complaints about Manassas. They have added some not appearing then—to my case. *Did Johnston* ever allege as he now does to you that I had forbidden Fowle or Lee to buy meat or bread if needed? I had a policy which I wanted to establish respecting fixing the market and stopping the prices and wasting the 5th qr. of beef important for hides tallow and oil from the feet, worth $12 each in money value *then,* but invaluable to us as we were situated. Who would suppose that a general could let his troops need food for present use, or for contemplated movements, when they could be brought or taken? His letter to Genl. Cooper was to make a case, and recoils on himself pitifully. I wrote to Fowle that the necessity of introducing the use of bonds, and reserving currency for the essentials required me to (two words illegible) of the minor article *rice* until it could be thus bought and that success had accrued thereby, and if the men were "clamorous" he could reconcile them by this explanation. I made similar explanation to Bgd., but the whole cabal wanted the men to be clamorous.

After the gale of complaints had subsided I wrote you a long letter 4 1/3 pages of foolscap—when Johnston spoke of the health of his troops, and his conviction that 4 days bacon per week was so much better and more healthy than 2 &c. I reviewed the past, commented on their nonsense,—very sensibly, laid Johnston out, told you my plans for the future, which these instructive Generals had never thought of, ending by the remark that *should there be any more complaints sent "to your excellency* I am ready to meet them."

I want to know another thing. Some time after, I got a letter from the Adjt. Genl., that I was made Comm'y Genl. I was too busy to think of it, do not remember ever having replied to it, nor its date, and if any oath was required, I certainly never took one.

An Alabama man told me that Walker, sec of War, had imbibed a considerable esteem for me. Was it his suggestion or yours,—to make the advance from Lt. Col. to Col. and C.Gl.? I hope it was his. Do you remember?

The purpose of Johnston Bgd. and their clacquers, was to fasten on you the charge of sacrificing your cause, country, and

self, to the appointment of an incompetent feeble favourite, and my contempt for the American people irrespective of the inevitable effect of general principles of government, and social habits, has ever since been sustained by their acceptance of that stupidity; the southern people exhibited themselves as credulous and distracted as the Irish. By the by the Charleston people thought that everything should go to them. I knew a splendid Irish boy son of a ship carpenter, and got Mallory to appoint him a master, much to the chagrin of the chevaliers of revolutionary origin. An expedition was going out, so the day before Pat was removed from the vessel, and an aspirant of glory put in his place, the boat sank, all hands were lost, and Pat Power reserved for future uses. His father who was one of Smith O'Brien's "exiles from Erin" who spoke and sang songs in the Irish language wrote to me on the occasion a beautiful and eloquent letter worthy of an Irish *patriot,*—who was ignorant of Dr. Johnson's definition of the word—beginning with "Glory be to God" rejoicing in the providential deliverance of his son, and not very dolorous for the fate of his rival. Ingraham I believe is friendly to me, but his partiallity against Pat was fatal. I was in at the death of an Irishman with yellow fever, met Power who adopted the orphan child, with my paying annually an equivalent to one half of the expense and care, and thus knew what a fine lad Pat *was;* and invaded the rights of Charleston accordingly. Tell Mrs. Davis I put this in for her benefit. Mind, I do not mean to say that she will enjoy the drowning of the other lad, but the incident is picturesque.

Johnston's "*historical* Narative" may be epigramaticaly discribed thus—He says that the "southern people judge him with their hearts and not with their minds."

Genl. Johnston and all those who judge him with their hearts —including the Rich'd Examiner and the author of the lost cause, are always right.

Mr. Davis, the Commissary Genl., all those who judge him with their minds, and the rest of mankind are inevitably always wrong. Amen, let Little Peter speak.

Adios yours ever L. B. N.

P.S. I have the letter of Lee to Rhett dated July 24th and note on the back that he had telegraphed the same complaint to the President the day before. Did Lee really telegraph to you as from himself or by order of Johnston? These men were blinded by spite.

endorsed:

L. B. Northrop.

R. Adeau Barlow to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

The Chase,
Lavender Hill,
Enfield Chase, N.

24th March, 1880.

My dear General:

I leave this Country today by the "Germanic" which carries this to you. I have to visit Indianapolis, Chicago and Philadelphia to see the Principals of our London business in the flour Trade which is daily increasing from America, and England cannot match it.

My son, Jeff. Davis, who was 19 on 14th Feb. has developed into a very fine young man, as tall as your noble Self— He is Cashier in our London Firm, and will become partner in time. I shall be obliged by your writing to me as soon as you receive this to,

Messrs Gibson Co.,
Indianapolis, U. S.

and if you know any shippers in the flour Trade, I should be glad of your introduction to them. I should like to come to see you, but after Easter and the coming General election, which I much fear the Tories will again win, I am wanted home, and must leave the great Country either by

Baltic 15th April } From
Celtic 24th April } New York.

I saw Duncan the other day, doing pretty well now, and had he only been "Called" to our Bar, Mr. Benjamin, Q. C. would have helped him on.

I am glad to learn the welfare of your children and the marriage of your daughter now 3 years since. When may we treasure the hope of seeing you here again? I have now a home of my own in which to welcome Mrs. Davis and yourself. Major Harding desires to join me in warmest regards to you.

Ever, my dear President,

Most sincerely yours,
(Signed) R. Adeau Barlow.

General, the Honorable,
Jefferson Davis.

J. F. Gilmer to Jefferson Davis.

Savannah, Georgia, March 29th, 1880.

Honorable Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir,

I have your letter of 23rd inst. and it gives me pleasure to answer the inquiries therein contained as fully as I can; but I regret to say that I have no copy of official order of February 1865, directing me to join General Beauregard at Charlotte North Carolina when he had fallen back before General Sherman's advance from the City of Columbia, nor have I copy of your written confidential instructions given to me at the same time—both having been lost with the papers of the Engineer Bureau. Hence I can only give their general purport.

The official order directed me to join General Beauregard and to do all that was possible to delay the advance of the Federal Army (should it be directed toward Western North Carolina) by obstructing the roads, crossings of the Catawba River, and other water courses, and if need be by building temporary defences. This with a view to gain as much time as possible for the concentration of the remaining forces of General Hood's army, then marching Northward through the Western districts of South Carolina, as well as the troops of the department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

The confidential written instructions I was authorized to report to you directly such matters in the progress of events as would keep you fully advised as to the situation.

On my arrival at Charlotte North Carolina, about the middle of February (the precise date not remembered) I met General Beauregard who had just reached that place, accompanyed by one or two of his staff officers, I soon learned the situation of affairs to be as follows.

General Stevenson's command was near Charlotte, General Stewart's within a few days march, but General Cheatham had not advanced his command north of Newbery South Carolina, having been delayed by freshets in the streams crossing his line of march.

By despatches from General Wade Hampton it appeared that Sherman's army, after reaching the vicinity of Winston changed in direction of march toward Fayetteville North Carolina,—thus making it pretty certain that there would be no invasion of Western North Carolina.

Hampton's Cavalry hung upon the flanks and rear of the

Federal forces, attacking them at every favorable opportunity.

About the 23rd of February General Joseph E. Johnston was assigned to the command of the Army of Tennessee and the troops in the departments of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, and directed to concentrate all available forces. He arrived at Charlotte a few days after that date, and had full conferences with General Beauregard as to the condition of affairs, and then entered upon the command. In order to place himself in front of Sherman, General Johnston moved his headquarters to Fayetteville, and left General Beauregard to protect the Rail Road from Charlotte to Danville against raids, and to forward the troops of the army of Tennessee, as fast as they arrived to Smithfield, North Carolina.

The 4th of March I accompanyed General Johnston on his way to Fayetteville, as far as Greensboro, and then returned by way of Danville to Richmond, to resume my charge of the Engineer Bureau.

In reference to the defences of Nashville, Tenn., I will say that it was of the first importance to hold the lower Cumberland, and Tennessee Rivers; and it was to these our energies were devoted—and *second* if the lower positions were lost it became a necessity for the Confederate forces to move promptly, as events demonstrated, to a point of concentration south of the Tennessee River.

Your many friends are looking with much interest and anxiety for your coming book, believing that our cause will be placed right before the world, and that many errors will be corrected, and sores healed by your impartial history.

With sincere regards, yours

Most truly,

J. F. Gilmer

Jefferson Davis to J. F. Gilmer.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Missi.
April 2nd, 1880.

Copy.

Genl. J. F. Gilmer,

Dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for yours of the 29th ult. I regret especially the loss of the confidential letter which I gave you at the time of your departure to Gen. Beauregard's Hd. Qrs. The fact that it was confidential, and to be used in a contingency which might not arise, sufficiently explains why it was not copied into my letter book.

I will enclose in this copies of my official letter to you, and of telegrams to Genl.s Lee and Beauregard, both before and after the date of the order to you to proceed to Genl. Beauregard's Hd. Qrs. These may serve in some degree to recall the memory of the events concerning which I wrote to you.

I will also give you my recollection of the whole case, and will thank you as far as your memory serves, to note as much as you confirm, and whatever you dissent from.

Lapse of time, and loss of papers, have greatly increased the difficulty of writing with the exactness which is not only desirable, but necessary. Therefore in a transaction known mainly only to you and myself, I hope you will excuse me for asking the aid of your memory.

The first telegram of which I send you a copy, was caused by reports that Genl. Beauregard was about, after entering No. Ca. to change the direction of his column to the East, and remarks in effect, that he seemed to be crazy.

The next copy of the letter, addressed to yourself may serve to remind you, not only of the date, but somewhat of the tenor of the letter, the contents of which were known only to you and myself; and you will observe that two days after the date of those letters a telegram was addressed to Genl. Beauregard at Chester So. Ca. in which he is informed of my expectation that he would move on the left of the Enemy, and the warning that the R.Rd from Wilmington would not probably be available to him.

The anxiety I felt at the prospect of our troops being led into a cul de sac, by leaving the straight route open to the pursuing Enemy, caused me first to seek Genl. Lee's services, and those not being available, to turn to you to prevent so fatal a blunder as that referred to.

The official letter which you were to show to Genl. Beauregard, would entitle you to his consideration as one employed to advise him.

The confidential letter, authorized you if he did not immediately conform to the views of the Executive, in regard to the line of retreat, to relieve him and assume the command of the Army yourself, so as to secure conformity to the views which had been orally and fully stated by you. The correspondence between Genl. Beauregard and the War Dept. was as usual through the Adjt. Genl. In those letters, if I had them, would probably be found whatever relates to that extraordinary idea of turning to the East, while the Troops with which a junction was to be made, were yet to the West, and the pursuing Enemy

was directly to the South; as well as the answers from the War Dept. in relation to the matter.

The contingency on which the confidential letter was to be used did not arise, as Genl. Beauregard did adopt the route to Charlotte. Soon after this, in conformity to the opinion and wishes of Genl. Lee, Beauregard was superceded as Comdr. of that Army, by the assignment of his Senior Genl. J. E. Johnston.

You will oblige me by telling me freely where and how, if at all, our recollections differ, as well as wherein they agree.

With sincere regard I am yours,

(signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

endorsed:
copy of letter to Genl. Gilmer on the subject of the Confidential letter to him containing copies of telegrams.

Wm. P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

704—14th St.
Washington, D. C.
April 14th, 1880.

Personal

My dear Friend:

I have desired to write to you on several topics, for a long time, but from one cause and another have not done so. Last fall finding that my publishers had abandoned the sale of my book, I tried to take it up and make it effectual; but from lack of co-operation on their part my efforts have been in a great measure paralysed. They have never sold any books in N. C., S. C., Geo., Ala., Mo. or Ark., or offered them for sale. I do not think they have sold 500 copies, except through agents recommended to them by myself. Dudley Hayden alone has sold about 1500 copies out of the 4000 copies reported to me as sold, and some 300 or more are charged to me.

Little or nothing has been done in Texas. They have refused to advertise and consider my book dead. In view of these facts I am trying to buy the copyright back, with stereotype plates and engravings. They offer them to me at $600. and I may arrange with them. My arrangements with the Appletons have not proved satisfactory, and I have not found them just men. They have no organization for the sale of subscription books in the South. It may be too late for you to avail yourself of my experience; but our relations make me feel it to be a duty to say so much to you that you may protect yourself as far as you

can *in advance*. Your book ought to prove a success independent of your publishers. It will to a great extent *sell itself*, and build them up the subscription book agency they lack in the South. This is my hope for you.

I was in St. Louis trying to establish an agency there, when I was called here by employment to argue a large patent extension case before the Committees of Congress, and to brief the case of the Southern Railroads for relief for rolling stock forced upon them at an over valuation in 1865. I have given my clients satisfaction, and will receive a reasonable compensation for my time here. But no employment here before Congress is pleasant as a man is more or less identified with the lobby in the minds of his friends.

I long for the time when I can find some (any) honorable employment which will enable me to live with my family in independence. My life has been a long up hill struggle, without fame or ease or reward, and I expect it to continue so, until I fall in the harness. I thank God I have no very special grievances, at least from friends, and any hard licks I get from "the enemy" I do not count.

Since I have been here I have been studying the political situation pretty closely, and I believe I understand it as well as any one. In 1876, we put up Tilden as the representative of "Reform". At that time we could make an aggressive campaign with him. Now, if he was nominated, we would be put on the defensive. He is very odious, also, to the South, and we *cannot* carry Va., at least, for him. I regard him as an impossible candidate. A mere personal candidate cannot beat Grant or Blaine, both of whom represent an idea, a sentiment and a personal following. The *eternal* principle at stake is states rights or local self government, vs. Centralization. Every (any) good Democrat to a certain extent represents this principle. We have been beaten on it heretofore in the North because it has been handicapped with secession or slavery or both in the minds of the voters. They want a thoroughly "loyal" man, and we must concede this much. This excludes Bayard and Hendricks both, or at least makes them doubtful. The objection to Hancock in my mind is that he takes away the arguments against Grant. We must fight for the Supremacy of Civil law over force and personal government. His capacity is not great, and the Catholics have a prejudice against him. Besides if Grant runs, it would be lieutenant against Captain. He has one advantage, the threat of "inaugurating Grant anyhow, whether elected or not" would go for naught. I think this would also

be the case, if Morrison were nominated; but he is a narrow, bad tempered man.

It seems to me that Judge Field comes nearer than any other man to emphasizing the situation. The Supreme Court have laid down the platform of despotism, and Field by accepting the issues in his decisions has as clearly laid down a platform of State Rights on which we can fight in the North. It is not as advanced as we could wish; but we are fighting for an eternal principle, even though on a more retired line than in 1861. He is free from the objections of slavery and secession. Personally, he has qualities to command respect. Though not a soldier, he has the nerve to grapple Grant with force if necessary, and gives the assurance that he would do so, if usurpation were attempted. I do not believe that Seymour, Tilden, Bayard, Hendricks or Morrison would. But enough of all this. I hope Mr. Barksdale will not commit himself to the Hancock movement. It will land us in failure and defeat.

My family are well, except Mrs. Johnston, who always begins to suffer at this season. They are in Lexington. Hennie, you know, is married to Mr. Henry St. George Tucker and lives in Staunton. She is well and happy. She has a good husband, a very able and promising young man. She lost her eldest boy, my name sake, which was a great grief to us all. She has another little fellow, about six months old, named after his other grandfather, John Randolph Tucker. Dodie may be married in the fall to a young man every way acceptable to us, George Robinson of Louisville. Albert is at Harrisburg, Penn., a clerk in the iron business. He is doing very well. All my girls, even Carrie are taller than their mother, and hearty. Albert is 6 feet high and weighs 160. He is handsome, active and strong and has good habits; but would not study. My sister is in Louisville and has a good little school. I have never seen her as well and happy.

Please give my affectionate regards to Mrs. Davis and to your daughter, Winnie, if she is with you. I beg that you will remember me kindly to Genl. Joe Davis, whom I count among my friends. I had hoped to get to New Orleans this winter, in which case I would have made my pilgrimage to your home; but circumstances prevented.

Wishing you every happiness, I am
Sincerely as ever your friend,
(Signed) Wm. Preston Johnston.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

Nahum Capen[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

Mt. Ida, Dorchester, Mass.
May 1st, 1880.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Your favor of 18th Ult. was duly received and with much pleasure. The pleasures of correspondence are great when the participants are actuated by motives to acquire knowledge and improve character. It has been my lot for more than half a century to correspond with distinguished thinkers, both at home and abroad, and to me it has proved to be a source of instruction and supreme gratification. I have sought to know men eminently capable of imparting knowledge. I have regarded myself only as a pupil and my most intimate friends have been able to add knowledge to their kindness. If in any way what I have said or done has proved to be a benefit to any one or to society, it is only to be regarded as a privilege like that to be found in the ability to pay a debt due to humanity. All our powers come from God, and all our possessions are trusts.

My correspondence has been my recreation, my rest from labor. As yet I have allowed myself no vacation and have promised myself none, until the 2d and 3d volumes of my history are completed. My perseverance under difficulties of delay, incident to personal and family wants, is based upon a cheering faith that I have a sacred mission to fulfil both to my country and humanity and that all the delays to which I have been subjected are but Providential appointments to secure the thoroughness and faithfulness in my labors and to bless my undertaking with the closing privilege in the final chapter of recording the last days and funeral of the Sectional Party that so long has threatened and endangered the life of our beloved Republic. That I had no fears for the Union was made sufficiently evident by my brief Chapter upon its Nature in the Republic of the U. S., published in 1848.

When Wm. B. Reed commenced to edit the papers of President Buchanan, he collected letters, so far as possible, from all his correspondents. I selected from my file some forty or more, and he assured me that they were the most valuable he had recd. at any time.

In my list of political correspondents, I find the names of

[1] (1804-1886) author, originator of movement for international copyright, and for national census.

President Van Buren, John Quincy Adams, Dan. Webster, Charles Francis Adams, Edward Everett, Governor's Lincoln, Davis, Clifford and Briggs of Mass., Abbott Lawrence, Rufus Choate, Theodore Lyman, and many others, men of science, of Mass.; of Governors Marcy, Dix, Hoffman, Seymour, Peter Cooper, of N. Y.; Governors Seymour, Toucey, Ingersoll and others, of Conn.; of John C. Calhoun, President Pierce, Caleb Cushing, Vice President Dallas, R. H. Gillet, Edmund Burke, Gov. Hendricks, Gov. Allen and Senator Thurman, Gen. Cass, Prof. Henry Richard Vaux, Gov. Wise, of Va., Thomas Jefferson and Geo. W. Randolph, of Va., and many others, indeed, altogether too numerous to mention.

Your request that I would write you as often as my convenience would permit, and your remark that my letters afforded you pleasure, has led me to inflict upon you these particulars and to assure you that I highly appreciate the compliment. From the first of our acquaintance, more than a generation ago, I became impressed with your high qualities of mind and with that spirit of duty to principle which make the solid foundation of enduring friendship and fraternal attachment. With me, *once a friend, a friend forever,* is my motto. If wrong, to aid in guiding him; if right to enjoy his guidance. In the past, you have ever been regarded as one of my most valued correspondents, and I need not add how welcome will be your letters in the future.

Having been called upon to give Reminiscences of Spurzheim and Combe, from 1832 to 1842, as the only one living having the materials, I decided to go through a period of more than 50 years, to examine my files of letters and documents, on all subjects pertaining to humanity and to make selection to be preserved. I committed many hundred worthless letters to the flames, but I saved several thousand on important subjects and such as were sacred to friendship. My collection of Letters and Documents on all subjects probably exceed any private collection to be found in the world. This great labor will prove to be most important to me, in completing my work, as it has disclosed a great variety of facts which will be now readily available.

I was called upon last year by several friends to act as a critic of certain biographical sketches written for a Volume published in New York, the title of which you will find in the sketch which I have the honor to send you. It was a labor of love on my part and it took so much of my time, the publisher felt constrained to offer me, without expense, a sketch of your humble servant. My respected friend, Col. J. W. Preston, son of Rev.

Dr. Preston, of Ga., knowing of the offer, volunteered to prepare it. The Manuscript was so much longer than the other sketches in the Volume, I omitted at least one half and then it proved to be the longest in the Volume. The Volume is a splendid Quarto elegantly bound and sold at $25.00 per copy. A few copies of my separate sketch were printed and sent to me, for particular friends and relatives. I send you one by the same mail that takes this letter which accept with my best regards. At some convenient time I will give you some reminiscences *not* embraced in the sketch.

I am glad to learn that you purposed to give some attention to the philosophy of Usury Laws. When I was a publisher during the crisis of 1837, our firm had extensive accounts throughout the country and lost largely by failures. I turned my attention at once to the *causes* of these failures, and I did not limit my inquiries even to this country, and this led me to discover the leading cause, in the payment of high rates of interest. Not one in a hundred, in our large Cities, who continue 25 years in business, succeeds, without failing! There is *literally*, no commercial success. This startling fact led me to study the philosophy of the Usury Laws, and some of the results you will find set forth in the Pamphlet I sent you. It will be an easy subject for you to master, and if you give your mind to it, I feel confident that I can predict your conclusions. Your judgment would have great influence if published.

Mrs. Capen joins me in best regards to Mrs. Davis and to yourself and family. Believe me,

Ever and faithfully yours,

(Signed) NAHUM CAPEN.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus (Va.) May 23rd 1880.

My dear Davis,

My health and strength has been much impaired by that 5 months suffering from revived injury to my knee and the torturing exema with Prinigo Tenitis; there must have been some ligamentous rupture about the joint; it is weak, painful, enlarged, and my movements are laboured. Your recent letter contains one thing of value the T/g with Lee's addenda. It

proves what other things do that Beauregard was the mouthpiece of somebody else besides Lee, and with Johnston's complaints and other facts, that there was a combination, and that these generals, with ample powers and plain duties and abundant resources around them, deliberately choose to let their troops suffer (if they don't lie) in order to fasten on the President the crime of supporting in office an alleged favourite imbecile.

I am getting many little things together involving others,—Bayne and Seddon—but I don't care to damage anybody except Johnston and Bgd. They were bad malicious and false, and I hope to show them so.

I think I have the other papers you refer to. I wrote to Bgd. and Fowle that as regards the small rations the Treasury required that Bonds should be used—*must* be—so funds for essentials was my rule, and I would "graze on want" [1] for the small rations untill parties would take bonds. In June '61 I by letter to the Sec. of War informed him of my want of money and that the purchases in N. O. and Nashville had to be returned to the sellers, because only current funds would be taken. For the essentials bread and meat, my plans were ample and right and to stop speculation in both, and save the hides and tallow and oil from skins, I checked Fowle. The neglect of the Generals regarding the R.Rds. stopped both troops and provisions from going forward, but there is no possible excuse in their not supplying their men, not only with present necessities, but with reserves just as ample as their judgements indicated to be important, and their confessions prove *their* guilt.

In regard to trading with the enemy, it might have been elaborated indefinitely. Butler's offers were unlimited. Broadwell was satisfied of success and assured us that provisions flour bacon coffee and tea with clothing and &c would be given for cotton. The contract for 30,000 hogsheads to be delivered at some point to be settled was made by Jeptha Fowlkes.[2] This was the proposition in Randolph's time, to which you objected. I think I was not permitted by Seddon, afterwards to reorganize a trade through N. O. Pollard of St. Louis in the fall of 1864, backed in his proposition by an old law partner of Lincoln, obtained a contract with Seddon to furnish an assorted cargo of medical Quartermaster and Commissary supplies the basis to be ante bellum prices for goods and cotton the point of delivery to

[1] Note by copyist:—the three words in quotation marks are the identical ones referred to in letter of Mch. 8th, on page 2.

[2] Other offers were made by parties in the West and North West but the military cooperation could not be arranged.

be an agreed place on the Miss. or Yazoo rivers at which the cotton was to be placed, the whole under the protection of Genl. Polk and the management of Dameron at Meridian. All the arrangements were made with my approval by order of Sec. of War.

The steamer came three times, twice De Bow the agent of Meminger refused the cotton and the boat went back. The third time it made a landing was captured and plundered by a body of Confederates. Seddon refused to compensate and it was not done untill too late by Breckenridge. Seddon first approved this scheme, finally disapproved it.

A man recommended by C. Clay was appointed to trade on the borders of Tenn. and Ala. cotton for meat; there were conferences in my office, everything was arranged and had begun to work satisfactorily, but Dick Taylor broke it up by General Order. In the mean while my agents were trading all around Va. and N. C. by my authority alone—sub silentio, and this became a very large business; there were nearly 30 little agencies around Va. trading yams and tobacco for bacon and on the Blackwater in N. Ca. 1500-2000 bales of cotton I think were traded every month.

At length an arrangement with Baltimore was made; six steamers were engaged to run regularly, one or two cargoes were delivered but Grant found it out and stopped it. That Lincoln approved is certain but he did not dare to order Grant to permit its reestablishment.

The Sec. of War officially knew nothing about these latter arrangements but they supplied Lee with meat. The chief manager of the N. C. trade was Major Tannahill. Dr. Stewart sent Maria $50 belonging to me in gold; I gave it to Tannahill and told him to buy me bacon in Blackwater and I got a splendid supply of sweet bacon which fed my family to the end.

The blockade management was put under Bayne, why, I could never understand. I had frequent interviews with him and Seddon. My plans and contracts were never allowed or broken, and excellent contracts thwarted until too late; at the same time that Power Lowe & Co. brought in for me two cargoes without conditions, their reasonable offers having been refused by Bayne, the latter B. was by Lowe's account then purchasing Precious Stones. Adios.

Yours ever, L. B. N.

P.S. I have run over Hood's work. He exposes Johnston's prevarications on the Retreat to Atlanta, and statements of losses, and intention and provision for holding that town—his

slipping off, with all the army papers, which should have passed to his successor; and probably using acquired information (to hasten his flight to Macon) which should have been given to Hood.

Large supplies had been gathered at Atlanta. Cummings was adding to them. Johnston demanded at Dalton to be supplied from the former town. Cummings objected that the army commissaries ought to be able to feed Dalton. Johnston said it was impossible, and invited Cummings to try, which the latter did, and failing fed the army from Atlanta. Such is his own actual refutation of his claim that a general ought to have had superintendence over supplying Depts. of his army, and of his sneering condemnation of what he terms the "new system"—which was from my Bureau. Hood does not assume "the responsibility" as you allege (in a former letter) for the move on Nashville. He *claims* the credit of planning and conducting it, but *fixes* the *responsibility* on Beauregard; who spent "two days" near Lafayette in considering it. After that *two weeks* at Tuscumbia in dwelling on it; on both occasions approved and by letter and order showed the desire to share in urging speedy execution. Had it been successful his long letter to you could have been referred to, "showing his approval of the plan" and controversy, and understood opposition to it on your part.

These people are too disgusting; the old monks who fled to the deserts of North Africa to get clear of the villianies of their fellow men were the wiser part. Adios.

L. B. N.

endorsed:
Col. Northrop; May 1880.

James D. Bulloch to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

63 Upper Parliament St.
Liverpool May 29th 1880.

My dear Mr. Davis,

On the 22nd Inst. I briefly acknowledged receipt of your letter of May 5th. Upon a more especial consideration of what you say, I perceive that you do not want a full and complete history of the Naval operations directed from this side, and I shall therefore prepare a brief sketch giving list of ships fitted out and dispatched &c &c.

I have been looking over records—they are very voluminous. The correspondence fills a full sized chest.

After the sailing of the various ships the Commanders did not report in detail to me nor did they regularly advise their captures. This was under the circumstances impracticable, besides which, direct communication with the Cruizers would have compromised my position.

I have more than once thought of preparing a complete history of these interesting events but at the close of the war I was compelled to turn my attention to urgent family affairs, and many private and some official persons would have been compromised by a full statement of our naval expeditions, or at least their names would have been made public in a manner not agreeable to themselves.

Mr. Laird for example was hurt by the allusions to him in Semmes book. He told me at the time, that as Semmes had nothing to do with the building and equipment of the Alabama, and never saw her until he was put in command of her at Terceiva, he should have left her origin in the dark. I mention these matters to show you that there has been thus far a reason for reserve.

I will hasten the statement for you as much as possible, and you can paraphrase and incorporate as you may think proper. This it seems to me would be better than to annex an incomplete history as an appendix.

I hope to learn from your next something of your family and especially that you are in good health.

My wife has not been well of late, but my children are strong and healthy. Business has compelled me to be often absent and for long periods. I have lately returned from a visit of 18 months to Brazil.

I am ever faithfully
JAMES D. BULLOCH.

endorsed:
J. D. Bulloch; about Naval affairs.

James L. Pugh[1] *to W. T. Walthall.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Gen. W. T. Walthall, Eufaula, Ala. May 31st, 1880.

My dear Sir,

Your letter of 12th ult. to Hon. David Clopton was sent to me by him with request that I answer your enquiries in relation to an address directed to "Our constituents" dated at Washington

[1] Pugh, James Lawrence (1820-1907), a political leader, was born in Burke County, Ga., December 12, 1820, removed with his parents to Alabama in 1824, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He was a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1859, to January 21, 1861, resigning his seat on the secession of Alabama. He was a member of the Confederate Congress from 1862 to 1865, having

City December 14th 1860, and signed by many members of the Senate and House from the States of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina Louisiana Texas and South Carolina.

You desire to know "by whom, under what circumstances, and for what purpose it was drawn up, and whether it was published or circulated privately"?

I have a distinct, identical recollection that the address was first written by Senator Wigfall and myself, and when presented to Senator Davis, he made some verbal alterations and put it in its present shape. The address was published, and its sole purpose was to influence the several State Conventions, then soon to assemble, in favor of immediate "separate state secession."

Perhaps I can revive the recollection of President Davis by stating that we were troubled by our fears that Senator Slidell would refuse to sign the address, and Senator Wigfall and myself decided that Senator Davis would have more influence than any one else in securing Senator Slidell's signature. When requested, Senator Davis readily joined Senators Benjamin and Wigfall and myself in making a call upon Senator Slidell at his private residence where we found the then Minister of France.

Our fears in reference to Senator Slidell's action were unfounded, as he did not hesitate to sign the address. These are all the facts within my knowledge and they fully answer your enquiries.

Please remember me to Mr and Mrs Davis and reassure them of the continued and unabated strength of my friendship.

Truly your obt. svt.

JAMES L. PUGH.

(Memoir concerning organization of Confederate Government, election of President Davis, &c &c. Montgomery, Ala., May, 1880. F. M. Gilmer.[1])

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Montgomery, Ala., May, 1880.

In view of the importance to the future historian that a correct history of the Confederate Revolution now ended be preserved, I deem it proper to make known facts in its early organization,

been a private soldier in the army before election. He was a member of the Alabama constitutional convention of 1875, and served in the U. S. Senate from November 2, 1880, to March 3, 1897. He died in Washington, D. C., March 9, 1907.

[1] Francis Meriwether Gilmer (1810-1892), native of Georgia, citizen of Alabama, home Montgomery, of family of Virginia Gilmers, one of the

not fully understood, as to why Jefferson Davis was elected President of the Southern Confederacy, and further state, why I, not a member of the Convention, should know them.

In Jany. 1861, Govr. A. B. Moore of Alabama appointed the late Honl. A. F. Hopkins and myself Commissioners to the State of Virginia, for the purpose of obtaining the views and cooperation of the people of Virginia, by Legislative expression, with the Southern States.

We spent some twenty days or more, interviewing the Legislature of Virginia, in furtherance of that object, when Govr. Morgan of New York notified the President of the United States and the Governors of all the States, that the "State of New York would furnish 75,000 men and means, to suppress the Rebellion;" upon receipt of this dispatch, Govr. Letcher of Virginia convened the two houses of the Legislature and read to them said dispatch. In answer to said dispatch, Mr. Douglass a member of the house of delegates, to whom I handed a resolution, written on the margin of a newspaper as follows,—"In the event of coercion, Virginia will be found side by side with her Southern Sisters," offered the same, which was unanimously adopted,—thus fulfilling the object of our mission, and causing the Virginia Senators, Mason and Hunter to leave Washington and come to Richmond by the evening train, came immediately to the room of Hopkins and myself, where they remained to a late hour at night, and expressed much alarm at the idea, that Wm. L. Yancy would be the President of the Southern Confederacy, in which event, they regarded War as inevitable, and also regarded the response of the Virginia Legislature to the dispatch of Govr. Morgan of New York as secession and cooperation with the South.

They informed us of the wonderfull effect produced on the Senate of the United States, by Jefferson Davis in his retiring speech from that body, but Judge Hopkins in his zeal and ardor, in the vindication of the purity and patriotism of Wm. L. Yancy allowed himself to be completely drawn from the true objects of the mission to the merits of this gentleman.

After Messrs. Mason and Hunter retired, I reminded Judge Hopkins of his error, and insisted that we meet them next morning before the meeting of the Legislature and inform them that we were not there in the interest of Col. Yancy or any other man for the Presidency, but of asking the advice and the cooperation of Virginia, and if Virginia wanted Davis for President, we

Alabama commissioners to Virginia appointed to urge the secession of that State from the Union; one of the pioneer railroad builders of Alabama, was a business man of large affairs.

wanted Davis, and would report the same to the Governor of Alabama and the convention at Montgomery and that we believed upon the cooperation of Virginia depended the cooperation of the border States.

With these suggestions, Messrs. Mason and Hunter were satisfied, and cooperated with us, in obtaining the passage of the resolution by the Legislature of Virginia for a call of a convention with authority to secede.

The foregoing facts were by us promptly communicated to the Governor of Alabama and Col. W. L. Yancy, who made them known to the Alabama delegation in the Confederate Convention, which had promised to support Col. Robt. Toombs of Georgia for the Presidency but upon receipt of this information from Virginia, changed their purpose and supported Mr. Davis.

Thus it will be seen, that Mr. Davis' conservatism made him the choice of Virginia, and consequently the most suitable man for the Presidency of the Confederate States, and was elected President without his knowledge or expectation.

In view of these communications from Virginia, I was made chairman of a Committee to meet Mr. Davis at West Point Georgia, and accompany him to Montgomery, which committee was raised by the Confederate Convention of which I was not a member, thus recognising the importance of these communications from Virginia.

I will further state, that on my return from Virginia, I was met by Col. Yancy at the Rail Road Depot in Montgomery, who embraced me with both hands, stating that he had just left Governor A. B. Moore, who said "that in my appointment as commissioner to Virginia, he had secured the success of the Confederate cause in the election of Jefferson Davis as President and thereby the cooperation of Virginia and the border States."

I will further state that these communications completely won the confidence of Col. Yancy in my ability to advise him as to what position he should occupy in the organization of the new Government, and which he sought. After some reflection I advised him not to seek or accept any place in the Cabinet, but a mission to England with the view of allowing the border fears to subside and secure the trade of the World upon a free basis, thus creating the sympathy of trade in our favor, which he did, but the adoption of a permanent constitution by the Confederate Convention, with the 12% gold Import duty clause, completely paralized the efforts of his mission, and lost us the advantages of trade with the outwise World, and finally our cause.

F. M. Gilmer

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(From New York Historical Society.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.,
3d June 1880

Genl. M. J. Wright
My dear Sir,

Please accept my cordial thanks for your kind letter and the printed roster which accompanied it.

It was very good of you to press the matter of my private papers as far as you have, but Maj Walthall told me that once before the Secretary had given an order that they should be sent to me, but that Adjt. Genl. Townsend denied their existence, though Walthall said he had seen them himself, a large package with an offensive endorsement, that contained not only letters to or from me, but family letters with which my name was not connected.

I found all the letters which were from Genl. J. E. Johnston, and asked for by Col Scott to complete his file, and gave them, to Maj Walthall to be copied & forwarded except one which reflected upon a gallant officer now dead, and upon whose long life of useful service I did not choose to perpetrate any reflection.

Could you conveniently ascertain from the archives the true number of both armies engaged in the first battle of Manassas, distinguishing between the different arms of service, that is to say, the number of each separately. You may have noticed that the reports of our Generals do not state the numbers positively, and I have not see any report of the opposite side which did so.

I hope when you visit this section you will allow me to see more of you.

With best wishes believe me to be

Ever truly
Your friend
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. N. Maffitt[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

To the Hon. Wilmington N. C. June 7th '80
Jefferson Davis,
My Dear Sir:

The long delay in complying with your request originates from necessities that arose with the planting season and also

[1] Commander of the steam cruiser Florida C. S. A.

from a general attempt in my family to vamp up odds and ends of records and documents that were left on shore, on the trip wherein my Journal and important papers were committed to the sea, when captured appeared to be beyond a peradventure. All research has failed,—and it devolves upon *my memory* to offer the desired information now forwarded. I trust the package may reach you in safety and prove of some service,—as to oblige you will always be a labor of respectful regard as well as a demonstration of earnest sympathy. No one more fully comprehended the trials and difficulties that environed your late exalted position than myself. A position which subjected you to misconceptions, prejudices, falsehood and detraction,—all of which culminated in personal sufferings, as if the *assumed* crime of *Secession* was alone concentrated individually in you.

Northern maligners, with sectional hatred and cowardly aspersions may for a time falsify history, but truth is so devine in origin that eventually its empire will be established and soon I trust, surround you luminously with all that honor and reputation which is indegenous to courage, manly virtue, and honest incentives.

I have taken the liberty of sending for the acceptance of Mrs. Davis a copy of my *bantling Nautilus,* fancying it may wile away some weary hours of summer.

The Obituary on Admiral Semmes contains considerable naval information also the paper on Captain Cooke, hence I send them.

My frankly expressed views on various naval subjects are not intended for severe criticisms, it would have been a case of supererogation on my part to have presumed to dictate as to the method and manner of consummating national affairs. Expressed opinions are innocent and harmless, under the influence of sorrowful regret.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Sincerely and faithfully Yours,
J. N. Maffitt

P.S. When you have finished with the lecture or paper on *Blockade running* and the *Obituary of Admiral Semmes* I will be glad to receive them again.

N.B. June 10th, I this day forward the promised package and will be pleased if you will notify me of its safe reception.

endorsed: Capt. Maffitt.

Recollections of the C. S. N. epitomized.

J. N. M.

C. S. S. Sumter originally a N. O. and Havana packet. Admiral Semmes in his "Service Afloat" gives a complete history

of this vessel—the first Confederate armed vessel that went to sea.

The Alabama—her history is also complete in "Service Afloat."

The Florida—built in Liverpool in 1861—hull by Miller and Sons—engines by Fawcett Preston & Co., tonnage 560—engines horse power 250—barque rigged—average speed under steam 8 knots—under the most favorable circumstances not more than 9 knots, under sail in a fresh breeze 14 knots. Sailed from Liverpool on the 23rd of March 1862, arrived in Nassau on the 28th of April 1862 anchored in Cochran's anchorage about 9 miles from Nassau. On the 10th May 1862 I arrived at Nassau in command of the steamer Gordon owned by C. S. Government; the cargo consisted of government cotton and the steamer was to return with arms and powder. Lt. Low of the C. S. Navy who came over in the Oreto (Florida) handed me a communication from Capt. Bullock (our naval agent in Europe) in which he requested me to take command of the Confederate gun boat and get her *to sea without delay* as the American Minister Mr. Adams had made a report to the English Government that doubtless would occasion the seizure of the Oreto when the appearance of the vessel in Nassau became known in England.

Capt. North had been ordered to command the Oreto by the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Mallory, but he refused to comply with the order. This action on the part of Capt. North, greatly irritated Mr. Mallory, and he wrote a severe condemnatory communication to the captain which letter unfortunately fell into the possession of the federal government, and was published in all the Northern papers. Of course the character of the Oreto at once became known and much trouble and complication resulted therefrom.

[1] I instantly assumed *subrosa* charge of the Oreto. The trials and difficulties that beset me in saving the vessel to the Confederacy are best told in a lecture which I delivered by request before the Wilmington Library Association and which I take the liberty of enclosing—*not to bore you*—but for the information that can be gleaned in regard to the early and eventful history of the Florida. The lecture referred to gives a full account of our entrance into Mobile bay and dramatic escape therefrom, after an unavoidably long tarry for repairing damages, 35 miles from all the usual facilities, and when ready, the *vital* necessity to await a *winter* gale to successfully run through the largely increased squadron of blockaders that were ordered

[1] See lecture, in regard to arrest and trial.

to positively prevent the Florida from escaping and raiding upon the high seas.

My judgement in biding a proper time for risking the Florida to the vicissitudes of a formidable blockade was not appreciated in Richmond, and but for your fortunate visit to Mobile, and executive interference my rational and practical plans would not have been consummated. There has never existed a doubt in the service that had I trifled with my nautical experience the Florida would have been a captured or destroyed vessel before crossing the bar.

Our little Confederate fire brand commenced her illuminations in the Gulf of Mexico, progressing through the gulf of Florida to the lat. of New York, and from thence to the equator continuing to 12 deg. south, and back again to 30 miles of N. Y.

When near Cape St Roque we captured a Baltimore brig, the Clarence. At Lt. C. W. Read's request I fitted her out as a Tender with 14 men, muskets pistols and a 12 lb. howitzer and directed him to proceed to the coast of America, and destroy the U. S. commerce. Obeying his orders he proceeded to the coast of the U. S. and destroyed much federal commerce. Adroitly changing his vessel by which his destructive ability was enhanced. Daring even beyond the point of martial prudence, he entered the harbor of Portland at midnight and captured the revenue cutter Caleb Cushing; but instead of instantly burning her, ran her out of the harbor; being thus delayed, he was soon captured by a federal expedition sent out against him.

During her continuance in my command, the Florida, with her Tenders, captured some 55 vessels, many of great value. The amount awarded in her case by the tribunal of Arbitration assembled in Geneva I do not remember.

The Florida being lightly built, her very active cruising caused her shaft to work out of line, consequently it became necessary to repair to some friendly harbor where docking could be accomplished. I selected Brest, and the government courteously consenting to the Florida's having the facilities of the navy yard, she was promptly docked.

The deleterious effects of yellow fever still clinging to my system and being increased by the incessant watchfulness of my command, rendered it necessary that I should ask for a relief.

In accordance with my request Capt. C. M. Morris was ordered to relieve me.

After completing all the needful repairs, he proceeded to sea and sighted the coast of Virginia where he made a number of important captures. Deflecting from that locality he crossed the

equator destroying federal commerce on his route to Bahia. At this port the career of the Florida unfortunately closed.

After coaling and having some minor repairing done to the engines, the U. S. S. Wachusetts entered the harbor. Not knowing what act of treachery might be attempted by the federal commander, on the first night of her arrival the Florida was kept in a watchful condition for battle. This belligerent demonstration in the peaceful harbor of a neutral port alarmed both the Governor and Brazilian Admiral who demanded assurances that the sovereignty of Brazil and its neutrality should be strictly observed by both parties. The pledge was given. In the evening, with a chivalric belief in the honor of the Federal commander, Capt. Morris unfortunately permitted a majority of his officers to accompany him to the opera, and also allowed two thirds of the crew to visit the shore on leave. About one in the morning the Wachusetts was surreptitiously got underway, and her commander with utter abnegation of his word of honor, ran into the Florida, discharging his battery and boarding her. The few officers on board, and sparse number of men, were unable to resist this unexpected attack and the Florida fell an easy prey to the cowardly and dishonorable assault. She was towed to sea mid the execrations of the Brazilian forces, Army and Navy, who completely taken by surprise, fired a few ineffectual shots at the infringer upon the neutrality of the hospitable port of Bahia. The Confederate was taken to Hampton Roads. Brazil instantly demanded her restoration intact to her late anchorage in Bahia. Mr. Lincoln was confronted by a protest from the different representatives of the courts of Europe denouncing this extraordinary breach of national neutrality which placed the government of the U. S. in a most unenviable position. Mr. Seward with his usual diplomatic insincerity and Machiavellian characteristics, prevaricated, while he plotted with a distinguished Admiral as to the most adroit method of disposing of the elephant. The result of these plottings was that an engineer was placed in charge of the stolen steamer, with positive orders to "open her sea cock at midnight and not to leave the engine room until the water was up to his chin, as at sunrise, the *Florida must be at the bottom.*" (vide Admiral Porter's relation of the circumstances to me, in 1872.)

The following communication was made to the Brazilian Charge d'affaires: by Mr. Seward.

. . . "While awaiting the representations of the Brazilian Govt., on the 28th of Novr., she (the Florida) sank, owing to a leak, which could not be seasonably stopped. The leak was at

first represented to have been caused, or at least increased, by collision with a war transport. Orders were immediately given to ascertain the manner and circumstances of the occurrence. It seemed to affect the Army and Navy.

"A naval court of inquiry and also a military court of inquiry were charged with the investigation. The naval court has submitted its report and a copy thereof is herewith communicated. The military court is yet engaged. So soon as its labours shall have ended, the result will be made known to your govt. In the meantime it is *assumed* that the loss of the Florida was in consequence of some unforseen accident, which casts no responsibility on the Govt. of the U. S." ! !

What a lying rascal! (J. N. M.)

"The restitution of the ship having thus become impossible the President expressed his regret that the Sovereignty of Brazil had been violated, dismissed the Consul at Bahia who had advised the offence and sent the commander of the Wachusetts before a Court Martial.
(Vide M. Bernard's Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War.)

The Commander of the Wachusetts experienced no annoyance and was soon made an Admiral.

The Georgia *nee* Japan was the next cruising Confederate that the indefatigable Bullock succeeded in sending upon the broad seas bearing the Southern torch. She was built in Dumbarton Scotland, tonnage 560, fitted out on the coast of France off Morlax, commanded by Commander W. L. Maury C. S. N. cruised in the N. and S. Atlantics with partial success, as her capacity in the way of speed and other essentials were entirely inadequate to the requirements of her mission. She proceeded as far as the Cape of Good Hope and then returned; was laid up, and sold out of the Confederacy.

The Shenandoah, formerly the Sea King, was purchased by Capt. Bullock, placed under command of Lt. Com. J. J. Waddell, who fitted her for service under many difficulties at the barren island of Porto Santo, near Madeira. After experiencing great annoyances through the activity of the American Consul at Melbourne Australia, Capt. Waddell finally departed and commenced his active and destructive cruising against American whalers in the Okosh sea, and Arctic ocean. In August 1865 hearing of the collapse of the Confederacy he ceased his depredations on American commerce, returned to Liverpool England and surrendered his ship to the English Government who transferred it to the U. S. Government.

The Shenandoah was a full rigged ship of 800 tons very fast under canvass, her steam being merely auxiliary.

In the month of July 1864 a swift twin screwed propeller called the Atlanta of 600 tons was purchased by the Secretary of the Navy and fitted out in the harbor of Wilmington for a raid upon the commerce of the North. Commander J. Taylor Wood, an officer of extraordinary dash, and noted enterprise, was ordered to command the Atlanta, rechristened Tallahassee. This extemporaneous man-of-war ran safely through the blockade, and soon lit up the New England coast with her torch of destruction. Great was the consternation among the Northern merchants as the active Wood destroyed their commerce.

The raid of the Tallahassee, from the construction of the vessel, which was exclusively for steaming, depending on coal—was of course brief,—but brilliant while it lasted.

At the same period of time, another fast double screw propeller of 585 tons, called the Edith, ran into Wilmington. The Navy department requiring her services, her owners sold her to the government, and she was re-christened the Chickamauga. A suitable battery was placed on board, with officers, and crew, Commander John Wilkinson, a gentleman of consummate naval ability, was ordered to command her. When ready for sea he ran the blockade; under the bright refulgent rays of a full moon, and strange to say, the usually alert sentinels, neither hailed nor halted the angry messenger of southern indignation.

The Tallahassee and the Chickamauga, though partially rigged for sailing, were exclusively dependent upon steam, in the chase, escape, and in all important evolutions.

The Nashville, Commander R. B. Pegram, was the first Confederate govt. vessel that appeared abroad in a *national character*. Originally a passenger steamer running between N. Y. and Charleston, she was purchased by the Confederate Govt. with the view of conveying our Ministers, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, to England and France, in an Official and National manner.

The change of programme, determined upon by those gentlemen, resulted in events of a startling character, originating an exciting chapter in the late sectional war.

The Nashville's cruise may be viewed in the light of a holiday excursion, in which the Confederate colors were on exhibition. She was slightly armed, as not intended for Gladiatorial championship, in the great arena of battle, that was about to be inaugurated, with the world for an audience.

On the Nashville's passage, going and returning, she de-

stroyed three Federal merchantmen. Her naval career instantly ended, on arriving in the Confederacy.

Galveston, in consequence of the total absence of harbor defences, fell into the hands of the federals, and so remained until the advent of the gallant Gen. Magruder; who, with the assistance of Capt. Smith, formerly of the Texas Navy, and his Galveston forces, asaulted the place by land and water, gaining a complete victory;—destroying the flag ship, and capturing the formidable gun boat Harriet Lane. A few days after this feat, Capt. Smith, with cotton clad vessels, sailed for Sabine Pass, and assisted in completing a victory won by an Irish company from Galveston. The two gun boats captured at Sabine Pass were the avant-couriers of the expedition of Gen. Franklin. This check checkmated the intended expedition. Gen. Magruder perfected the defences of Galveston and kept the blockaders at a respectful distance.

Farragut won his federal spurs at New Orleans, when, through the material aid of Porter, and his destructive Mortar fleet, he battled successfully against the already bomb defeated forts.

The Federal squadron was exceedingly formidable, admirably disciplined, drilled, and well commanded. The Confederate force consisted of small river steamers, lightly armed, bravely fought, but totally inadequate for the requirements of the occasion. Legitimately, New Orleans based her means of defence upon her two heavy forts. The ram Louisiana, from whose construction so much was expected, engaged in the contest ere fully completed,—the result was an abortion. She was without ability to stem the current, steer, or work her battery efficiently.

At her wharf, the victim of procrastination and sloth, lay two thirds complete, the Mississippi; then the monarch of the iron clads of the world. Alacrity, zeal, and executive ability could have had this anticipated conqueror ready for the contest, able as she would have been to annihilate with her crushing beak every man-of-war that intruded upon the father of waters. Naval officers generally expressed regrets that Admiral Semmes had not from the inauguration of the government been detailed to prepare New Orleans for successful and brilliant defence. Her safety would have outbalanced all the glories of the Alabama.

From the advent of the Confederacy, there was a lack in New Orleans of personal electricity—of a genius for the adaptation of means to practical results, of *superhuman energy,* which the great stake demanded—of that equilibrium of courage, discipline, and determination not to fail. Man's attributes and preponder-

ance of character could and should have risen above all material obstactles.

In my opinion Admiral Semmes was our Caesar for the occasion. 'L'homme propose et Dieu dispose!'

I do not mean to disparage the commanding officer of the Confederate squadron—he was a brave officer, and contended against a mountain-load of obstacles—to overcome which, he lacked the talent of organization, of pressing affairs to a prompt completeness, of drilling to the highest state of naval efficiency—of making his power, feeling it, and using it, to the extreme point of that martial daring that makes success a matter beyond every doubt.

All that I have heard and read about the fall of New Orleans, caused me the most poignant mortification and sorrow, as it gave the impression that confusion worse confounded ruled affairs on our side.

The Louisiana, proving unable to maneuvre, should have been anchored as a floating battery above the obstructive chain. The five rafts below, and moored to the chain, ready to slip when the fleet breasted the forts. The chain should not have been veered off, but kept firmly taut, as a positive obstruction. Slightly submerged torpedoes, in mid channel, to be fired by the electric current, would have aided in destroying the fleet—the fleet destroyed, Porter could have easily been disposed of by our squadron,—that could have been done while Faragut was organizing below.

Mobile was presumed to be impregnable, as Forts Morgan and Gains guarded the entrance to the harbor, seconded by the mosquito fleet of Admiral Buchanan; which consisted of the iron clad Tennessee, the Morgan of 6 guns, the Gains and Selma, of 6 guns each.

On the 4th of August, fort Gaines was asaulted by the Federal forces from the sea side of the beach—the resistance made was so feeble, and the surrender so prompt after the assault, that the commander of the fort was accused of treachery. Faragut entered the harbor with a force of 28 heavy vessels, loosing one iron clad by a torpedo.

On the 22d of August, fort Morgan was bombarded from the land, by monitors at sea, and the fleet in the bay. Forts Powell, Morgan and Gaines, shared the fate of the Confederate fleet, and the federals became masters of the bay.

Admiral Buchanan, with his lilliputian squadron, made a noble resistance. Early in the action, while surrounded by six heavy Federal vessels, who were suffering fearfully from his

battery, the steering gear of the iron clad was shot away, and her ability to maneuvre was completely destroyed—leaving the formidable Confederate entirely at the disposal of the enemy. This misfortune doubtless saved the greater part of Faragut's fleet.

Resistance becoming unavailing, the wounded Confederate Admiral was under the painful necessity of ordering a surrender. His little fleet fell a prey to the enemy except the Morgan, that made good her retreat to Mobile.

This unequal contest, of 28 Federal vessels, mounting 212 guns of heavy caliber, against 4 Confederates, having 22 guns, was decidedly creditable to the South, and confirmed the general assertion that a naval contest between the belligerents, with an equality of force, would, eight times out of ten, result in favor of the Confederates.

In this memorable action, the Federal loss in killed and wounded, amounted to nearly as many as the entire Confederate force engaged. How different would have been the historical record, if the South in 1861 had developed the same nautical energy, which, when too late, characterized its efforts in '63 and '64!

The harbor defences of Savannah were intrusted to Commodore Tatnall who with three small steamers mounting two guns each,—also a floating iron clad battery built through the contributions of the ladies of Georgia, defended the approaches to the city. Fort Pulaski, guarding the mouth of the river, fell into the hands of the enemy in 1862.

Charleston acquired a notable reputation through the brave and wonderful defence of fort Sumter that for four years defied the combined efforts of the army and navy of the North. When the city was about to be abandoned to the army of Gen. Sherman, the forts defending the harbor were embraced in the military programme of Genl. Hardee's plan of evacuation. The gallant commander of Fort Sumter, on receiving the general order of retreat, assembled his noble command, on the rugged and shell crushed parade ground, read his instructions, and, in a voice that trembled with emotion addressed them in the glowing language of patriotism and unswerving devotion to the Confederate cause. The cheers that responded to the utterances of their colonel came from manly and chivalric lips. Yielding to the inevitable, with one accord they claimed a salute of one hundred guns to the stars and bars—which salute from Sumter was re-echoed by all the Confederate batteries, startling the Federal blockaders with the idea that a great victory had been won by the South.

Three iron clads constituted the naval force of the Confederacy in Charleston harbor. Their steam power was totally inadequate for the efficiency of the vessels; in fact, when the wind and tide were together, to steam against them was impossible, however light the wind might be; under such circumstances to anchor became a necessity. Iron clads possessing the power of running 11 or 12 knots (the usual speed of the English gun boats) would have raised the blockades of all important Southern harbors.

The iron clads Palmetto State and Chicora on one occasion ran out of Charleston harbor under favorable circumstances.

The Palmetto State assaulted the Mercidita Capt. Stellwagen who unconditionally surrendered. The Palmetto State, being under orders to follow her consort in chase of the enemy, and having no boats to which she could transfer her prisoners, accepted the parole of officers and men, with the promise of observing the same until the return of their captors. The surrender was equipoised between an honest parole, or being sunk on the spot. Capt. S. abided but a brief time, when getting up steam he broke his plighted word and ran off with the captured vessel.

Want of speed on the part of the Confederate iron clads frustrated their object of raising the blockade of Charleston.

This was the last and only attempt to relieve the city from continued blockading.

Wilmington, the S. W. Bar was defended by fort Caswell; New Inlet bar by fort Fisher. The naval defences consisted of two iron clads, the North Carolina and the Raleigh. The former could not cross any of the bars in consequence of her draft of water, her steam power hardly gave propulsion; she sank during the war off Smithville. The Raleigh's services were almost nugatory in consequence of drawing too much water and feeble steam power; made one futile exit out of New Inlet, to which, after a few hours, she returned having broken her back upon the bar.

On the stocks stood for two years, a beautiful vessel intended to be iron clad—strange to say the draft necessary for crossing the bar had not been calculated—and she remained stationary until illuminated on the abandonment of Wilmington.

A newspaper slip enclosed gives an account of naval affairs at Hampton Roads and James river.

endorsed: From Capt. J. N. Maffitt, C. S. N.; about Blockade running; Capt. Cooke; Alexandra in the Court of England.

Wm. H. Payne[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

Warrenton, Va. June 10th /80.

To His Excellency—Jefferson Davis.

My dear Sir:

Recognizing you as the head and type of all that was noble in our recent struggle, and as the truest to its memory, I have presumed that you would not feel indifferent to an incident which has recently occurred and in which you had an indirect interest— Let me first tell you who I am, so that you may rely upon my statement— I was the first Captain of the Black Horse Cavalry and delivered to you at on the morning of the 22nd July 1861, at Beauregards headquarters at Manassas, sixteen guns captured by this command at Cub run, far in advance of the army— I subsequently became with your approval, a Brigadier General in Fitz Lees division, and have a scar to show for every grade— Pardon the egotism of this introduction, and now to my tale—

A miserable Editor of the Richmond Whig, published an attack upon you and Gov. Smith— Col. Tom Smith son of the Gov., and well known to you, immediately challenged him and a duel was fought on the 6th Ult. near Richmond— Elam the author of the outrage, fell at the first fire badly wounded— Just before the order was given to fire, Col Smith took his cane, which you had given him in New Orleans about two years ago, and suspended it to an overhanging limb, and quietly calling his seconds attention to the cane—to the giver and to the act, he stepped to his peg— When his adversary fell, he took down the cane, upon which your name was engraved, and putting it to his lips bowed to his adversary— The scene to those who understood it was very touching. *We* well knew, that in his chivalry he meant to say "The shot is meant for two offences—one to my father which I can avow, and the other against the Hero of the Lost cause"— He told me he felt as if he was fighting under the Confederate Flag—

I have fancied this little matter would not be uninteresting to you, and I wish you to know that you have devoted admirers in this Land, and none nobler than Col. Smith.

My dear Sir, my father in law, your old colleague W. Winter Payne[2] of Alabama, taught me to admire you, and in no part

[1] Colonel Fourth Virginia Cavalry C. S. A.

[2] Congressman from Alabama Thirty-seventh, Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congresses.

of the South is the cause for which you have suffered most, more honored than here— We recognize you as its most splendid example of unselfish patriotism— Your silent endurance—your king-like bearing has won an undying admiration— I trust some kind fortune may bring you here and that God may cover and keep you with his blessing—

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) William H. Payne.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New Orleans, June 14th, 1880.

My Dear Sir:

Yours was received this morning, with the newspaper slip enclosed, containing an alleged statement of an interview with General Lee by John W. Fairfax. I know the said John W. Fairfax, and he is the same who was on Longstreet's staff. He was formerly possessed of some estate, and being disposed to play the gentleman, he passed for one among those to whom he played the toady, but he was always a fool. He has now lost everything in the way of property, and has fallen quite low. He is a poor miserable creature who is rather to be pitied than denounced. He has for years been hanging around Washington and trying to ingratiate himself with those in authority. He is a miserable man, and commands the respect of no one. He is always drunk when he can get liquor enough to make him so. I have no idea that the expressions he attributes to General Lee, or anything like them, were ever uttered by the latter, but they are very probably the conceptions of an imagination utterly perverted by mean whiskey.

There is a man connected with the Alexandria Gazette, whose habits are no better than those of this man Fairfax, and I presume the statement published in that paper was the result of a drunken debauch between the two.

General Lee always expressed to me very different sentiments in regard to yourself from those attributed to him in the statement by Fairfax, and I have at home a letter from the general, which was received by me in the City of Mexico in the early part of 1866, in which he expressed his gratification at something I said about you in a published letter, and his regret that any one should attempt to censure you for your conduct during the War. Fairfax was not the sort of man General Lee would ever have

sought to unbosom himself to on any occasion, or about any subject,—and I trust you will not deem it necessary to take any notice whatever of the statement now made by Fairfax.

In justice to the Fairfax family in Virginia, I must say that a member of it, who is a very good man and who was an officer in Pickett's Division, told me not long since that John W. Fairfax was not a member of that family, and that his real name was not Fairfax, but that the name is assumed.

I will retain the slip sent me until I get back to Virginia, but if you wish it returned I will return it on being informed of the fact.

With my best regards to Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Hayes,

Yours Most Truly,

J. A. Early.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.
endorsed:
14th June 1880; Genl. Early; on John W. Fairfax; June 14th 1880.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Private

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.,
24th June, 1880.

Genl. Marcus J. Wright,

My dear Sir,

Yours of the 21st Inst. has been received in which you write that on the files of the Archive Office, there is a letter of Col James Chesnut addressed to me in reply to one of mine of Oct 15th 1861 and that there is also my reply to his letter of Oct. 30th 1861 and you ask for my letter of the 15th of Oct. My first letter to Col Chesnut bears date Oct 30th 1861 & his answer must have been to that letter. I wrote again to him on the 11th of Nov. acknowledging his letter of the 2nd of same month. My letter to him of Nov 11th was one which on acct. of my friendly regard & esteem for him I would not willingly have made public. Now will you my dear Sir as a personal matter between you & myself look again at the dates of the letters on file, and tell me how Chesnut's letter to me & my answer to him came to be on the files of the Archives Office?

Very truly
Your friend,

Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to John H. Savage.[1]

(From Missouri Historical Society.)

To Col. John H. Savage
McMinnville, Tennessee.

Beauvoir, Harrison County, Miss.
3d July 1880

Col. John H. Savage
Dear Sir.

As my memory serves me, you were with Gen. Lee in the ascent of the Cheat mountain on the occasion when it was proposed to attack the Enemy's camp in three directions. I believe there is no published report of your toilsome & daring expedition to that mountain height, from which you looked down on the Camp of the Enemy.

Genl Lee stated to me only the fact of the case, but I think made no official report. Will you kindly give me your recollections of the event, with the reasons why when Col. Rust failed to give the signal in which the combined attack was to begin, Genl Lee did not after his close reconnaissance attempt to surprise the Camp of the Enemy with the force under his immediate command.

You no doubt will remember the unjust censure visited upon Gen. Lee because more was not done in that campaign, and because I did not withdraw my confidence from him, it was said to be a case of obstinate adherence to a personal friend. Walter Taylor who was Genl. Lee's Adjt Genl. & has written a book on his service with Genl Lee did not ascend the mountain with him on that occasion & could not give the information which I am seeking from you.

Respectfully &
truly yours.
(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) July 13th, 1880.

My dear friend,

I want to know how you are during this period of heat. I can with difficulty pull through the long days, and hope the gulf breezes sustain your health and strength.

[1] Colonel Sixteenth Tennessee Reg. Inf. C. S. A.

Long ago I wrote, that unless you could be certain it would be well to use caution in charging Johnston with loosing supplies, while retreating up the Peninsula—as Cole denied loss and my recollection was dim.

Wm. Berkley of Aldie, Loudon Co., serving as captain in the 8th Va.—Hunton's regt.—a real gentleman, of old family and well bred, was ruined by security debts. I knew him while at his old family seat. Accidentally I found that he had bought a small place 7 miles from me; he served during the war from Manassas to the end. I have been to see him; 1 son and 3 daughters; the grace simplicity and dignity of high bred poverty is sad and attractive. His father used to breed fullbloods; he has now a poor little mare, claiming to be one. Well, we talked of the war; he says that when retiring from the lines established near Yorktown that Johnston ordered off all baggage trains positively while men were ordered to prepare 3 days rations without their cooking equipage, and then the move of the troops was delayed 24 hours that the heads of bbls. had to be knocked open, water poured in and mixed with ashes and then more water and so on, that he saw a general destruction of provisions from a church, rice molasses flour &c &c. thrown together—"there must have been a great deal;" this will support your statement and enable me more thoroughly to invalidate a statement of Cole's which I have done. Have you any authorities for your opinion previously expressed?

I have compared together Johnston's narrative and Hood's refutation. The former was so on the warpath against *you* that he was loose and careless in abusing others. He made that history *after* the events, and like self deluders inferred too much. I shall assume that he has incontestably been proven to be an unreliable witness by the testimony sworn to in *two* instances sustained by other officers, and that he is not supported even by those he adduces, who only support side issues not contested. I will supplement that proof. In the case of the retreat from the rear of Cassville, Walter Morris' examination of the ground *for* Polk, then the discussion, based thereon, Hood and Polk urging an attack at early dawn, beginning by taking the enfilading batteries, supported by Genl. Shoupe's statement, and Johnston's declaration that Hardee's position out of reach and entrenched—was worse than theirs together with his trying to fix on Hood the failure to bring on a battle before crossing the Oostenaula, the assertion that his (Hood's) retiring was from mythical troops, and that *time* being important for a combined movement having been lost,—he had to give up his purpose of battle. The whole

was a fable—an after constructed one. Col. Oladowski's letter, saying that his alleged want of Ordnance ammunition: "*was* all romance" and that his alleged loss of only 4 pieces "lost by Hood" was untrue, for "19000 muskets were lost" the "*holding Atlanta forever*" (while contemplating a retreat on Macon) after having been manipulated from Dalton, is shown to have been a tissue of fables manufactured after much cogitation. G. W. Smith's letter, as to Joe Brown's army being able to hold the lines while Johnston moved out with his three corps is conclusion of carelessness in making up his story. He broke his promise to Hood, ran away and then concocted his slanders. Hardee appears badly. I did not know him, but I know G. W. Smith is a true man, and while Stewart encouraged his men to attack everything they found, Hardee told his men to look out of entrenchments and meeting them they laid down. Stewart and Smith both assert that but for Hardee the battle of the 20th must have succeeded.

Genl. Blair's letter confirms this. While Carson states that Butterfield's division were the troops on the Kingston road, which Johnston assumes had no existence and that a small fight where men were killed and wounded and shells burst never took place.

It may be that you have not carefully looked at all of this. You can say what you know respecting both Bgd. and Johnston. I am weaving a net around them and shall try to make it inferentially plain that they are knaves.

I can not say how long it will be, for I am weak and much broken down. My wife is feeble.

My instincts are against Yankee generals, and believing that most all of the active politicians are professional spoilers, am but little concerned in the choice of which swarm of gnats shall suck the carcass.

I hope Mrs. Davis keeps well, and your daughters. I wish I could see you, but there is no earthly chance of it.

Yours ever,

L. B. Northrop.

P. S. My wife has come near and sends love and best greetings.
P. S. There was an attempt to fix on you the stigma of sacrificing the public interest by appointing a pet [1] to an important post, requiring great commercial ability;—by people who never comprehended that a great system had to be arranged of collecting, distributing and manufacturing besides trading, that a

[1] Can you give me any evidence of that contemporary *concurrent* with Johnston's complaints?

selecting of *men* not merchants was necessary; besides an ability to resist politicians generals and speculators, and to get rid of inefficient men, and keep down the number of appointments and to urge Secretaries of War and Treasury and get transportation with no power to coerce. Johnston's book is not history, it is replete with carpings against you, Benjamin, Seddon and Bragg, on the operations of Sidney Johnston at Bowling Green, and all western operations of what ought to have been done in Finance and War, and invidious comparisons of his treatment and that towards Genl. Lee; yet resisting the assignment of controlling the operations in two states, it clearly shows that he could not by any possibility have cooperated with his superiors, or served the government faithfully. Do you mean to take that position or not? Please answer yes or no.
endorsed:
L. B. Northrop; July 1880; ansd. 3 Aug. 1880.

Jefferson Davis to J. Marcus Wright.

(From New York Historical Society.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.,
19th July 1880

Genl. M. J. Wright,
My dear Sir,

In reply to your's of the 5th Inst. I can only say that any authority conferred upon Genl E. K. Smith to appoint Genl Officers must have been temporary & provisional The difficulty of communicating with the Trans-Mississippi Dep't rendered extraordinary provisions necessary, but as the stream cannot rise above its source, I could not have conferred upon him authority to do that which exceeded my own power. All commissions were subject to ratification by the Senate, and all which could have been done must have been to authorize him to assign officers to commands above their grade, until his nominations were acted upon according to law. I have no letter from myself to him giving that authority, & if such communication was made it must have been from the War Dept. & should be found in the records of your archive office.

Very truly your's
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Endorsed:
Hon. Jefferson Davis

In regard to "General Officers announced by Gen Kirby Smith in Trans-Mississippi Department.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(From The New York Sun of June 22, 1890.[1])

Beauvoir, Miss., Aug. 3, 1880.

Cole has been for Johnston what the lawyers call "a swift witness," and his denial of losses by retreat from Yorktown is one of several instances. In addition to the evidence of Capt. Berkeley, Gen. Early and others have stated that large amounts of trenching tools, ammunition, and heavy artillery were left at Yorktown. There was like destruction on the retreat from Manassas, and the burning of the packing establishment at Thoroughfare Gap was twice and three times inexcusable. First, because there was no necessity for a hasty retreat; second, because we had no collected stores of canned provisions, and third, on account of the claim you have mentioned, as preferred by him, that the men should have more bacon and less fresh meat.

If McClellan, as he says, intended to go down the Potomac to the mouth of James River, then Johnston's retreat from Manassas removed all fear of an advance upon Washington, and left McClellan free to adopt his own plan of advance on Richmond * * * If Johnston intended to hold Atlanta forever, or intended to defend it at all, why did he not answer the categorical questions put to him so as to induce that belief? You are right in supposing that I have not carefully examined his narrative: enough so, however, to see fully exhibited his highest talent, that of *suppressio veri*. In what I have written I have briefly stated why I selected you to be Commissary-General, and why I thought the results proved the selection to have been judicious, and I think the first complaint against you came from Johnston and Beauregard at Manassas, and followed your orders to Lee and Fowle. I remember that when Gen. Lee, when supplies were short, looked to you; that you insisted he should exercise the power the law conferred upon him, but withheld from you—the power to impress. Later in the war members of Congress, notably Mr. Orr of South Carolina, complained of you, and he probably used the idea to which you refer, that you were a soldier and not a merchant, as I afterward heard that he perverted my answer so as to represent me as wishing to put

[1] The above excerpt of a letter from Mr. Davis to Col. Northrop appears in a special from Baltimore to the New York Sun written by Eugene L. Didier, who states that the original letter was in his possession at the time the special was sent. The present whereabouts of the original is not known.

you in command of the army. I did tell him substantially that I had known you as a soldier, and a good one, and that but for your physical disability I should have preferred to give you a command in the field, rather than at the head of a bureau. I knew then, as well as now, that trading was a very small part of the qualifications required in a Commissary-General, and that a military training was essentially necessary.

Crafts J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

U. S. MARINE-HOSPITAL SERVICE,
10 Aug. 1880.

Dear Friend,

I send you a paper about some matters of which you, from the article have been previously informed. I went to the city to see about it taking the paper to read about it as I went down —and then I noted you had correspondence, and after leaving the man Lieut Rindence here—bought the Times to send you and came back—thinking it best not to inter meddle until I heard from you.

I have nothing to communicate. I have still on my mind to see you in Jany. But you know I cannot precisely say when. I have to get *leave* from Washington, and arrange then with you. I have no word in reply from Drayton in a long time. I shall go to Cin. in Nov. to the meeting of the army of the Ten., and I may arrange before or after for finding you. May be going or returning by the River via — —, and the other part by R.R. from Cin to Washington—this is my present desire—but we propose God disposes and may do so different.

I am some better in health—but my place here is some uncertain—now, and will be more if a Democratic Reign. (?) I do not know Hancock at all, and in his getting to the White House, humble as the place is for myself and wife may lose (?) it or all things may become new. In many—very many regards it may be well.

My regards to Mrs. D.

Truly yours,
(Signed) Craft J. Wright.

M. M. Broadwell to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Fulton, Mo. Aug. 11, 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
My dear Sir:

Your esteemed letter of the 6th inst. was received yesterday before I left Kansas City. I know not how to express my appreciation of its interesting contents, for I felt myself almost a tresspasser in writing for information on a subject so rediculously perverted and misrepresented. I sincerely hope you will forgive me for my pains-taking obtrusion in behalf of a gentleman of whom I dared suppose you, at least, had no unpleasant knowledge or recollection. I have known Col. Buttler only as a neighbor, at Pass Christian, Miss. His soldierly education, seniority, and social bearing I thought entitled his request of me to consideration and hence I ventured to forward it in his own words and trusted to your kindly favour in giving it notice. Most true Southerners have always regarded with impatience the unparaleled vindictiveness of the radical press in its attempt to manufacture both words and ideas for you—the miserable timidity of weak kneed democrats is to be deplored if not dispised.

For one, I am disgusted with the carping apprehensions of our average statesmen, who seem to rely on you to carry all imaginary sins for the party whether such transgressions are of Omission or commission. Sycophants and cowards are becoming prominent in the ranks of office seekers of the present day and it is greatly to be feared that democratic success will reward with its honors and emoluments many who have been amongst our enemies as time servers and hypocrites.

In your reply to the question of the petifogger who tried to invalidate Mrs. Dorsey's capacity to dispose of her property, more tasteful language might have pleased some—for policy sake— They might have preferred you to say that Mrs. Dorsey believed, "falsehood is eternal and will finally prevail." For their nefarious purposes it would seem that about one half the Democrats and all the radical press and politicians have more faith in the final prevalence of a lie than the truth. But the American people and civilized man will endorse you and your course even in the midst of political agitation and the Democracy need have no fear of your utterances, the carping sensitiveness

of demigogues and fools to the contrary notwithstanding. You (belong) more to the truth and posterity than to the Democratic party of the present day—and it is a perversion of all political common sense to ask of you the charity of your silence. All you have said and done since the War has given the Democratic party about all the backbone it has left at this lying ordeal in the party's history.

Wife and master Willie join in sentiment of sincere regard and friendship.

Ever faithfully your obliged, obedient servant,

(Signed) M. M. Broadwell.

We are here for about 3 weeks.
The county fair is holding its Annual meeting.

W. N. Brown[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Victoria, Tex. Aug. 24 '80

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Miss.
Dear Sir,

Yours of July 19th via Memphis reached me some weeks since and owing to severe indisposition of self and family, it has not been answered sooner. It is perhaps needless to say it gives me great pleasure to be thus assured that I have not been forgotten by my Commander whose approbation was so much valued in my youth as well as maturer years. For a generation has passed away since as a nineteen year old boy I began to discharge the duties of an Officer under your command in the gallant 1st Miss. Rifles.

In answer to your interrogitories retrospecting the Battle of Fort Donelson I will endeavor to state the same confining myself to facts as I knew them and remember them.

I shall also endeavor to refrain from any expression of individual opinions or criticisms upon the acts of superior officers. For a long time I felt a delicacy in saying anything about it lest I might reflect upon those who acted prominent parts in the surrender, but whose intentions and motives at the time were beyond and above suspicion. Yet as it was a disaster those in high authority were naturally the subjects of severe criticism if not condemnation.

[1] First Lieut. Co. F First Mississippi Regiment Volunteers War with Mexico; Colonel Twentieth Regiment Mississippi Infantry C. S. A.

You desire to know "how your Regiment was left to be surrendered with other parts of the Garrison of Fort Donelson". I answer—about 12 o'clock on the night previous to the surrender I received an order to report in person at Hd. Qrs. which I did promptly. On arriving I met Col. N. B. Forrest, who remarked "I have been looking for you, they are going to surrender this place, and I wanted you with your command to go 'out of here' with me. But they have other orders for you." On entering the room Genls. Floyd and Pillow also informed me of the proposed proceedings. Genl. Floyd ordered me to take possession of the steamboat landing with my command; that in the terms of the surrender he had reserved the right to remove his Brigade, that after having guarded the Landing my command should be taken aboard the Boat. The Va. Regiments first crossing to the other side of the river could make their way to Clarksville. I proceeded at once with my command to the Landing; there was no steam-boat there, but I placed my Regt. in a semicircular line so as to protect and command the landing place. About daylight the steamer came down, landed and was soon loaded with the two Virginia Regiments, passing through my ranks. At the same time there passed aboard the Boat Genls. Floyd and Pillow with their respective Staffs, besides others who claimed to belong on one or the other Staff; some I knew personally.

The Boat being a small one was considerably crowded. Genl. Floyd had taken position on the hurricane deck near the wheel-house or pilot-house and while the Boat was drawing in the staging he hallooed to me, that he would cross the river with the troops aboard and return for my Regiment. I relied implicitly on his promise as the Boat then seemed much crowded. The Steam Boat crossed the river, landed, put off troops and passed on up the river.

I can give no expression of the mingled feelings of despair, desolation and desperation brought upon us by this disappointment. We were more than willing to fight our enemies, yea, we were anxious to do so, for we felt we had not had a fair chance and our losses had not been heavy. And now to be thus treated seemed to be more than we could bear. At that time I had the only military organization about the Garrison, the rest was a rabble. Sorrowfully I gave the necessary orders to stack arms and surrender.

About the time of the departure of the Boat Genl. S. B. Buckner appeared and seemed anxious to have the landing cleared, as he asserted he had turned over the Garrison and all the property

at sunrise. That if the Boat was not away immediately he (Buckner) would be charged by the enemy with violating the terms of the surrender. I regret that under feelings of desperation I used language to him that was severe. I mention this incident which I suppose gives some light and bearing upon the reason for leaving my Regiment upon the bank of the river.

This I believe answers your inquiry about as well as I can do. As I am writing you a private letter I will state that as prisoner while at Cairo in transitu for Chicago, I obtained permission from the Federal Officers to write a letter to my Father (which I was assured should be passed through the lines)—this was granted by a Genl. Paine or Payne. This was written hurriedly and while I was smarting under the disappointment and ill usage at Donelson, and being as I thought private I spoke freely of the Donelson affair. It did not take the promised route to its destination. In a few hours it appeared in the Northern papers and soon was copied in the Southern Papers.

I will further state that while a paroled prisoner, or about the time I was received in exchange I was required to make a report of the Battle of Donelson to a committee of the Confederate Congress while I was in Richmond, which I did, and I suppose it was lost. Both of these documents as I afterwards learned met with the decided disapprobation of the three commanding officers at that ill fated place.

It gives me great pleasure to bear testimony to the gallantry, efficiency, and generalship of Genl. Bushrod Johnson, who assumed command of the left during the engagement of the day preceding the surrender. He seems to have been without a special command, but on that occasion his presence and labors were invaluable.

Notwithstanding my endeavor in the outset to mention only such circumstances and incidents as were pertinent to your letter, yet I find some items are irrelevant and therefore useless.

I enclose you a slip from a News Paper—the Vedette of Washington,—noticing the death of our 1st Lieut. A. B. Corwin of Co. "A" 1st Regt. Miss. Rifles, thinking that you may not have seen it. Companies "A" and "F" were thrown together during our entire term of service in Mexico, which threw me in intimate association with our lemented comrade and gave me opportunity to admire and testify to his many admirable traits of character and sterling worth. We passed through many ordeals of a soldier's life when there was no dissembling or flinching in any duty required of him, either as an officer or a gentleman. We were side by side in the V at Buena Vista and I shall

never forget his enthusiasm and gallantry. You will doubtless remember our position on the right on that occasion (as individuals) from the fact you were only a few feet from us. Thus are we called one by one to appear before Him "whose judgements are unsearchable and whose ways past finding out" until now only a few are left to realize the fact that certainly those who style themselves *Republicans* are "ungrateful" and perhaps *Republics* too, by refusing us a pittance of a pension, which we justly earned in our youth as volunteer soldiers.

I should be glad that you would acknowledge receipt of these statements, and to know if they are satisfactory.

With many wishes for the health and happiness of yourself and family, I remain as ever

Yours sincerely,
W. N. Brown
(formerly 1st Lieut. Co. "F"
1st Regt. Miss. Rifles)

endorsed:
Col. W. N. Brown; about Fort Donelson; ansd.

J. Wm. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Office
Southern Historical Society

No. 7 Library Floor, State Capitol.

New Kent Co., Va. Aug. 24, 1880.

My dear Sir:

Your esteemed favor of the 17th reached me just as I was leaving home. I directed my clerk to send you at once by express a volume containing, among others, Genl. Pemberton's Report on the Siege of Vicksburg. In the few minutes I had I failed to find Genl. Bragg's Reports of either the Ky. Campaign, or Stone River; but I'll look again and write you on my return home in a few days. In Vol. 5 S. H. Papers, page 209, you will find Genl. Breckinridge's Report of Stone River, and same Vol., page 219, you will find Genl. Gibson's Report. Genl. Lee's Report of Pa. Campaign you will find in Vol. II, page 33, of *S.H.S.Papers.* By the way you will find in these Vols. (by consulting the table of contents in each Vol.) a number of reports which may be useful to you.

Again assuring you that it is a privilege to be permitted to

serve you in any way in my power, I am, with best wishes and highest respect,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) J. Wm. Jones.

President Jefferson Davis.

W. M. Polk to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

288 5th Ave.,
Aug. 26th, 1880.

To His Excellency,
Ex President Davis—
Dear Sir—

The M.S. goes to-day— I trust you will pardon the sending of it, instead of the original documents. My reason is twofold— 1st, As I wrote, the originals being my only vindication of my father I fear to trust them to the mails— 2nd, By sending the M.S. I furnish you a connected story from which you can gather such material as you think desirable—

I would never have troubled you at all but I knew you were preparing a history of the "Southern Confederacy," and of necessity would have to refer to Chickamauga I also knew that Genl. Polk had never written a report, consequently his version of the battle could not be before you, while that of his enemy Genl. Bragg was— My simple wish was to present Genl. Polks account to you—and call your attention to your letter exonerating him— It is that printed on the next the last page.

I desire also to speak of Sherman's Meridian campaign in Feb. 64— There has been an effort on the part of Genl. Jourdon, Forrest's biographer, to make it appear that Forrest's march to intercept the column of cavalry marching from Grand Junction to join Sherman at Meridian was a matter of his own, as a matter of fact he was under orders from Genl. Polk to watch that very column, as he, Genl. Polk, believed its destination was to cooperate with Sherman. Genl. Polk's letter and dispatch book are at your service if you desire them.

The movements of all the forces during that Meridian campaign were directed by Genl. Polk—

Pardon me for taking up so much of your time.

Very respectfully yr. obt. servt.

(Signed) W. M. Polk.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Albemarle Co. Va. Augt. 30th 1880.

My dear Davis,

Your last has been received. My eyes are better but weak. Thank God that you have a residuum of health and strength still to feed the candle "burning at both ends." I think you misapprehended my question. It was not if Johnston could be faithful to any sentiment but his own interest; his ill temper egotism and false estimate of himself renders even that impossible. My question was if you intended to deny his reliability as a witness (which Hood's book entirely overthrows) and which I shall destroy. His insinuations and sneers against you are numerous and in commenting on your letter to him of Dec. 23/63 he asserts that you "*could not have supposed*" that which you had stated that you did suppose.

Also he charges that no civilised Govt. ever expected that one General should command two armies, therefore he could not have been expected to direct the general operations of Bragg and Pemberton. He talks learnedly of Napoleon at Leoben and forgets that Frederick of Prussia commanded armies and carried on several wars at the same time.

You wanted me to correct his mis-statements respecting the commissariat and the Govt. for tolerating them. I have got the facts and find that no single statement of his is *correct*. 1st. Cattle and other supplies were collected from Jefferson Frederick Clarke and Loudon Co. from the moment I stopped Fowle and substituted Noland's management up to the end of the war. Johnston asserts that this was not done. 2nd. Flour did not pass by his depot at Manassas one week and go back the next—as he states positively. The flour to which he alludes was old flour in Rhd bought before we went there, and at the prices of the previous bad crop of 1860, being invoiced at cost—he and his fellow conspirators and libellers drew the false inference.

The "new system" to which he objects fed him from Dalton to Atlanta. Major Moore never supplied Walker with cattle once as Johnston alleges he frequently did is proof of the defects of the "new system."

(3) His claim that a General ought to have had controll of the offices and agents collecting supplies falls by his own experience and how could Genl. Lee have controlled S. W. Ga. and

Ala. and the Carolinas or established trading cotton and tobacco by which most of his meat was obtained in '64.

4th. Johnston states that Col. Lee was removed in consequence of the correspondence of Bgd and himself to correct commissary mismanagement.

I feel sure that it was determined before that complaining correspondence began.

Please give me your recollection. His support of Fowle was before, and his opposition to my arrangement about buying cattle and saving hides and tallow was insuperable until his removal.

You told me to do it, the night you moved into Crenshaw's house; it was delayed a time for want of a fitting man,—until Blair had wound up the Va. commissariat.

This is my question. Did not you direct his removal (which I applied for as from my own motion to Genl. Cooper) before that series of complaints from J. and B. began?

I shall be happy to see you on your way to Europe, though sorry that you are going to risk the sickness and exertions incident to travelling and leaving a climate and place congenial to you; such a trip almost alarms me as critical. I lost my noble and devoted friend Dr. Stewart by his getting cholera morbus from eating on a steam-boat from Fort Monroe to Baltimore. Can't your young daughter come home in some other way?— However "we shall see that which we shall see." "God knows" as my old Mom Paul used to say to every question. My wife joins in love to you and Mrs. D.

Yours ever L. B. Northrop.

endorsed: Northrop; about removal of Col. Lee, ansd. 30 Aug. '80

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
30, Aug. 1880.

My dear Northrop:—

I this morning received your letter, and to inquiry reply, that my recollection is that when the correspondence of which I sent you a copy was received, in which Genl. Beauregard stated that the troops were without food, and there was appended the remark of Col. Lee, that an abundance of flour and beef could be obtained in the neighborhood. I wrote to Genl. Johnston Aug. 1st 1861 calling his attention to the inconsistency and to

the necessity of investigating such neglect in the Subsistance Dept. as the case presented.

When your representations and an application for a change of the Asst. Commissary were made which I thought the good of the service required the order was given. I can only say now what I have said on other occasions that I think you acted as Commissary General with energy, fidelity and good conduct. There would have been nothing personal in my decision against Col, Lee, for my recollections of him were quite friendly. Satisfied that you were right in your measures to supply the army and that those who obstructed your efforts were wrong. It was therefore that I supported you as a duty without regard to any feeling of personal friendship or hostility.

I do not recollect dates as to when complaints were made or when orders were given, I can only remember that the plans you proposed to me, and the means of executing them, commended themselves to my judgment as most likely to supply the wants of the army and draw most lightly upon the treasury. Supposing that the head of each Department could better state the details of what occurred in it, I was anxious that each should write a monograph setting forth more than I ever knew, and much more than I could remember.

My desire was that our cause, and the manner in which it was maintained should be vindicated.

The errors and misconduct of individuals would necessarily appear in my statement which was accurate and full.

I could but expect sometimes to be censured and I expected others to share the same fact, each and all to the extent that justice demanded.

My own contribution to the history of our time, being a general view of the whole could not enter into such details as were expected from the head of the Departments.

The reports of the battles were to serve the future historians for minutiæ into which I did not propose to enter. In such statements of facts as I propose to make the reader will be left to find my answer to the insinuations, suppressions of truth and slanders by which I have been assailed.

Mrs. Davis joins me in affectionate remembrance of your wife, with best wishes to your self and children, as ever,

Sincerely your friend,

(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co Missi
Aug 31st 1880

Genl Marcus J. Wright,
My dear Sir,

I do not find among my papers any letter or telegram to Genl Polk in regard to the occupation of Columbus or Hickman. The first communication made by me to Genl Polk after he went to that field of duty was a telegram of Nov 9 of which I enclose you a copy. The next was a formal note conveying a resolution of Congress, of which I also send you a copy. If there were any such letters as those for which you inquire it may be that Dr. W. M. Polk who in New York has been preparing a biography of his Father can supply your want.

Can you from your files of Genl Johnston's correspondence during January & the greater part of Feb. 1862 furnish me with any of his letters on the necessity of his retreating from his position at or about Centreville. If you can do so you will greatly oblige me.

If your present Adjt. Genl is the Simon Drum who was my schoolmate & friend I should expect he would have by inheritance higher instincts than the late occupant of that office.

I am as ever
Truly yours
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

G. B. Crittenden to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Frankfort Ky. Sept. 3rd 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Dear Sir,

You doubtless received, some time since, a line from my sister Mrs. Coleman, written at my request, informing you that the condition of my health was such, at the time your letter of July 3rd was received, that I could not immediately answer it. Even now I am barely equal to the task. The opportunity, however, which your letter affords me of saying something to you in vindication of my connection with what Col. Johnston, in his

life of his father, is pleased to call the miserable affair of Fishing Creek.

In November 1862 I assumed, by assignment, the command of that portion of East Tennessee and South Eastern Kenty. embracing the troops stationed at Mile Springs, on the Cumberland river, and under the command of Genl. Zollicoffer. Genl. Z., as I understood the matter had been stationed there, by Genl. Johnston to prevent the enemy under Shoaf and confronting him on the opposite side of the river from crossing and penetrating into Tennessee. Shoaf's camp was at Summerset, on Fishing Creek, a tributary of the Cumberland and emptying into it a mile or two above Mile Springs. He was several miles away from the bank of the Cumberland. So that both the river and creek intervened between him and Genl. Z.

Whilst I was detained in Knoxville on business connected with my command, I received an official communication from Genl. Z. informing me that he had crossed the Cumberland, by fording, and was fortifying a camp on the right bank &c. By the messenger who bore me his communication, I ordered him to recross the river, and resume his orriginal position &c on the left bank. Early in Jan. I reached Mile Springs, and found, to my surprise Genl. Z. still on the right bank. He called on me immediately and informed me that his messenger who bore back my order to him, had lost several days, in returning and that when he received it, he had supposed that I would arrive allmost immediately, and hoping to be able to convince me that it would be better to remain on the right bank, he had postponed crossing, untill, by a rise in the river, it had become impossible to effect it &c—that all his artillery and a large portion of his wagons were on the right bank, and his only means of transferring them to the other bank were a small ferry boat and a very small stern-wheel steamer, entirely inadequate to the purpose &c. I was dissatisfied, but as I knew that Genl. Z. had been actuated by pure motives I accepted his excuse. Details were placed in the woods to prepare timber and build flat-boats for the transportation of artillery and wagons to the left bank of the river. The weather was execrable, the men unskilled, so that the work progressed slowly.

Such was the posture of affairs, when, on the morning of the 18th of Jan. I was informed that Genl. Thomas was marching on me with a large force of all arms and would encamp that night within a few miles of me. Here was thrust upon me the very contingency which my order to Genl. Z. from Knoxville was intended to obviate. It rained violently throughout this

day until late in the afternoon, when it occurred to me that Fishing Creek must so rise as to render it impossible for Shoaf to connect himself with Thomas. Acting upon this idea I summoned a council of Superior Officers and laying before them the circumstances of the case, asked their advice &c. There was not one of them who did not concur with me in the opinion that Thomas must be attacked immediately and if possible by surprise,—that such attack if successful, merely, in repelling him would probably give us time to cross the Cumberland with artillery and wagons, by means of our boats, then being built &c. Accordingly, at twelve o'clock at night, we marched for the position of the enemy, ascertained to be some six miles away. We had scarcely taken up the line of march when it (rain) began to fall, the darkness became excessive, consequent confusion great, so that day dawned before we reached his position. The attack as a surprise failed, nevertheless it was promptly made. It rained violently throughout the action, rendering all the flint-lock guns useless. The men bearing them were alowed to fall back on the reserve.

The action was progressing sucessfully when the fall of Genl. Z. was announced to me. Apprehending disastrous consequences, I hastened to the front. My apprehensions were well founded—I found the line of battle in confusion and falling back and after a vain effort to restore the battle, yealded to necessity, and by the interposition of the reserve covered the shatered line and effected my retreat to camp without loss.

I reached camp, myself late in the afternoon. Not long afterwards the enemy opened fire at long range. Night coming on he ceased to fire. The few shot and sheles that fell in the camp so plainly demonstrated the demoralization of the men that I doubted even if I had had rations, which I had not, whether the camp could have been successfully defended for twenty four hours. There was not in the camp, and had not been for some time a days rations, beyond the daily need. This state of affairs was due to the exhaustion of the neighbouring country and the impracticability of the roads.

It became now my sole object to transfer the men with their arms, the cavalry horses, and teams to the left bank of the river. This was successfully accomplished by dawn of the next day.

I attribute the loss of the battle, in a great degree, to the inferiority of our arms, and the untimely fall of Genl. Z. who was known and highly esteemed by the men, who were almost all Tennesseeans.

I think I have shown that the battle of Fishing Creek was a

necessity, and that I ought not to be held responsible for that necessity. As to how I managed it I have nothing farther to say.

In conclusion let me thank you, Sir, for the friendship you have ever manifested for me, under all circumstances. I am proud of it. Present my regards to Mrs. Davis, and believe me

Your friend,

G. B. Crittenden.

endorsed:
Genl. G. B. Crittenden; about Fishing Creek.

E. Barksdale to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

THE CLARION

Jackson, Miss. September 6, 1880

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My Dear Sir,

Your estemed favor of the 3rd is at hand. Like you, while I accord to Gen. Hancock the credit of having followed his convictions of duty in the late war, and of having been a brave soldier, I do not carry my admiration for him to the extent of glorying him for his military achievements and his success, by reason of overwhelming numbers and resources, over the men who fought on the side I am forever convinced was right. Some of our friends in their enthusiasm over him as the Democratic candidate have done this, and have gone so far as to propose a grand celebration over the grave of our brothers at Gettysburg. The proposition is so shocking, however, that I am gratified to note the good sense of both sides revolts at it. What Gen. Hancock is to be honored for by Southern men is his magnanimity to the people whom he had met in battle, after the war was over; and above all, for the firmness with which he proclaimed and maintained the rights which belonged to them as freemen. He certainly did show the courage of his convictions in adhering to the right against the greatest pressure, and I am sure he has established his claim to be trusted by our people.

I am glad you have given me the opportunity to reproduce the extract you have enclosed. The matter for the next paper is in the hands of the printers; but it will not spoil before another number is issued.

Your and Mrs. Davis' kind invitation is appreciated. Nothing would afford me more pleasure than to accept it. But if I should be able to spare the time for a visit to the seashore, my

sojourn will have to be very short, as my engagements at home do not permit me to be away long at a time.

With kind remembrances to Mrs. Davis, I remain, as ever,

Truly your friend,

E. BARKSDALE

endorsed:
E. Barksdale; about Genl Hancock.

C. G. Memminger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Flat Rock, N. C., Sept. 9, 1880.

Hon: Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
My Dear Sir,

I am very glad to have had the pleasure once more of seeing your name subscribed to a Letter, and to know that you are still enjoying the resources of health and usefulness. It would afford me much pleasure to furnish you with the documents requested in your letter; but if I ever had them, they were unfortunately destroyed with my other Books and papers when Sherman put the torch to Columbia. I cannot rely sufficiently on my memory to attempt giving information on such a subject without documents, and can only aid by the suggestion that I have heard that all the Books of the Treasury Dept. have been preserved at Washington, and that some friend may procure the information there.

Be pleased to present my kindly and most respectful remembrance to Mrs. Davis, and accept for yourself my continuing assurances of regard, respect and esteem,

Very truly yours,

C. G. MEMMINGER,

endorsed:
C. G. Memminger; about foreign loan; Sept. 9th, 1880.

Marcus J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

War Department,
War Record Office
Washington, Sept. 15, 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
My dear Sir,

An absence from home of several weeks, has caused the delay in replying to your letter.

I will look into the correspondence of Genl. Johnston for 1862, and send you copies of such letters as are pertinent to the subject you mention.

The present Adjt. Genl. Richard C. Drum is a younger brother of your old friend and classmate Simon Drum, whom you mention, and is in every regard a different man from the late occupant of that office.

Very truly your friend,
(Signed) MARCUS J. WRIGHT.

Crafts J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

U.S.M.H.,
Wright's Grove, Cook County, Ill.
North Chicago.
Oct. 4, /80

Dear Friend,

I am very weary with a continued stay in this city since 75 and long for a change. I yearn also to meet once more the remnant of my class. Just amidst the election excitement it *might* not be pleasant to you to come North though I should fear for you now no other treatment than any other citizen. Except that curiosity to see one who has acted so conspicuous a part in National affairs which one like I would not attract. Time hurries us on so fast, that at our years infirmities of life hasten us on our course, and make the chance of meeting less and less. I may say this as to myself, more than you would as to yours. My injuries from Shiloh stick to me and at times prostrate me and reduce me to a very bad state and I cannot count long on future stay. It does not appear that you will come so I have it in my mind to come to you for a few days in November if I can get leave and can manage the means I have only a living here for my wife and self. Our pay of $100. a mo. leaves but a remnant, as I have besides these two—my daughter and one grandson—wholly and partly to aid.

What would be the chance of my getting a pass or half ticket, do you think for myself and some one of my children, who may accompany me, from N. O. to Washington via the Southern Route, near Charleston so that I pass through Charlotte N. C. where Drayton is. I must go to Washington in Dec. but I cannot surely do all—hence this inquiry. If you are going away of course I shall not come, but go to Washington direct from here.

I am unable to take any part in the Election canvass and

have not since 75. I do not consider Illinois or Chicago my home—but Cin.—hence I (neither) claim nor exercise any right here—though I temporarily reside here. When my grand children can be left to themselves, I go back to my old home from 32 to 75 where my burial place is, where my parents and children rest and where I hope to be placed. To make sure, I shall go back or arrange if dead away to be sent there. Our place here is on the Lake—on no thorough fare, and where all is quiet. We have naught to do with the sick and see little of them. Though we live in the Hospital it is a very large and expensive building —costing 450.000$—so there is room enough. But it is only necessity keeps me here and the desire to remain a year or so longer that my grand daughters may get through their education in the high school equal to any in the country but where it costs me nothing—a great point as I now am.

Our best regards to Mrs. D.

Affectionately yours,
(Signed) CRAFTS J. WRIGHT.

Hon. J. Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus, (Va.) Oct. 5th, 1880.

My dear friend,

Johnston's book is the most contemptible trash—he and Beauregard are paltry fellows,—they weary me. Your plan is the most dignified. I intend to attack their reliability, and wish my ability was competent to handle the facts I have got together.

Some of Bgds points were want of foresight in my apprehensions of want, and hampering Col. Lee. I have found a letter from Broadwell June 7th '62 exploding all this; he was reporting to me on his mission out there, to bring over supplies to the East of the Miss.: to this end he required the aid of our fleet, went to Beauregard "who cordially approved my plans of operations and promised aid" &c &c. Lee had evidently not distributed the money he had received, for B. says the disbursing offs. were in want and writes,

"Genl. B. has been seriously embarrassed by incompetency in his commissariat Dept. and has most cordially seconded any suggestions offering him improvement. The chief incumbent is

said to be a great invalid and unequal to the emergency. I think however that with proper effort others who do feel an interest, and are willing to work, will yet be able to maintain the army notwithstanding devastation and bareness of the country, and demoralization incident to this retreat''—(which Beauregard claimed equal to a ''brilliant victory'')— The disbursing officers report themselves without funds. I can borrow $250,000 or ½ million from Memphis Bankers and Dameron thinks there is a large amount owned by the N. O. Banks at Jackson. I shall make an effort to place at the disposal of the disbursing officers enough money to prevent them from annoying you for some time.''

Now Lee had been furnished with more money than he called for. I have a mem. somewhere of the sums, and when he was relieved by Walker, the latter had no occasion to apply for funds for over 7 months. But Beauregard wrote to Lee who gave you an official copy of the leter which I now have: saying that he applied June 18 for Major Wick to be appointed in Lee's place, to receive the funds of Memphis Bankers, &c &c and he intended to relieve Lee from the hampering of his chief by making him inspector Genl. of Subsistence.

Broadwell being dead I can not be assured of his ability to have got the money from Memphis, but it explodes Bgds plea for wanting Moses Wick in Lee's place.

If you can see Mr. Paine (Payne) on your next visit to N. O. I wish you would talk to him and learn if Broadwell's influence in Memphis was commensurate with his expectations.

The fruits of Bll's work in getting supplies of Sugar, Molasses, Corn, Meat, meal salt and cattle were evidence of his ability. Conrad's attack on him in the house did much damage to our cause in Miss.[1]

I have entered my 70th year, and have a very painful sort of constriction around my chest generally every night. I hope it is not due to asthma.

How about the trip to Carlsruhe? It is too late; I fear you are very feeble though hope not. However as Mom Paul used to say ''God knows''—May He keep you in peace and comfort. Our love to you and Mrs. Davis. Adios.

your friend as ever,
L. B. N.

P.S. Words are intended by God for co-intelligence by man ''to conceal thoughts.'' Sherman writes to Hancock that he

[1] Besides supplying Ark. with sugar and molasses he had engaged over 70000 bbls. at that time to be used on the East side.

don't like military being used to influence and controll civil matters. Hancock in command at Washington asserts Sherman wrote "The President must be obeyed." H. does not dissent—concurs. Judge Miller (?) (or Whilie) issues the "writ of writs"—Ha. sneaks off to Devens and together they smother up Whilie. H. is pathetic over the "poor child" Ann Surat and knowing the case to be hopeless, he having skulked his glorious chance of saving the defenseless victim, like Pontius Pilate washes his hands (with posted couriers instead of water) and hangs the innocent. The Republicans and democrats understand the point alike, the former are the criminals so keep silent, the latter dodge it and say "he had to obey orders" &c—the President is Caesar. Hancock writes a letter which Judge Black applauds, the Democrats clap their hands, while it is evidence of a shameful recreancy in the "Hero." Garfield is a poor scrub; Hancock was raised a "gentleman and officer." The U. S. at large is a most unsavoury subject of reflection as "God knows."

L. B. N.

endorsed:
L. B. Northrop.

F. E. Boyle[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington D. C. Oct. 10, 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir:

Absence from the city and the desire since my return to obtain information on the subject of your letter have delayed my answer. I have not succeeded in the latter purpose. But I know that on the evening before the day of the execution of Maj. Wirz, a man visited me, on the part of a cabinet officer to inform me that Maj. Wirz would be pardoned if he would implicate Jefferson Davis in the cruelties at Andersonville. No names were given by this emissary and upon my refusing to take any action in the matter, he went to Mr. Louis Schade counsel for Maj. Wirz, with the same purpose and with a like result.

When I visited Maj. Wirz the next morning, he told me that the same proposal had been made to him and had been rejected with scorn. The Major was very indignant and said that whilst he was innocent of the charges for which he was about to suffer death, he would not purchase his liberty by perjury and a crime such as was made the condition of his freedom. I attended

[1] The Catholic priest who ministered to Major Wirz.

the Major to the scaffold and he died in the peace of God and praying for his enemies. I know that he was indeed innocent of all the cruel charges, on which his life was sworn away and I was edifyed by the Christian spirit in which he submitted to his persecutors.

Yrs very truly
F. E. Boyle

endorsed: Father Boyle, about Wirz.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.[1]

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Oct 14th 1880.

Beauvoir,
Harison Co.
Missi.
Genl Marcus J. Wright,
Dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for your kind letters of the 23rd Ult. and the 5th Inst with their valuable enclosures.

My letter of the 28th of Feb. in answer to the letters of Genl Johnston of the 22 and 23 & 25 shows that my "*plan*" was after he announced that he could not maintain his present position, that his Army should be mobilized, so as to return the heavy guns, no longer useful to him, in order that they might be replaced on the defences of the capital, from which they had been removed to answer his requisitions.

In my letter of March 6th 62, if you have it, you will see that instead of pressing him to an early movement I argued from his own data, that there could be no need for haste because if the roads & streams were in the condition described by him, they must prevent an early advance of the enemy, and renewed the argument for the removal of his ordnance & public stores. One of his complaints had been that his men wanted more frequent issues of bacon, they being then supplied with fresh beef, I think five times a week, so I called his special attention to the bacon which had been cured at Thoroughfare Gap. The bacon was not removed the establishment was burned, and our troops subsequently felt the serious loss thus inflicted. I did not know then what we both know now, that his apprehension of an early advance by the enemy was unfounded, for McClelan had then decided to descend the Potomac & was completing his preparations to carry out that programme. The illtimed, and destructive movement may require some apology, but is certainly not to be

found in my correspondence with Genl Johnston. Whether to retreat or to advance, it was equally necessary that the Army should be mobilized & that the plan for retreating as the only remedy was generated by other brain than mine is conclusively shown by my telegram of March 10, which I infer from your memorandum is in your possession that held forth the prospect of standing still until he could advance, which you will perceive was only three days before he announced himself in retreat.

I am much obliged to you for the copy of the tripartite letter you enclose to me and of which I should otherwise have never been informed. A gentleman of high instincts may well be surprised that Generals who had asked their Executive to confer with them should secretly prepare a report of their conversation with him & give him no opportunity to say whether he was correctly represented or not in the remarks attributed to him, as well as those used by themselves. I can scarcely regret that judging others by myself, I didn't think it necessary to have witnesses for my protection. I have not the letters of Genl Johnston named on your slip Feb 22, 23 & 24 and March 1-3-5, but suppose their contents were all correctly noticed in the answers of Feb. 28th & March 6th.

I have not the letter you describe as written by Johnston, Beauregard & Smith jointly on 29 of Sep 1861 on the organization of the Army & replied to by Mr. Benjamin unless they are to be found on the files of the War Office I have no idea how they are to be obtained. I remember that some very ill considered arguments were made to the Secty of War, Mr. Benjamin against his demand that they should comply in organization with the terms of the law, and complaints were made to me of Mr. Benjamin because he promptly put aside their pretension to be above the law, which I had occasion, kindly, to expose.

To you as a faithful & honored associate in our struggle, I may say that my heart & mind were concentrated on the maintenance of our cause. Therefore I left to others who had less singleness of purpose to make up records for their future reputation. Except Official papers, I never had any, and of those I have been mainly robbed. I grieve to say much of the robbery has been since the war, and by pseudo friends. So much in explanation of my little ability to supply you with [documents] relating to transactions of that period. I am deeply obliged to you for the courteous kindness you have shown to me, and while I am reluctant to tax you, you must excuse me for reminding you of my wish to get a true statement of the forces at Manassas on both sides. There is a deceptive dodging process of stating

the number "engaged" or "whole number of effectives," both terms serving to conceal the number of reserves, extra duty & detached men, all of whom were present & could have been made available in battle. The statement which would truly show the relative strength of contestants, would be the total present for duty, including extra duty men. The men who bear litters, drive subsistence or ammunition wagons, are quite as much a part of the active force as the drivers of the guns & caissons.

With great regard I am
Very truly yours,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Geo. Davis to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Wilmington, N. C., 15th Oct. 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

My Dear Sir:

Returning from a long summer holiday rendered necessary by the state of my health, I have your letter of 1st Oct. inst. which I proceed to answer as well as I can.

I have no written memoranda to guide me; and I regret to say that after the lapse of fifteen years my memory cannot recall the particular details of the historical event to which you allude, and I can give nothing more than the general impression made upon my mind at the time.

Gen. Johnston's "Narrative," pages 396, 398, speaks of two Conferences held by you at Greensboro in April 1865, with Gen. Beauregard and himself, in the presence of your Cabinet.

I have no recollection of two such conferences, and am quite confident that I was present at only one—that which was held soon after his arrival at Greensboro; and of which he speaks on pages 396, 397. Of the other, on the next day, which he says was brought about by the intervention of Gen. Breckinridge, and of which he speaks on pages 398 et seq. I know nothing.

Of the first conference the Narrative, page 397, says—"But the President's object seemed to be to give, not to obtain information. * * * Neither opinions nor information was asked, and the conference terminated."

The impression made upon my mind by that interview, and which is still distinct and vivid, is of a very different character. In all that was said by you your main object seemed to be to

obtain from the generals the fullest particulars of the situation, and a frank expression of their views, plans, and purposes, and of what, if anything, they had to recommend or propose to you in the emergency. While, on their part, they appeared to me to be very guarded and reticent throughout the whole conference. The general tenor of their remarks was confined to the disparity of the two armies in numbers and resources, and to the inability of Gen. Johnston to oppose Sherman's advance. The Narrative does not state that, at this interview, any thing took place beyond this general discussion. And in that my recollection concurs.

Certainly no suggestion was then made of a conference with Gen. Sherman, or of negotiations for peace; and least of all was there anything foreshadowing an immediate unconditional surrender.

Very Truly Yours
endorsed: Geo. Davis.
In ref. to conference at Greensboro.

George Davis to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Private.)

Wilmington (N. C.) 15th Oct. 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
Dear Sir and Friend,

I have never read Gen. Johnston's book—never permitted myself even to look into it—until your letter made it necessary. The impression it has made upon me is very painful. That he should do all in his power to defend his own reputation was natural, and was to have been expected. But that, in doing so, he should have permitted himself, so unnecessarily, and so vindictively to assail yours, is to me a matter of astonishment, and of poignant regret. In particular, the plain declaration on page 411 of his "Narrative," that your final orders were dictated by a prudent regard for the safety of yourself and of your cabinet, rather than by a patriotic concern for that of the army and the people, is most unjust, ungenerous, and unmanly; and ought to excite the severe reprehension of every true Southern man. The proverb teaches us that "the unfortunate are always in the wrong." But I rejoice in the conviction that, like Lord Bacon, you can well afford to leave your reputation "to after ages, and to men's charitable speeches."

I regret that my memory does not enable me to answer your

inquiry more fully and minutely. But in the accompanying letter I have done all that I could.

I beg you to believe that I hold you and Mrs. Davis always in most kind and loving remembrance, and that I am ever

Faithfully
Your Friend,
GEO. DAVIS.

endorsed:
Geo. Davis; Oct. 1880; about J. E. J.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Missi.
15th Oct. 1880.

Dear Sir,

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind letter of the 5th Inst. and for your consideration in enclosing to me copy of a "paper" the existence of which was unknown to me, and which because of its special reference to myself I am glad to possess.

The "paper" purports to be a statement of a conversation of two hours duration, and to have been prepared from memory, four months after the conversation occurred. The occasion is represented to have been an official conference or council between myself as the President of the Confederate States and the three senior Generals of the Confederate Army in Northern Virginia.

It is a condemnatory fact, not stated in the paper, that no notice was given to me of a purpose to make a record of the conversation, and no opportunity allowed me to make any correction of expressions attributed to me in the paper thus secretly prepared, and so preserved until in the nineteenth year after its date, it was revealed to me by being offered to the United States for publication among the documents relating to the War. It may naturally be asked why was it secretly prepared, and why now offered for publication? Without assigning a motive, or directly answering the questions, I think however it can scarcely be claimed that the object was thereby to increase the military power and to promote the ultimate success of the Confederate cause.

Now having introduced this contribution to the history of the War, in the questionable shape under which it appears, I will summarily notice its prominent features.

The paper bearing date 31st Jany. 1862 appears to have been

written by Genl. G. W. Smith and to have been approved by Genls. Beauregard and J. E. Johnston. It does not in some important respects agree with my recollection of what occurred and is wanting in consistency, that infallible test of accurate narration.

The document opens with a paraphrase of a letter said to have been written to the Sect. of War by Genl. J. E. Johnston asking for a conference to be held at his Head Quarters, to decide whether the army could be reinforced to the extent that the Commanding General deemed necessary for an offensive campaign. The manner in which Genl. Johnston on other occasions requested me to visit the army under his command, was so different from that represented in this paraphrase, that I wish a copy of the letter had been given, which was probably not longer than the statement made of its contents.

If the purpose was to discuss the reinforcement of his army by the transfer of troops from other commands as the recital of the paper indicates, Genl. Johnston would have known that in Richmond where all the returns were to be found, that question could be best considered and decided. As his army was not engaged in active operations it would seem to have been more probable and proper, that he should have gone to the War Office rather than have asked that "the President, or the Secretary of War, or some one representing them" should go to his Head Quarters to solve so grave a problem; not by the best attainable data, but on such speculative views as the paper exhibits.

Very little experience or a fair amount of modesty without any experience, would prevent one from announcing his conclusion that troops should be withdrawn from a place, or places, without knowing how many were there, what were the terms or conditions of their enlistment, and what was the necessity for their continuance in that service.

I went to the head quarters of the army in compliance with the request of Genl. Johnston, on the day after my arrival reviewed the troops on the plain above Fairfax Court House; after which I proposed to Genl. Johnston that we should have the desired conference, and readily assented to his wish that the two Generals next in rank to himself, Genls. Beauregard and G. W. Smith, should be present. I was there by invitation, and the confidence I felt in those officers, and in the purpose for which the consultation was desired, is shown by the fact that I met them unattended, and did not require minutes to be kept of the proceedings, conditions which would not have existed if the use to which the meeting has been put, had been anticipated.

In view of previous correspondence, the question for consideration, so far as I knew, was, What course should be adopted for the Army of the Potomac in the immediate future? Therefore I made the preliminary inquiry as to the number of troops there present for duty. To my surprise and disappointment, the effective strength was stated to be but little greater than when it fought the battle of the 21st of the preceding July. The frequent reenforcements which had been sent to that army in nowise prepared me for such an announcement. To my inquiry as to what force would be required for the contemplated advance into Maryland, the lowest estimate made by any of them was about twice the number there present for duty. How little I was prepared for such a condition of things will be realized from the fact that previous suggestions by the generals in regard to a purpose to advance into Maryland had induced me, when I went to that conference, to take with me some drawings made by the veteran soldier and engineer, Colonel Crozet, of the falls of the Potomac, to show the feasibility of crossing the river at that point. Very little knowledge of the condition and military resources of the country must have sufficed to show that I had no power to make the demanded addition to that army without a total disregard of the safety of other threatened positions. It only remained for me to answer that I had not power to furnish such a number of troops; and, unless the militia bearing their private arms could be relied on, we could not possibly fulfill such a requisition until after the receipt of the small-arms which we had early and constantly striven to procure from abroad, and had for some time expected. Whatever other object there may have been for intensifying the dangers of inaction it surely could not by these conferees have been thought necessary to impress that danger specially on me and to put their thoughts on record for after times in such connection as to give them that special application. My correspondence of anterior date might have shown that I was fully aware of it, and my suggestions in the interview certainly did not look as if it was necessary to impress me with the advantage of action.

In one part of the paper it is stated that the reenforcements asked for were to be "seasoned soldiers," such as were there present, and who were said to be in the "finest fighting condition." This, if such a proposition had been made, would have exposed its absurdity, as well as the loophole it offered for escape, by subsequently asserting that the troops furnished were not up to the proposed standard. It must be remembered that

this was during the first year of the war, into which the Confederacy entered without an army.

In another part of the paper it is stated that there were hope and expectation that, before the end of the winter, arms would be introduced into the country, and that then we could successfully invade that of the enemy; but this supply of arms, however abundant, could not furnish "seasoned soldiers," and the two propositions are therefore inconsistent. In one place it is written that "it was felt it might be better to run the risk of almost certain destruction fighting upon the other side of the Potomac, rather than see the gradual dying out and deterioration of this army during a winter," etc.; but, when it was proposed to cross into eastern Maryland on a steamer in our possession for a partial campaign, difficulties arose like the lion in the path of the sluggard, so that the proposition was postponed and never executed. In like manner the expedition into Western Virginia was projected and achieved by Gen. T. J. Jackson, who was not of this conference.

We are not informed who it was that "felt" that stern desire and purpose dread to go forth at "the risk of almost certain destruction" but from the foregoing and other indications, including the decision of the conferees that twice the force available was necessary for the contemplated movement across the Potomac, it is to be inferred that elsewhere than among the three Generals the described feeling must have existed.

It is true that to some extent, quite short of the dire extremity of "destruction" a desire to cross the Potomac in 1861 was expressed by other officers who thought the risk should be taken with the means then possessed. For instance there were those who thought it feasible by using the Steam Boat then at the mouth of Acquia creek to cross into eastern Maryland and by a rapid movement to perform a valuable service in that region; another example of daring and desire to use the power then available, was the request sent through Genl. W. N. Pendleton of the Artillery, by Brig. Genl. T. J. Jackson, that his Brigade should be detached and permitted to cross the Potomac and attack the enemy at his capital.

To return to the paper now under review. In one place it is written that the President stated, "At that time no reenforcements could be furnished to the army of the character asked for." In another place he is made to say he could not take any troops from the points named, and, "without arms from abroad, could not reenforce that army." Here, again, it is clear from the answer that the proposition had been for such reenforcement

as additional arms would enable him to give, not for "seasoned soldiers" but for such men as would be brought into service when we could supply them with arms. Those arms he expected to receive, barring the dangers of the sea, and of the enemy, which obstacles alone prevented the "positive assurance that they would be received at all."

It was, as stated, with deep regret and bitter disappointment that I found, notwithstanding our diligent efforts to reenforce this army before and after the battle of Manassas, that its strength had but little increased, and that the arms of absentees and discharged men were represented by only twenty-five hundred on hand. Again it is seen that the question was how many arms could be had for new levies.

The requisition for reinforcements being always treated as a thing dependent upon the supply of arms, the forces of the Confederacy consisting of its citizens who had been mustered into service as and when arms could be obtained, during the brief period since the Provisional government was instituted, then about seven months, what could have been more idle than to have asked for seasoned soldiers equal in number to the largest and oldest army we had; unless it would have been the "large additional transportation and munitions of war" which it is stated was required if the reenforcement proposed should be furnished. To a long established government with a "standing army" and arsenals supplied with the munitions of war, such a requisition might have been properly offered, but under the well known condition of the Confederacy it could not have been seriously made or respectfully received.

Having noticed the improbabilities and inconsistencies of the paper and referred to the circumstances under which it was prepared, I submit to honorable men the fact of the concealment from me in which it was kept, and leave them to judge of the motive for that ex parte statement and the chances for such co-intelligence as needs must exist between the Executive of a government and the Commanders of its armies, to insure attainable success.

The position at Fairfax Court-House, though it would answer very well as a point from which to advance, was quite unfavorable for defense; and when I so remarked, the opinion seemed to be that to which the generals had previously arrived. It, therefore, only remained to consider what change of position should be made in the event of the enemy threatening soon to advance. But in the mean time I hoped that something could be done by detachments from the army to effect objects less

difficult than an advance against his main force, and particularly indicated the lower part of Maryland, where a small force was said to be ravaging the country and oppressing our friends. This, I thought, might be feasible by the establishment of a battery near to Acquia Creek, where the channel of the Potomac was said to be so narrow that our guns could prevent the use of the river by the enemy's boats, and, by employing a steamboat lying there, troops enough could be sent over some night to defeat that force, and return before any large body could be concentrated against them. The effect of the battery and of the expedition, it was hoped, would be important in relieving our friends and securing recruits from those who wished to join us. Previously, General Johnston's attention had been called to possibilities in the Valley of the Shenandoah, and that these and other like things were not done, was surely due to other causes than "the policy of the Administration," as will appear by the letters hereto annexed:

"Richmond, Virginia, August 1, 1861.

"General J. E. Johnston:

". . . General Lee has gone to western Virginia, and I hope may be able to strike a decisive blow in that quarter, or, failing in that, will be able to organize and post our troops so as to check the enemy, after which he will return to this place.

"The movement of Banks will require your attention. It may be a *ruse*, but, if a real movement, when your army has the requisite strength and mobility, you will probably find an opportunity, by a rapid movement through the passes, to strike him in rear or flank, and thus add another to your many claims to your country's gratitude. . . . We must be prompt to avail ourselves of the weakness resulting from the exchange of new and less reliable forces of the enemy, for those heretofore in service, as well as of the moral effect produced by their late defeat. . . .

"I am, as ever, your friend, "JEFFERSON DAVIS."

From the correspondence which occurred after the conference at Fairfax Court-House, I select a reply made to General Smith, who had written to me in advocacy of the views he had then expressed about large reenforcements to the Army of the Potomac, for an advance into Maryland. Nothing is more common than that a general, realizing the wants of the army with which he is serving, and the ends that might be achieved if those wants were supplied, should overlook the necessities of others, and accept rumors of large forces which do not exist, and assume the absence of danger elsewhere than in his own front.

"Richmond, Virginia, October 10, 1861.

"Major-General G. W. Smith,
Army of the Potomac.

". . . Your remarks about the moral effect of repressing the hope of the volunteers for an advance are in accordance with the painful impression made on me when, in our council, it was revealed to me that the Army of the Potomac had been reduced to about one half the legalized strength, and that the arms to restore the numbers were not in depot. As I there suggested, though you may not be able to advance into Maryland and expel the enemy, it may be possible to keep up the spirits of your troops by expeditions such as that particularly spoken of against Sickles's brigade on the lower Potomac, or Banks's above. By destroying the canal and making other rapid movements wherever opportunity presents, to beat detachments or to destroy lines of communications. . . .

"Very truly, your friend,
"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

The joyous exaltation of the people over the victory at Manassas, on the 21st of July 1861, was followed by murmurs of dissatisfaction at what was termed a failure to reap the fruits of victory, and partizan zeal invented the excuse that the Generals were prevented from pursuing the routed enemy and triumphantly entering his capital by the untimely interference of the President, when this baseless fiction had been so utterly exploded that those who were responsible should have been ashamed of it, in due time another complaint arose that patriotic citizens continued to be sent forward to reenforce the victorious Army and to spend their time in camps of inactivity; and this begat as fallacious a story as the first, viz. that the inaction was due to the "policy of the Administration." The two letters inserted above, one written before and the other after the conference at Fairfax Court-House, show what was the fact and who could best have corrected the fallacy.

Again thanking you for your kind attention, I am
Respectfully and truly
Yours
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

John H. Reagan to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Palestine, Texas, Oct. 16th, 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
Esteemed Sir:

On my return home last night for a canvassing tour of two weeks, I found your letter of the 1st instant, calling my attention to certain pages of Gen. Johnston's narrative, and submitting enquiries to me concerning the matters treated of. Life has been so busy with me that I have not read Gen. Johnston's Narrative, and indeed I have not seen the book. I went in town to-day and made enquiry for it but could not find it. I leave home in the morning on the canvass and I shall be engaged every day until the 2nd of November, and it will not be in my power to answer your letter before that time. But as soon as possible after that I will get the book and examine the parts referred to, and make answer to your letter.

Mrs. Reagan desires to be remembered to yourself and to Mrs. Davis. And my little Jeff, your namesake, asks me to send you his love. He is a bright smart boy, ten years old now.

With great respect,
JOHN H. REAGAN.

endorsed: Jno. H. Reagan; about J. E. Johnston; Oct. 1880.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Missi.
21st Oct 1880

Genl Marcus J. Wright,
My dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for your kind letter of the 18th inst. with its desired inclosures. I am not surprised that you find the returns inaccurate, though the one thing which it might be supposed a General would know is the number of his own troops of which he has daily reports. The letters of Genl Johnston of 22, 23 & 25th of Feb. 1862 were answered by me on the 28th of Feb. If Maj. Walthall did not send you a copy of my letter, I can have it copied for you if you desire it. My answer very clearly shows that I was pressing upon him the removal of heavy guns and otherwise mobilizing his army, which one who should draw a conclusion entirely from his letters, might very naturally

mistake as a pressure upon him to make a hasty retreat. His letter of the first of March of which you also send me a copy, was answered at length on the 4th of the same month, by reading that you will see that he would have been perfectly justified by my letter in arresting anybody who came in his lines with such spurious order as he describes. You will also notice my request that the General should send to the War Office the cases he described; and that, so far as I know, was the last of it, except the sending of a handbill which was probably that of somebody seeking to avail himself of the law for reorganizing the twelve months men. I have no recollection, but suppose from his letter of March that such a handbill was enclosed to me. If so, was no doubt sent to the War Dept. If you have a copy of my letter of March 6th you will therein see what foundation there is for talking of exposure in the execution of my orders.

Believe me to be
Sincerely yours,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lexington, Virginia, Oct. 22nd, 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Mississippi,
Dear and Honoured Friend,

Your esteemed favour of 14th inst. reached me day before yesterday.

Although I cannot, without consulting papers, and taking reasonable time therefor, give you even an imperfect list of officers worthiest of mention, in our Artillery arm; I write at once, to let you know, the best in my power shall be done, and with the least delay.

Your work will, I am sure, be of great value. I shall, if spared, look for it with peculiar interest. As will all your friends. By the world at large it will be eagerly received. And even the enemies of us Southernors and of yourself will look to it as of especial authority.

I am thankful you are kept in health and strength for the labour, and that you are still blessed with Mrs. Davis' cheering presence. You will, I trust, be enabled to realize in the work your own ideal.

But for serious disturbance of health, experienced by myself, the last ten years, rendering moderate sacred work all I can do,

I should probably have deemed it a duty to prepare a brief memoir of my own connection with our great struggle. Thus providentially hindered, however, I shall have to leave my papers, to be used or not in future, as events may determine.

You will not, I trust, be seriously inconvenienced by the non arrival, for a short time, of the names I will try to furnish.

Mrs. Pendleton is just now absent, visiting an old Virginia home, where two brothers and two sisters meet with her, or she would join me in affectionate regards to Mrs. Davis and yourself.

Commending you and all yours to the Divine favour,

I am, as ever,
truly your friend,
W. N. Pendleton.

endorsed:
Genl. Pendleton; 22d Oct. 1880.

W. N. R. Beall to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

St. Louis, Mo. 23d October 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
Dear Sir,

I, herein, enclose Copies of Such Telegrams and Letters in reference to my duties as Agt. to furnish Confederate Prisoners of War with Clothing &c as in my opinion give the information asked for in your Letter of 14th. Should you wish a Copy of my Report giving quantity of Clothing sent to the different Prisons, I will with pleasure furnish it.

In my opinion Mr. Stanton, at the time Sec. of War of the U. S. A. did all that was in his power to delay the furnishing of the Clothing under the agreement made between Lt. Gen. Grant and Col. Robt. Ould, and I was Informed by a Capt. of the U. S. A. who called on me, in New York City, after the U. S. Prisoners of War in the South had been supplied with Clothing by Gen. Hayes and his assistants; and, I had but commenced to send Clothing to the Confederate Prisoners; that, he was just from Washington City, and that Mr. Stanton urged that the agreement be broken up and that I be returned to Prison; that, Lt. Genl. Grant replied that his agreement with Col. Ould was made in good faith, and that if not adhered to he would send in his Resignation.

I am Very Respectfully,
W. N. R. Beall

J. F. Gilmer to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Rockwood, near Clarkesville,
Habersham Co. Georgia,

October 26th 1880.

Honorable Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Miss.
My dear Sir,

It is with extreme regret, nay, shame, that I find your letter of the 2d April last is still unanswered. When it reached Savannah, I was confined to my dark room with a serious and painful inflamation of the eyes, aggravated by a general prostration of body and mind. As soon as it was possible for me to go by steamer to New York, I was sent thither by my Savannah Physicians to be advised and treated by Dr. Agnew, of high repute in his special branch of the profession. I have finally returned to this,—my upcountry home,—with health partially restored,—but still feeble. Please accept this as the excuse for my apparent neglect.

Your letter has been carefully considered,—also the enclosed copies of your official order to me of the 20th February, 1865, and of the telegrams to Generals Lee and Beauregard,—both before and after the date of my orders to proceed to General Beauregard's Head Quarters. These aid my memory much in reference to the anxieties of that time, caused by reports from General Beauregard, whose forces were retreating before General Sherman's Army after the fall of Columbia S. C. They recall also the order of events. * * * General Beauregard's proposed plan of directing the retreat of the forces that had fallen back from South Carolina and Georgia to North Carolina, to the eastern part of the latter State, while the commands of Stephenson, Stewart and Cheatham were still to the west, caused you much anxiety and apprehension that disaster must be the result, as such a movement would have, in your judgment, rendered it impossible to effect a junction of the Confederate forces in time to stay the advance of the invaders, and at the same time it would have exposed our troops to destruction in detail, by allowing the enemy to occupy an interior line. It was under this state of affairs that you instructed me to proceed to General Beauregard's Head Quarters to advise with him as to the movements of his forces,—the most available roads to effect the earliest possible junction of his troops, which should be effected before

risking a battle with the enemy;—also, to advise as to the various and most effective means of delaying the march of the enemy's forces by obstructions and otherwise. I was instructed to keep the Government advised as to the subjects discussed with General Beauregard,—movements of troops, and all other matters of interest. My orders were to be shown to him, and I was to convey to him the views of the Government, as expressed to me before my departure from Richmond, on the Operations with which he was charged.

In addition to my official orders, I received a letter of private instructions of the same general purport and of the same date,—20th February, 1865.

In the private letter, however, I was directed, the more emphatically to urge such changes in the movements of the forces retreating from Georgia and South Carolina as were thought necessary to ensure a junction with the troops of Hood's army then coming from the South and West and to keep *all* on the *left* of the enemy's line of march. It was apparent to the Government that this essential union could not be effected if any of the commands were directed to eastern North Carolina before a junction, as General Sherman could and would, in that event, seize and hold the middle ground, and thus be enabled to attack and destroy the Confederates by detachments. And further, it was in the power of General Schofield, by a movement from Wilmington, N. C., to seize and hold,—or destroy—the Rail Roads of that section of the State. To avoid such disaster, I was instructed by letter and orally to advise with General Beauregard and urge the necessary changes and modifications in the originally contemplated movements of his divided forces, and to keep the Government fully informed as to the subjects discussed, the movements decided upon, as well as all other matters of interest. I was authorized to communicate directly with the President, with the view, as I supposed, to enable him to enforce the more promptly the views of the Government. *But according to my best recollection, the letter of private instructions* (which has been lost, unfortunately, with other papers of the Engineer Bureau)—*did not authorize me to assume the command, in case General Beauregard should fail to carry out the suggestions given and make the essential changes and modifications in his proposed movements.* It may have been your intention to invest me with such authority, should the contingency arise, but as it did *not*, I presume such authority was never given to me.

In my letter to you of 29th March last, I stated that I met General Beauregard at Charlotte, N. C.,—and that I reported

the condition of affairs to you, as I learned them to be after my arrival;—also, that General Jos. E. Johnston joined us in a few days,—about the 23d February, 1865, and had full conferences with General Beauregard as to the positions of the troops—their movements—and the march of the Enemy. He assumed the command and assigned to General Beauregard the duty of pressing forward Stephenson Stewart and Chatham's commands eastward as fast as possible, and proceeded himself to Fayetteville, N. C., to reorganize our divided forces,—and that I accompanied him as far as Greensboro, N. C., and thence, I returned to my charge at Richmond.

With high consideration, I am, dear Sir,

Ever yours, faithfully and truly,

J. F. Gilmer

endorsed:
Genl. Gilmer, in reg. to Gen. Beauregard in N. C.

N. B. Shepard to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Mo. Nov. 1st, 80.

Hon. Jefferson Davis
Beauvoir, Miss.
Dear Sir,

You will find enclosed a clipping from the Globe-Democrat a Radical newspaper—a leading one— Is this a true report of the speeches made on the occasion referred to?

Let me hear from you and if I can publish your statement in the St. Louis Republican. I was confederate soldier from the 1st of May 1861 to first of May 1865 and am actuated solely by the purpose to prevent a wrong done to your character and name.

If you answer please return the clipping.

With much respect I am

Yours Truly
(Signed) N. B. Shepard
2647 Olive St. Saint Louis, Mo.

From S. B. Sims.
New Orleans May 12th 1865
To any person interested
A friend of mine (Mr. J. B. Fleming of New Richmond Clermont County Ohio) has in his possesion, the Cane which the Legislature of the state of Mississipi presented to Mr. Jefferson

Davis, for his galant survasses in the Battels of — — — Mexico.
the manner in which it was got is, at the burning of the residence of Mr. Davis on his Plantation in Miss. a man saved it and sent it to his guardean Mr. Fleming, he would have saved some Books but could not take them in charge and keep them. I got the consent of Mr. Fleming to allow me to return it, after the war ended.

(Signed) S. B. Sims.
New Richmond O.

Messrs Sullivan Billings & Hughes
No. 124 Canal St. N.E.
Gentlemen I refer to you Mr. O. Cary M.D. who may consult you officially.

(Signed) S. B. Sims.

C. H. Harris to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Carl Pretzel's
National Weekly.
Chicago. Nov. 1st, 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.
My dear Sir:

I hope you will be pleased to pardon the intrusion upon your time and in asking your opinion of that "spot" upon the body politic, known as the "Politic Fabulist."

I should like exceedingly well to have a brief opinion from you of these men. I call them men only because God made them for men and we must necessarily let them pass as such. I have had some experience with them recently and have been called upon to lecture on "Political Liars," instead of holding "Crowners Quests." Would you be pleased to favor me, with an expression concerning them, to aid me in making a more complete success of my lecture.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) C. H. Harris.
(Carl Pretzel)

P.S. Private.

Many relics of the past *and your property* are on exhibition at the sample room of J. Suits, 318 State Street, this city. It seems strange that they have not been returned to you.

C. H. H.

Thomas H. Ellis to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

413 West Randolph St., Chicago.
Nov. 2d, 1880.

My dear Sir,

At the request of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, I am engaged in writing up the proceedings of that body from my original notes as its Secretary, and, in connection therewith, giving such a history of the Church as I may be able to give. One of the incidents which I would like to mention is your connection with St. Paul's, and particularly the circumstances of your receiving, on Sunday morning, while attending service in the Church, the announcement that the lines around Petersburg had been broken. This incident I have heard very often referred to in conversation, showing the popular interest that attaches to it. Of course you are aware that your conduct on the occasion has been distorted and misrepresented. Not long since I heard a discourse before the Historical Society in this city, from a gentleman who has occupied the positions of Secretary of State of the United States and Minister to France, in which he made such mention of the occurrence, or rather of you in connection with it, as greatly to irritate me. If you have no objection, I shall be much gratified if you will write me a letter with permission to copy it in my record, stating as nearly as you can recall the circumstances under which you received the dispatch informing you of the disaster at Petersburg, the language of the dispatch, and what you did at the time and immediately after its receipt. Should you write me such a letter, I design to make no other use of it than to copy it in the record-book referred to, where it will remain as an authentic account of an event which, however inconsiderable you may regard it, except in the fact that was communicated, I have no doubt will be read with interest by those who come after us.

When were you confirmed, and by whom? Have you seen a volume of Dr. Minnigerode's sermons, lately published at the request of some of the members of his congregation?

Mrs. Ellis and I beg to present our kind compliments and regards to Mrs. Davis and yourself. It is now ten years and a half since we came to Chicago to live, and in all that time she has never ceased to mourn for our old home and for the friends who there surrounded us. Tell Mrs. Davis, that in writing the record of St. Paul's, which will include some mention of the

Charities of the Church, my thoughts have been several times specially turned to her: recalling as I did her attentions to my mother in connection with St. Paul's Church Home: for I dare say she may remember that she used frequently to call for her in her carriage and take her to and from the meetings of the Managers.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) THOMAS H. ELLIS.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

Wm. P. Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Baton Rouge, La.
Nov. 4, 1880.

My dear Friend:

You may have seen some notice of my election as President of the La. State University here. I accepted the position under the impression that my election had harmonized the discordant elements; but soon found that such was not the case. A suit is pending to try the validity of the Board which appointed me, which Col. Boyd denies.

The Institution is almost disorganized, and it was urged that my assuming office would be useful to the U. no matter how the suit terminated. If the New Board is invalid, I shall feel no mortification in withdrawing with it. If valid, I will be prepared to go on. The position is a delicate one, but I trust that prudence, sincerity, and kindness may enable me to avoid all personal complications. The position is not such a one at the best, in view of climate and other considerations, as would exactly suit me. But people usually sit down where they are asked, not where they choose. So I have entered on my duties here.

When I passed through New Orleans, I would have found the opportunity to visit you; but I got a malarial fever, which quite used me up, and I lost the time I could have spared. I hope I am now quite well. When I can come to New Orleans, I wish to pay my respects to you.

Please make my affectionate regards to Mrs. Davis and your daughter, and to Genl. Davis.

Very sincerely your friend,

(Signed) WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.
Beauvoir.

From Nahum Capen.[1]

(From Confederate Museum.)

Mt. Ida, Dorchester, Mass.
Nov. 6th, 1880.

My dear Sir:

When Gen Cass failed of an election in 1849, I wrote a letter which was published in Washington, reciting the causes of defeat and urging the importance *of truth* to be found in the record of the Democratic Party. That letter led to a movement that influenced me to undertake the History of Democracy.

The events and results of the late campaign satisfy me more than ever that the people *need* the truth. Many of them are honestly believing in falsehood, i.e. they do not take the time to find out that they are deceived by Tory leaders.

The infamous party that caused the late war and have been a curse to the country since the peace, will be permitted by Providence to destroy itself and we shall see again peace and prosperity. Fraud and crime are now regarded important qualifications for office and the rule of the next four years will be sufficient punishment for the people provided they have *the truth.*

I look for *truth* respecting the South, from you—and in a year or two I expect to complete the 2d and 3d Vols. of the History, which will give the truth concerning the whole country and of parties. When we have a Constitutional Government, we shall cease to have a solid South for Democracy, but until that time I hope and trust the South will remain solid, that truth and patriotism may prevail.

I had a very interesting visit from Mr. Sage, of New Orleans. With best regards to Mrs. Davis, I remain,

Very faithfully yours,
(Signed) NAHUM CAPEN.

[1] Capen, Nahum (1804-1886), an author, was born in Canton, Mass., April 1, 1804. He became a member of the publishing firm of Marsh, Capen and Lyon in Boston in 1825; was among the first to advocate an international copyright and the collection of letters from street boxes; was postmaster of Boston, 1857-1861; and wrote several books on history, economics, and phrenology. He died in Boston, January 4, 1886.

Robert Ould to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, Va., Nov. 6th, 1880

My dear Mr. Davis,

You are unquestionably right in believing that our original purpose was to send cotton to Liverpool and with the proceeds supply our people in prison. I am very confident also that such a distinct proposal was made to the Federals and by them refused, and so we were compelled to adopt the other plan. I find nothing on my book relating to our original purpose, except my letter to Mulford of Oct. 6th 1864 (sent to you) in which I say: "In order to carry out this arrangement with effectiveness, it would be necessary that we should make purchases outside the limits of the Confederate States and then ship them to one of your ports. It would be impracticable to send the stores by our flag of truce boats." I sent a copy of this letter to Stanton and it is to this letter that Gen. Lee refers in his note of Oct. 19th 1864. Stanton replied and sent his reply and my letter and Mulfords to Gen. Lee. Doubtless Stanton in his letter required the cotton to be sent to Northern ports.

I have directed the necessary repairs to be put on the Section in Hollywood,—chiefly to the railing and marble slabs of the grave. They cost eight dollars. The entire section including turf will be in excellent order.

Yours truly and faithfully

Ro. Ould.

P.S. If you desire me to prosecute further the inquiry at Washington, I will do so, but I am sure you are safe in stating that a shipment to Liverpool and a purchase there with the proceeds was distinctly refused.

R.O.

endorsed:
Ro. Ould; on Cotton.

Thos. C. Reynolds to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

405 N. 6th Street
St. Louis Mo.
13th Nov. 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Dear Sir:

Since acknowledging, on 25th ulto., receipt of your favor of 20th ulto, I have used all my available time to prepare for

you a concise, but *accurate* account of the "early events in Missouri," in the late civil war. But the sources of information are so scattered, and often unreliable, that I find the labor a long one. As I believe your account of the events of that contest will be, "for all time,"—as Thucydides wrote of his own work, —*the* history of it, I am anxious that the materials I am to furnish you shall be impartial and indisputable,—founded, where practicable, on co(n)temporary documents,—especially with regard to the *inside* history of it. Therefore, without designing to draw out from you any full answer, I beg you to let me know whether you have preserved the following papers, (or any memoranda concerning the matter to which they refer,) as I have been unable to find them in my disarranged documents.

1. A letter from me to you, as President, early in June 1861, sent to you by a special messenger, and asking, as Lt. Govr. of Mo., military aid, and covering a short note from Gen. S. Price, as President of the Mo. convention. I think a confidential private letter from me fully explaining affairs in Mo. accompanied the official letters.

2. A protocol or memorandum of a conference between you, (attended by Mr. Toombs as Secretary of State and Mr. Walker as Secretary of War,) and Mr. E. C. Cabell, as envoy of Govr. Jackson, and myself, as Lt. Govr. of Mo., at Richmond late in June or early in July 1861. This conference has remained, as far as I know, a "secret of state:" but I have always considered it a complete vindication of your course, then and afterwards, towards Gov. Jackson and Gen. Price. It was one of the "turning points" in the contest, and I think you owe it to yourself and to *history,* to elucidate it.

3. A protocol or memorandum of some conference between you and Vice President Stephens, (orally reported to me in Oct. 1861 by Mr. E. C. Cabell, as on the authority of Mr. Stephens,) which took place soon after the first battle of Manassas, and in which you suggested that Govr. Jackson should resign or retire, and leave me to be the executive of Mo. Mr. Cabell stated that, Govr. Jackson having arrived at Richmond soon afterwards with Mr. D. R. Atchison, the latter induced you to have fuller confidence in Govr. J. and the suggestion was not revived. My recollection is that either about the time of Gov. J's. arrival in Richmond in 1861, or immediately after Mr. Cabell's information to me, I wrote you a confidential letter, strongly advising confidence in Gov. Jackson and Gen. Price. Have you such a letter?

4. Any documents or memoranda about the exchange in 1862 of Gen. S. Price's son, Gen. Edwin Price, a Mo. brigadier, for a Federal brigadier prisoner, and the subsequent return of Gen. Ed. Price to Mo. under some arrangement with the Federal authorities, (also in 1862.)

5. Any letters or memoranda concerning an application of Gen. Ed. Price, through a letter of Federal Congressman Jas. S. Rollins of Mo. to Confederate Senator Clark of Mo. (or perhaps directly to the Confederate authorities at Richmond, with a letter from Mr. Rollins to Mr. Clark,) in the winter of 1863-4 for leave to cross the military lines and visit, on private business, Gen. S. Price, then on furlough in Texas: and your refusal of the permission, after a conference with Senator Clark, and Representative Geo. G. Vest. The whole matter was related to me by Mr. Vest in the spring of 1864, at my head quarters in Marshall, Texas. I have not the remotest intention to revive any controversy about Gov. Jackson or the Prices, or to give any other than a *strictly impartial* account of facts: but something is due to the "truth of history."

If you think proper, or have no leisure for more, please merely answer the above by a simple yes or no. Please also let me know how soon you desire to obtain the information asked of me in your letter of 20th ulto.

I remain, Mr. President,
with the greatest respect,
Your sincere friend and servt.
(Signed) Thos. C. Reynolds.

Nahum Capen to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Mt. Ida, Dorchester, Mass.
Nov. 15th, 1880.

My dear Sir:

True Democracy recognises the belief in the *Rule of God,* and that whatever is permitted will be for His glory and the good of mankind.

The inauguration of Hayes by fraud to prolong the life of a party bent upon fraud to accomplish its ends, has led to disclosures important to the cause of truth. The confessions of guilt and the proof of guilt by the accomplices of crime, afford certainty to the materials of history.

The election of Garfield, who has long been in the rings of the Tory Party, was still necessary to unfold the many iniqui-

ties of its contriving. So many of his companions will want favors, and so few can have them, we shall have a series of disclosures that will amply compensate for the painful waiting of another four years. Only keep the South *solid* for Democracy, and when triumph comes it will be permanent. The enclosed will show the *beginning* already.[1]

Mr. Jones, of the Historical Society has not reported *one word* on the copy of History which I sent to him to be corrected!!

With best regards to Mrs. Davis and to Mr. Walthall,

Always yours,

Hon. Jeff. Davis, (Signed) NAHUM CAPEN.
Beauvoir, Miss.

W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lexington Virginia Nov. 24th 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Harrison County, Mississippi,
My Dear and honoured Friend,

You received, I hope, my note in reply to your valued letter of Oct. 14th written a few days after yours reached me, asking you to wait with me a few weeks, inasmuch as your request for names of worthy Artillery Officers and men could only be complied with,—after consulting a number of my war-papers.

I have now the great satisfaction of complying quite extensively with your request. Indeed, with heart in it, I have laboured more myself, as you will see, and have imposed much more labour upon you,—than you expected, or than was implied in the terms of your letter. But I saw no other way of enabling you to fulfill your wish, to illustrate the arm of service of which I happened to be the head,—by a group of the most distinguished and worthy officers and men,—than by submitting to you this full recital. From it you can, of course, select what may best suit the scope of your Memoirs, and your own sense of what is just and proportionate. Valuable as was the service rendered by Sir Walter Scott, in revivifying so much of the long forgotten;—greatly more important, in my estimation, is the work in which you are spending life's quiet decline,—reproducing the men, principles, and struggles, in which, and with whom, the part, under Providence, performed by yourself, was so marked.

[1] The article enclosed with this letter was written by Donn Piatt and is a lengthy diatribe on Republican subversion of the Civil Service and on the "national shame called Black Friday". Its subject is too well known, to be of special value in this collection.

As with sacred realities, they are lost sight of under the evil propensities of mankind,—so with the virtues and principles of our fathers,—the original balances of the Constitutional Govt. they established, and the rights of States and sections,—they are overborne by prejudice, lust of enormous wealth, and other evil agencies. Imperialism, Revolution, and Convulsive breaking up,—seem plainly enough fore-shadowed. And the next generation will probably much more than lament the failure of our great patriotic endeavour. Your work will be of vast value as an example. If from my several campaign Reports, or otherwise, I can further serve you, do not fail to let me know. The Divine blessing rest on you and yours, now and forever!

Affectionately yr. friend,

W. N. Pendleton.

endorsed:

Genl. Pendleton; about Arty. officers and the service performed by the Artillery arm; and a summary statement of our losses in heavy guns.

Jefferson Davis to S. A. Jackson.[1]

(The original letter now in possession of Herbert M. Martin, Danville, Virginia.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Miss. 24th Nov. 1880

Mr. S. A. Jackson,

My dear Sir,

Your kind letter of the 17th inst. has been received and I willingly comply with your request. The friend of my dear son is very near to my heart, and it would give me great pleasure to see you again, or if it should ever be in my power, to serve you. . . . My son Jefferson was born in Washington City, on the 16th of January, 1857. He died on the 16th of October, 1878, near to Memphis, Tenn., of yellow fever, then epidemic at that place. I have but one photograph taken a short time before the decease of my son. From that you will comprehend I would not part; but photographer shall make a duplicate and send it to your address.

Cordially I am your friend,

Jefferson Davis

[1] Jefferson Davis, Jr., was a member of the now extinct chapter of the Kappa Sigma Fraternity at Virginia Military Institute. After his death, Oct. 16, 1878, the Fraternity elected Mr. Davis to honorary membership, an honor conferred on no other person. This letter was written to Mr. Jackson as W. G. Procurator of Kappa Sigma. The Fraternity also presented Miss "Winnie" Davis, "The Daughter of the Confederacy," with its jeweled badge, which is preserved and exhibited in the Confederate Museum at Richmond.

W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lexington, Virginia, Decr. 6th 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Mississippi,

Dear and honoured Friend,

I lose no time in letting you know the safe arrival yesterday of your valued favour of 1st inst.; and assuring you that I will endeavor to furnish, as you request, within 5 or 6 weeks, a "statement of our losses in heavy guns by the retreat of the Army of the Potomac, and that of the Peninsula";—and such "sketch" as I can "of the battle of Gettysburg."

I am not sure that my preserved papers will enable me to give an exact statement of the guns lost &c. But what they do show you shall D.V. have.

All parts of the Gettysburg field fell not, of course, under my personal observation. But an exceedingly important part did, and of that, and its relations to the rest and to the result, my testimony is of value—not perhaps to what Genl. Lee's would be, could it be had. And while it would not be safe or right for me now fully to rely on memory, for minute details, the Report rendered at the time, and the Address, after Genl. Lee's death, render sure, great general facts recollected.

That you remember, with devout feeling, the prayers it was my duty and privilege to offer, before you shared my soldier-bed at Fraziers farm and Malvern,—is to me more than a gratification. Gladly would I, with opportunity, there join you in worship again. As always you are remembered in my private petitions to the Divine Father,—through His interceding Son. Of value inestimable is this privilege of prayer. Little as we understand how the All-wise and good can be influenced by human entreaty,—it is as certain as His Word is true, and as any facts attested by experience; over and above the reflex calm strength and peace, had by the creature from communion with the Creator. Familiar are you, I am sure, with its blessings, —under the great trials of your peculiar lot. May the Bestower of good give you more and more of the Spirit of true devotion, —of the mind of Christ and of ability to "rejoice in tribulation."

While the great cause of Right, for which we struggled, is, as you correctly judge, dear to my heart, as to your own; and my desire is still to do all I properly can toward its vindication;

—your estimate of virtue in the people seems to exceed anything of the kind I cherish, either under the teachings of the Bible, or from historic facts ancient or modern.

Until there is a far more thorough and prevailing influence of the blessed gospel,—no enduring good government can there be, in this land, I am persuaded, or any other.

And one of the leading aims of Memoirs, like those you are preparing, should be, if, as a true friend, I may so suggest, to exemplify and enforce this great truth.

And then, towards a result so important,—will you not also let me take the liberty of submitting,—whether it may not be best, fully to prepare your testimony, and leave it go abroad in print, after you are gone? Many considerations press in favour of your being a living witness. But both my judgment and my heart plead for the other course, as ensuring to your name and work higher honour, and to your Memoirs greater influence for good.

Pray forgive whatever presumption on my part there be in expressing to you these thoughts. But a few years, at longest, remain to you or myself. And our wisdom is to look beyond them.

My wife and daughters join me in assurances of affection to Mrs. Davis and yourself. All best blessings be yours.

Truly your friend,
W. N. Pendleton.

endorsed: Genl. Pendleton; 7th Dec. 1880.

Jefferson Davis to C. W. Frazer.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Steamer T. P. Leathers 7th Dec. 1880.

Col. Frazer,

My dear Sir,

I have read and considered the papers you sent to me, in regard to the publication of the affairs of the "Northwestern conspiracy." Of the events I know little of the parties involved yet less. The Confederates named in connection with the publication are all honorable and intelligent gentlemen, thus we are assured of discretion and uprightness. How far it is proposed to implicate northern men who resisted the influences around them to serve us in our need does not fully appear. This much is on the surface,—they confided in our representatives and braved sectional prejudice in our behalf, they must have relied upon good faith, and we are the custodians of their secret.

To them it belongs to decide whether their deeds and purposes should be made known to the public. From our standpoint their conduct deserves honor, to maintain the compact between the States by resisting an unconstitutional attempt to coerce states is worthy of praise, but if the people among whom they live would regard such conduct as criminal and subject them therefor to ostracism, it would be a poor return on our part to subject them to such penalty.

So far as confederates, or the Confederate Government is concerned we have nothing to conceal, or to fear, and our men are entitled to credit for the dangers they encountered for the cause they served. I would not withhold from them, living or dead, any part of what their country owes them. It will be difficult, though it may be possible so to relate events as to tell only the part our compatriots enacted.

An embarrassment results from the announcement already made that the transactions would be published, and this may put those gentlemen in the condition of one crossing a quicksand, where it is safer to go on than to pause. Genl. Duke will have the revision of the papers before they can appear in the "Bivouac" and he is one to be relied on to the fullest extent.

As ever truly your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS

P.S. If you have written on a steamboat you can more readily excuse me for using a pencil. Yrs. J.D.

Geo. W. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

"Villa Maria"—Dubuque, Iowa.
3½ A.M. Decr. 9th/80.

Ever dear great and good friend:

I send you the inclosed, which I scissored from the Chicago Times, which I found on my desk, on my return, a few days since, from one of my *five* farms, in Chickasaw County—the largest, of 440 acres, I made, at the earnest request of my *second* Son,—Wm. Augt. Bodley—for whom you interested yourself —in 1860—to procure his restoration to the 2nd Regt. of Cavalry, of the U.S. as *Lieutenant*—which position he had resigned, under the advice of his Surgeon who declared that he could not be relieved of a rupture, caused by riding a wild and spirited horse, on a wager, without bridle or saddle. &c. You will recollect the case as you appointed that son of mine, to that position,

at the request of our lamented friend—Ex Col. Genl. Gov. and Senator—Henry Dodge, of Wisconisn in 1854 (about) when *you* occupied the War Dept. as Secy. That effort of your's, to procure Wm's restoration, in answer to a letter which I wrote you, on *ship board,* when en route, returning to Bogota in Decr. 1860, induced you to write me, just before you retired from the Senate U. S. to which I replied, sending my answer, through the *State* Dept, as was then usual and as suggested to me by Secy. L. Cass—was *intercepted* by *Seward* who, *unfortunately* for *me* and for the country, had been made Secy. of State under Lincoln and as Genl. Cass' successor. He and his Asst. Secy. of State (Hunter) and all of their Clerks, as I afterwards found out, through the Chief of the S. American Bureau—broke open my letters to *you* (to my wife and all others) in violation of the laws of Nations &c.) which sent me to Ft. La Fayette.

I infer, dear friend, from this attempted *interview,* that you have abandoned the habit of your Fort Winebago & Crawford life, of *rising early,* (as I have always done) since settling—"squatting"—at Sinsinawa Mound, in the early spring of 1828—having made my claim there, as a smelter the spring *before,* under the advice of our ever dearly lamented friend—Doctor Linn—"the *Model Senator,*" who made me give up the study of the law and go to hard work, exposure in the wide prairies of the then Terry. of Michigan, to *coarse,* instead of luxurious living, which I had always been accustomed to, to rising early &c, &c., if, as he said, I "ever expected to regain my health and to marry Josephine" with whom I had been in love, since first meeting her, at Ste. Genevieve, Mo., in Sept. or Oct. 1825, after leaving Transylvania University, with my sheep skin. I said to the beloved "Doctor" if hard work, *early rising, coarse* fare and exposure to the open air &c. will restore my ruined constitution and enable me to get Josephine Gregoire, as my wife, I'll have both, if not make money to support her and myself upon." My habit ever since I squatted at Sinsinawa Mount, where I camped upon the ground, slept for two nights, under my ox wagon and on the third, in that log cabin, where you *once* slept and on my little thin cotton *hard* mattress, in my *bunk.*

Do you recollect that night, dearest Jeffie, and how you ate with a gusto—*(perhaps)* my corn bread—the only bread of the kind then in the mining country and made of the kiln dried meal which I brought up from my father's farm in Illinois, opposite to Ste Genevieve, coffee, siulache, pickled pork or tough wheat dodgers cooked by my men, each taking his turn, as cook and no one of them having ever cooked before we left Ste. Gen^{e}.

to come up to "Fever River Lead Mines." Yes, dear old friend, I ate at the same table with my ten or 12 hired French men, two being quadroons, another an octoroon—slept in the same room with 4 of them, they on the floor, I in my bunk where you slept—the *springs* to that bunk being small hickory hoop or bean poles, laid close together on two others of larger size which were driven into one of the house logs, some prairie feathers —grass—being spread out on those hickory springs. I carried up two of the corners of that double log cabin whilst three of my hired boys made the notches and saddles for the other six corners. In the fall I went down to St. Louis with those hired men— in a large skiff or Mackinac boat which I had built for the purpose at "Boat Yard hollow"—still so called, because I had that yall or skiff built there and two Flat boats, to take my lead to St. Louis in. Boat Yard Hollow is about ¼ of a mile above your camping ground, when you came there, under orders, from Fort Crawford, to drive off the miners, and all others from these Dubuque lead mines. We'll talk of these and other old times when next we meet if God will favor us with another opportunity to embrace each other and as I am determined to do before the 4th Mch. next—if possible—and you do not forbid the bans.

A good friend of mine Hon. J. K. Graves, who once, as Prest. of Railroads here, *(since the civil war)* sent you papers to come here—the year you were to speak at Rockford and did at St. Louis and elsewhere in Missouri—told me on Sunday last, at his delightful and hospitable residence—that your Book is already (the manuscript) in the hands of the Harpers in N. York for publication. I was surprised to hear that you had progressed so rapidly. Is it, too, late for me to make a suggestion or two for insertion in your proposed work or in the appendix?

I read in a Postville country paper some few years after the civil war, a correspondent's letter, written from McGregor—just opposite Fort Crawford and Genl. Taylor's residence, outside and north of the Fort, in which the *learned* scribbler said "I can now look into the window of Genl. Taylor's residence from which, in the dead hour of the night—Jeff Davis—who would have stolen away the liberties of this country—stole away the lovely daughter of Genl. Taylor—his benefactor and, too, confiding friend" &c. I knew that that was all a *lie* but when I went, thereafter, to Prairie du Chien, I asked my good old friend, Col. H. L. Dousman, who I know was an intimate and confidential friend of Genl. Taylor's what Genl. Taylor's feel-

ings and opinions to and of you were, whilst you were under his command there. He said that Col. T. told him, at the time that you were attentive to his daughter, that he had personally and officially the highest opinion of *respect and regard* for Lieut. Davis and that he could have no objections to his attentions &c. to Knox or to his marrying her, except that he already had a daughter married to an army officer and would prefer a civilian for her husband *only* because, from his own experience and his elder Daughter's he knew what anxiety army officers' wives had because of the necessity of their being so often separated from each other &c. &c.

Do you recollect how you forced, our dearly beloved noble, brave and honest friend, Senator C. C. Clay Jr. and myself to make *friends*, the day after he, Clay and I, had had high and angry words in the Senate, on the subject of the appropriation. I wished to have inserted in the River and Harbor bill for our harbor at this place. You were not in the Senate, at the time, being detained, at your residence, by that inflamed or diseased eye, which was then giving you so much pain and trouble. The *ill feeling* was all on my side, *against* Clay and not on his side, he having, too, much good sense to make a personal quarrel out of it, as I would have done, but for your interposition, as *"peace maker"* and which would have resulted, perhaps, in the shedding of blood but for your interference bloodthirsty and cruel as your enemies would make the world believe you are and have always been—d...n them I would say had I not ceased to swear, as I used to do, and would do now but that I would have to confess it to my confessor, if I wish to obtain absolution at his hands.

But I must desist lest—like Gov. Dodge you'll say after Augustus had read to him, in Dec. 1845, a letter from me of some 15 to 20 pages like this—"Augt[s] I believe the Genl. loves to write." It's now six A.M. and I must go and ring up Bridget to get breakfast I, having had, my cup of strong hot coffee, at 4 o'c A. M. And I would'nt have written so much but that I suppose your nephew or other friend will act as your reader and amanuensis. Kiss that sweet little daughter of yours for me and for my dearly beloved old wife, Josephine, who loves you, as she did her brothers, and who like you enjoys what I cannot a long morning nap. She is all of the family I now have, save our two good Irish servants Patrick and Bridget—our beloved, son Chas. *Dodge*, being, for the *second* time, within the past three years, an inmate of one of our Asylums, for the *insane*, some 70 miles west of this place and not very far from "Moore's

Mills'' where I recovered your good wife's Album from the thief who robbed your trunks at or off Fortress Monroe.

Apropos! Having gained the long contested law suit and recovered my Karrick Lode property I am again negotiating for its sale or for the organization of a stock company to work it. Is Mr. Jennings to whom you referred me, when you were last in London still there and still engaged as Broker, and Mining engineering &c. I have an offer from parties in Baltimore but they want the Lion's share and altho' still, *hard* up, I do not like to fritter away what I believe to be a most valuable mine with the franchises connected with it. I believe it will be worth a million of dollars whenever proper machinery and pumps are put upon it and operated as it should be. This Karrick Lode is an off shoot or side crevice to the prospect from which you drove off the two Irishmen Harrison's. Dost recollect it?

Ever your devoted friend,
(Signed) Geo. W. Jones.

Hon^ble^ Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir—near
Mississippi City, Mississippi.

Did you notice the drowning of two of my wife's nieces Mrs. Chouteau and Miss Gregoire in the Missi. 3 weeks since in attempting to walk over the newly formed ice to Dunleith *Jordan's* Ferry?

John W. Forney to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Dec. 10, 1880.

My dear General:

I beg to enclose an old letter marked private which you wrote to me 27 years ago, which I have just disentombed from a map of U.S.; and which, if I have your permission, I would print as a tribute to sentiments that do your head and heart infinite honor. If you were dead, I would spread it before the whole people and show where you stood while a member of the cabinet of that glorious spirit President Pierce. Please accept it from me as an evidence, that now that the fiery passions of war have been calmed and cooled, we may both forget and regret them, while relighting in our hearts the better emotions when we were younger men.

By this same mail I send you the last two copies of *Progress*

to show where I stand today; and if you care to return to me your letter for publication with such alterations as you choose, I shall esteem it a high favor.

Truly yours,
(Signed) J. W. Forney.

Genl. Jefferson Davis.

John H. Reagan to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.
Decr. 12th, 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.

Respected Sir:

I have had no opportunity to answer your letter of Oct. 1st at an earlier day. You call my attention to page 396 and the following pages of Gen. Johnston's Narrative, and ask my rememberance as to his statements. After so long a period of time I find that my recollection is indistinct as to what occurred on the day he refers to,—the 12th of April 1865. It is much more distinct as to what occurred the day after that. I do not remember the dates, but take Gen. Johnston's statement of them as correct.

I remember that he and Gen. Beauregard were at Greensboro, and that you conversed with them about the condition and strength of Gen. Johnston's army. I do not remember that you spoke of being able to have a large army in the field in two or three weeks as mentioned on his page 397. Nor do I remember what was said on that subject, if anything. Nor do I remember what members of the cabinet were together that day.

I do remember that in the discussion of the strength and condition of Gen. Johnston's command that it was stated by General Johnston in substance that he had about fourteen thousand infantry. This is my rememberance what was then said about the number of infantry troops, though I may be mistaken as I see on page 398 of Gen. Johnston's book he puts the number at twenty thousand. That he had five or six thousand cavalry, and a good compliment of artillery and I think these statements were made in response to your enquiries about the strength of his force. In this conversation General Johnston said his force was not strong enough to enable him to fight Gen. Sherman's army;—and that if he attempted to retreat he would have to

abandon part of his artillery and use the horses for transportation. He also said that he thought a retreat would be disastrous to the country through which the armies would pass. In this, and in relation to the strength of his army Gen. Beauregard concurred with him.

In the evening of that day, in view of the condition of things brought to view by your conversation with Generals Johnston and Beauregard you notified the cabinet to meet you at Col. Woods residence at 10 o'clock the next morning to consider what course should be adopted. We met the next morning at the time and place appointed. Mr. Benjamin, Gen. Breckenridge, Mr. Malory, Mr. George Davis being present with you. Mr. Trenholm was sick and absent. Gen. Johnston either met with us or came in afterwards. The occasion was a solemn one. Most of those present feeling that we had to meet a condition of things never before calling for cabinet consultation. Common place remarks were made for a time, and it seemed to me not one was willing to approach the subject we had met to consider.

After some delay I said if no other member was ready to speak I would give my views as to the exigencies before us required us to do. Being told by yourself and others to go on I reviewed our condition referring to the loss of Gen. Lee's army, to the occupation of the Mississippi river and much of our territory by the federal armies, to the loss of our work-shops, arsenals and depots of supplies, &c, and to the report made by Generals Johnston and Beauregard of the condition of the army in North Carolina. I then advised capitulation, and stated the terms on which I thought we ought to abandon the contest. 1st. That we should disband the military forces of the Confederacy. 2nd. That we should recognise the constitution and authority of the United States on the following conditions.

3rd. The preservation and continuance of our existing State governments. 4th. The preservation of all the political rights of our people, and the rights of person and property secured to them by the constitutions of the United States and of the several States. 5th. Freedom from prosecution or penalties for their participation in the War. 6th. That our people should be allowed to march under their own colors and bears their arms to their several States and there turn them over to the federal authorities.

After presenting this view Gen. Breckenridge, Mr. Malory and Mr. George Davis in this order expressed their approval of the position and plan I presented. Mr. Benjamin dissented from it, and thought we should continue the struggle.

Subsequently during this meeting it was agreed General Johnston should on his return to Hillsboro enter on negotiations with General Shearman, obtain an armistice and ascertain what terms could be had.

He left for the army, and we subsequently took up our march for Charlotte North Carolina. About 10 o'clock of the night, we were at Lexington N.C. You sent for Gen. Breckenridge and myself, saying you had a dispatch from Gen. Johnston requesting you to send some one, or some persons, I do not remember the expression, to aid him in the negociations with Gen. Shearman, with whom he was then in communication. You stated that you desired me to go because I had suggested a basis for negociations, and that you wished Gen. Breckenridge to go because Gen. Shearman might be unwilling to recognise one not representing the army. And we went and joined Gen. Johnston, reaching him the second night after we left you between midnight and daylight.

I fear I have been more tedious on this point than you would wish, but thought it best to give this statement pretty fully as I have seen others which did not give the exact facts.

I ought to add that in the cabinet council at Greensboro N.C. we all agreed that it might be necessary to except the President and members of the cabinet out of the Amnesty we proposed to ask for the people, and that this should be done if necessary to the protection of the people.

I had no knowledge, and have no recollection of ever hearing before reading Gen. Johnston's book, of the two papers he speaks of about the thirty-nine thousand dollars in silver, on page 408 of his book. You seem to suppose I should know because of my being the acting Secretary of the Treasury. You will remember I was not charged with this duty until after we left Charlotte North Carolina.

I did not understand from Mr. Trenholm, the Secretary of the Treasury when his duties were devolved on me that there was thirty-nine thousand dollars in silver. I think he said there was thirty-six thousand in silver coin. This was paid out to the troops before they reached Washington Georgia. I knew nothing of this til told about it at Washington Georgia; at which time he also told me that the troops got it into their heads to take the gold which was also then in their charge, and that the officers along in order to prevent this consented to pay out and did pay out to them about thirty-five thousand dollars in gold, this being the equivalent of the amount of silver bullion they had along, which he said in some way they supposed they ought

to have—the gold was given them in lieu of the silver bullion. You may remember I had nothing to do with any of the money except that which reached Washington, Ga., and never had any knowledge of why or on whose authority these sums were paid to the troops, except that I have a general recollection that it was thought the best disposition which could be made of the silver was to pay it to the troops, as the government had no means for its safe transportation.

I never had any knowledge of a communication from Gen. Johnston, such as is mentioned on page 409 of his book, urging the payment of the government specie to the army. If there was such a paper it never came to my knowledge. If Gen. Johnston supposed the Confederate Executive had a large sum of specie he was much mistaken, and it would seem ought to have known this fact before the time his book was published.

I never saw Gen. Johnston's book until this evening, and have only referred to the pages to which you have called my attention. And I write in a hurried manner not satisfactory to myself.

There is one other matter which occurred between yourself and Gen. Johnston, on the day he and Gen. Beauregard came to Greensboro, to which I will refer, because in one of your letters to me in the past there was some expression implying that you did not remember it.

Gen. Johnston in speaking of one of his interviews with Gen. Shearman said to you that Gen. Shearman had authorized him to say to you that you could leave the United States on a vessel of the United States and take whoever and whatever you pleased with you; which in the way it was put looked as if the purpose was to induce you to leave the country. To this you promptly responded that you "would do no act which would place you under obligations to the federal government, and that you would not leave Confederate soil while there was a Confederate regiment on (it)."

I called up this subject with you in our travels afterwards; it may refresh your memory by reminding you that you gave me your reason for voting against the extending of the honors of the American Senate to Gen. Kossuth that he abandoned Poland with an army of thirty thousand patriot soldiers in the field. The effect of your expressions showing that you could not do a like thing. I could give you references which would show you that Gen. Sherman considered this subject and mentioned it to Gen. Johnston, but you have no doubt seen them.

There is a book criticising Gen. Shearman's March to the sea, written by a Mr. Bointon entitled "Shearman's Historical Raid

The Memoirs in the Light of the Record,'' which you have doubtless seen. If not I hope you will obtain it. It contains among other things copies of the written opinions given you by the members of your cabinet at Charlotte, N.C. on the questions you submitted to them whether you should agree to the terms agreed to between Generals Johnston and Shearman.

It is right for me to say I have no memorada or data to aid my memory about these matters, and after so great a lapse of time I am almost afraid to write about them.

My family were all well when I left home. Little Jeff intended to send you his picture if I had written from there. He is now ten years old, and is a bright and good boy.

Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Davis. If I could have got off from home a little sooner I intended to come by and see you and Mrs. Davis. I hope to get to see you this spring or summer.

If you find errors in my statement I will be glad to be advised of them.

Very truly and sincerely
Your friend,
JOHN H. REAGAN.

endorsed:
Jno. H. Reagan; 13th Dec. 1880.

Geo. W. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Villa Maria, Dubuque, Iowa.
Decr. 18th, 1880.

Dear old friend:

I have just found this amongst papers in my letter box in pidgeon hole D in the envelope which covers this and I send it on *now* to show how I felt then. The letter was not mailed by some oversight of my beloved *insane* son Chs. as, I *think* I went off to my farm in a great hurry, as usual with me, from *before and at my* birth and ever since when I am in health. I hope to hear from you in reply to my letter of the 11th inst. I expect to go to Burlington tomorrow night or the next day to pay him a visit. I fear he is not long for this world as he has had a canser cut out or off one of his ears and which I fear has not been benificial.

Yours ever,
(Signed) GEO. W. JONES.

Archer Anderson to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, Va., Decr. 21, 1880.

The Honble. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.:

My dear Sir:

Your letter of 17th inst. was duly received.

I am sorry to say that my memory does not enable me to give you any assistance in regard to the matter mentioned at page 408 of General Johnston's Narrative, to which you direct my attention.

I do not remember anything connected with the subject except that there was a payment of Silver Coin to the army at Greensboro, and I have no papers which would afford information.

Yours truly,
ARCHER ANDERSON.

John Taylor Wood[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Halifax, N.S. Dec. 26, 1880.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Yours of the 16th inst. to hand. Since writing you last I have sent Harrison a Photo taken at Montreal, just after the War. It has faded, but I hope will answer for the purposes of the engraver. I sent the tin-type because I understood from H. that no time was to be lost and the weather prevented taking any other. I regret not having a picture suitable, but except those two above mentioned, I have had none taken for many years. The Montreal Photo is much faded, otherwise is a good likeness. Lola suggests copying a likeness taken some years before the War, in the uniform of the old Navy and this I will try at once.

I have not a copy of Genl. Johnston's work, but will get a copy. At this time I cannot recall any correspondence with him in regard to some funds belonging to the Confed. Govt. from Washington Ga. It must have been about this time, that Genl. Johnston surrendered in North Carolina; if he had not already done so; and I cannot conceive why you should be writ-

[1] Grandson of President Zachary Taylor; gallant officer of the C.S.N.; for sketch see *History of the Confederate States Navy* by J. T. Scharb p. 806 note 1.

ing him on such a subject. However I will try and refresh my memory in regard to it.

I enclose some notes, from which I hope you will be able to extract something that will be useful. The little that I accomplished, in the light of what was done by others, appears very insignificant, and this is the first time I have ever attempted to make any notes. Unfortunately like most others, I saved no papers or letters. Lola in a scrap-book was able to preserve a few cuttings from the newspapers of the day. I wish heartily, that it was in my power to help you in your book knowing well the terrible disadvantages under which you labor. If anything suggests itself, upon which you think I can throw any light, do not hesitate to call upon me.

In consequence of Lola's not being well, we have spent a very quiet Christmas, with only the children around us; except Zack, whose holiday was not sufficiently long to enable him to return home. He is very proud of his promotion to a Corporal in his Company and hopes next year to be a Sergeant.

All join me in much love to yourself and Aunt Varina, with the best wishes of the season.

Yours ever truly,

J. Taylor Wood.

endorsed:

Jno. Taylor Wood; on naval affairs.

Memorandum accompanying letter of Jno. Taylor Wood

Dec. 26, 1880.

MEMOS.

If the inequality between the two sections was great on the land still more marked was that on the water, and all that related to it.

There was only one Dockyard at the South; at Norfolk, for Pensacola was only a coaling or refitting station. And Norfolk when it was evacuated by the Federals was destroyed as far as possible and all the ships burnt and sunk.

The officers from the South generally resigned and joined the Southern service. Even those in command of ships in Foreign Stations brought them back to Northern ports or gave up the command abroad to officers from the North. Something however for which they never received any credit from the North.

So at the commencement of the war, the South was without a vessel or supplies to fit a vessel or man-of-war.

A number of officers were sent abroad to build or purchase suitable vessels for cruisers. Prominent among them should be named Capt. J. D. Bullock, to whose untiring exertions, the partial success in fitting out vessels in England is entirely due. He succeeded in getting out through numberless difficulties, the "Alabama," "Florida" and "Shenandoah" with whose work, under Semmes, Maffitt and Waddell you are familiar.

Norfolk was occupied. The Merrimac or Virginia was raised and rebuilt. The first iron-clad vessel ever built. Some floating batteries cased with iron only had preceded her. To Lieuts. Catesby Jones and Brooke are due in a great measure her success. They designed her construction, battery, build &c. Fitted only for harbor defence, her career ended with the evacuation of Norfolk in May 1861; about five o'clock, after the first day's fight, after we had destroyed two frigates and scattered their fleet in Hampton Roads and before the arrival of the "Monitor," (Capt. Buchanan had been badly wounded and carried ashore), a council of the commissioned officers was held, as to what was to be done. I, with some others was for following up our victory at once, by destroying or driving every vessel out of the Roads. But a different course was pursued, we anchored at Sewell's Point, until next day, when the Monitor arrived from New York and our opportunity was lost. After her destruction her crew was hurried to Richmond and took charge of the batteries at Drury's Bluff, where the Monitor and other Iron clads were repulsed in their attempt against Richmond. In this affair I had command of the sharpshooters, who did excellent service.

At New Orleans as at other points, after the fall of the Forts, tho' the Navy made a gallant fight, the few half equipped vessels were overwhelmed.

Among the many brave exploits during the War, Capt. Brown's running the "Arkansas" through Farragut's fleet, and Maffitt carrying the "Florida," into Mobile in daylight, through the blockading vessels with hardly a (two words illegible)—these deserve special mention, as does the capture of the "Harriet Lane" at Galveston, by some of Genl. Magruder's command.

At Richmond, on the different Rivers of North and South Carolina and Georgia, Iron-clads were built. At places often where workmen, workshops and supplies of every kind had to be improvised, and what was still more difficult, trained seamen and gunners had to be provided, for the South was almost without a marine population. These vessels at different points did good service, materially assisted in the defence of important points.

As the enemy had on all our waters, systematically destroyed all kinds of craft, I had built at Richmond a number of light vessels, holding each about 20 men. They were fitted with cradles on wagons and could be quickly moved to any point by road or rail, with the crews, arms and necessary supplies to the boats. The first operations were on the Potomac and Chesapeake where a number of vessels and transports were captured and destroyed.

In August '63 I left Richmond with 4 boats and 60 men for the Rappahannock, to look after one or two gun-boats, which had been operating in that River, coming up sometimes as far as Port Royal. Hoping to find them singly and attack them one at a time, but after waiting some time for this, and finding always two cruising together, I determined to attempt the capture of both at once. About midnight, with muffled oars we pulled for them at anchor near the mouth of the River. They were on the lookout, and discovered us two hundred yards off. We dashed alongside, cut our way through and over the boarding nettings with the old Navy cutlass or Roman sword (the most effective weapon for this work; gained the deck and after a sharp and short fight drove the enemy below. The prizes proved to be the Gun-boats "Satellite" and "Reliance" 2 guns each. The Captains of both were wounded and Lt. Hoge my second in command was dangerously so. Landing the prisoners, we cruised for two days in the Chesapeake, hoping to intercept the Norfolk and Baltimore boats, but failed. However a number of vessels were captured and destroyed.

In Jan. 1864 an expedition was organized for the capture of Newbern, N.C. Genl. Picket in command of the troops and I was directed to take command of a party of seamen and cooperate by capturing any Gunboat in front of the town. This was done by boarding and capturing after a sharp resistance the "Underwriter" mounting four heavy guns. She was moved close in shore, on the right of their works, under a strong work, which opened on the ship even before we had possession. We tried to remove her but found it impossible, as she had no steam and was aground. Was set on fire and burnt. Our loss was about 30 killed and wounded. The expedition on the land was a failure for nothing was attempted. With any push, Newbern would have been occupied.

In April 1864, a joint movement was undertaken against Plymouth N.C. by Genl. Hoke (?) and myself. It was successful, resulting in the capture of that place with two Gunboats destroyed, about 2000 prisoners and a large quantity stores.

During the same summer I fitted out at Wilmington the steamer "Tallahassee" and running the blockade cruised for two months on North Atlantic and on the Coast of the Northern States, capturing and destroyed between 30 and 40 vessels.
Halifax, Dec. 1880. J. T. W.

Thos. C. Reynolds to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

St. Louis Mo. 28th Decr. 1880.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Dear Sir:

Yours of 25th instant reached me today: I thank you for the "greetings of the season," and reciprocate them, to you and yours, most cordially.

I enclose a copy of my letter to you of 13th Novr. last: as this is registered, I shall know of your receipt of it by the post office return card, and you need not trouble yourself to acknowledge it otherwise. For the event, however, of your finding time to make any further answer to it, I enclose a registry envelope.

Meanwhile I am at work on the statement of public events for your use.

I remain, Mr. President,
Your friend & servant,
(Signed) Thos. C. Reynolds.

L. Q. C. Lamar to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

U. S. Senate, Washington, Jan. 1st, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Dear sir,

I regret exceedingly that I was not in Washington and in receipt of your esteemed favor of Dec. 15th before the confirmation of Miles was sent to the President by order of the Senate.

Had I been in my seat I should have respected your wishes and sympathising as I do with the views expressed, would have represented them fully; and if not successfully the failure would not have been due to any want of unanimity in the vote of Southern Senators. While the circumstances connected with your barbarous treatment at Fortress Monroe are fresh in the memories of all who shared the destinies of the Confederacy, the

names of those whose cowardly deeds made the story of your incarceration infamous, were forgotten; and I very much doubt whether there was a single man among all the Southern Senators who thought for an instant, when consenting to or failing to oppose the nomination sent in by President Hayes, that he was elevating the creature who had insulted our whole people in his treatment of their late Chief Magistrate. I have not expressed myself accurately when I used the word *doubt;* I am *absolutely confident* that not one of those Senators would by his action, positive or negative, have been consciously a party to the condoning of one of the most dastardly and cowardly crimes of the century. It would have been enough for me to have known, through you, that General Miles was an "ignorant vulgarian" to have induced me to oppose in Executive session, or in open session if necessary—his undue elevation above better men; but to have been assured that he was responsible wholly or in part for the outrages at the Fortress would have made my opposition a labor of love, and if successful as I have some reason to think it would have been, a result that would have richly compensated me for many anxious and unhappy hours.

I thank you sincerely for having offered me an opportunity to serve you, though I failed (owing to the illness of my wife whose rapidly declining health delayed me in reaching Washington) to carry out your views in this instance.

You cannot gratify me more keenly than by calling on me to aid you in any of your wishes public or private. I write such an execrable hand that my manuscript is an offence to my own eye. I have tried hard to make this letter legible to you.

I wish to mention, before I close this letter, that about 12 months ago I received from this man Miles a courtesy for which I thanked him. If it had occurred to me that he was who he is I should not have accepted it. It was a hospitality to my son Lucius whilst he was in the North West territory.

I thought for a time of having a motion for reconsideration entered, but it was considered by your friends as too late.

Very sincerely your friend
L. Q. C. Lamar.

endorsed:
L. Q. C. Lamar; about Miles.

James O'Meara[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

Hon. Jefferson Davis:
Dear Sir:

San Francisco. Jany. 8, 1881.

Personally a stranger to you, let the object of my letter, I pray you, be its fair excuse and my apology.

I desire information on the matter I now proceed to state, and I wish to assure you that it is not sought for public use, or for any other purpose than my own guidance in party matters. Word has come to me from respected private sources, from friends who could have no motive in misrepresentation, to the same purport I have time and again, since 1876, seen in public correspondence and newspaper statements, but which I never gave credence. Now that it has come direct from some who ought to know whereof they speak, and whose feelings and sympathies I know are similar to my own, I cannot so strongly doubt, nor yet can I believe. In short, it is to this effect: That in 1876-77, the movement which resulted in the seating of Mr. Hayes in the Chair of State—to which Mr. Tilden was elected—was mainly, if not primarily, attributable to Senator Lamar; that it was his great influence and superior management which wrought upon Southern men in Congress and in the South to such force as to push that scheme to accomplishment.

I cannot believe this, although the statement is made here in private circles by gentlemen from the South, some of them from Mississippi, who have recently emigrated, who are sound in Southern sentiment, and demonstrated their devotion during the war as only brave and true men can demonstrate their worth in similar tremendous exigencies.

I address you because you are the only gentleman who is likely to be informed in the case in whom I feel like placing implicit faith.

I appreciate, in requesting so unusual a favor from you, that it must appear to you extraordinary assurance. But that I may satisfy you of the integrity of my intention, and place before you some proofs or tokens that shall convince you that confidence on your part will not be abused, I enclose some articles from my pen—nearly twenty years ago and recent—from which you may form estimates of my sentiments and principles in political matters. Further more, during the three years ending

[1] Democratic editor of California and Oregon.

the last day of September, last year, I was the editorial writer of the *Examiner,* which was regularly mailed to you, and on two or three occasions Mr. Roach, one of the owners, read to me extracts of letters from you in commendation of the paper generally and of some of the editorial matter—that appertaining to the structure and character of our Government especially. Hence I have the gratification of knowing that, while I am personally unknown to you, my writings have often met your eye and received your approbation.

Since the Examiner passed into the hands of the monopoly gentlemen who forced the sterling former owners to sell the paper to them, I have been writing the editorials for the Southern *Democrat,* a copy of which I mail to you with this, and from which the article "Education and Democracy" is clipped.

My Democracy has always been the same—in New York, in Mississippi, here and in Oregon. In 1860 I was one of the Oregon Breckinridge and Lane Electors. The article enclosed, clipped from the Jacksonville *Gazette,* will inform you of my position on the war issue. Suppression, however, soon extinguished the *Gazette,* although in the year following I started and maintained the "State Rights Democrat," which still exists.

We have our party troubles here, and unhappily some of the unfaithful are Southern men, who ought to stand the squarest and firmest. Among these is Dr. Ewin, to whose support I always stood devoted until he went over to the Railroad Company a few years ago. It is a Republican Company, which uses Democrats as it uses rails and ties—to run upon and over to their own destruction and discarding, sooner or later

Just now we are endeavoring to reorganize our party for the next great struggle. The circular letter of the San Francisco Club will enable you to form idea of the work projected. It is to rescue the Democratic party here from the grasp and control of the powerful Republican corporations who debauch our leaders with their money or their offices and patronage. And it is in this connection I desire the information herein sought and requested at your hands. We want to know the faithful and the unfaithful, in view of that which will come in the ensuing four years.

Pardon the reference, if it be displeasing, but I cannot refrain in this from expressing to you the very great admiration I always have had and still have for your character, and your conduct in public life; and I know I reflect the sentiments of very many more in this. You are still greatly honored in California and in Oregon, I know, and the lustre of your career will

outlive detraction of the vile and mistaken, to stand undimmed to the latest day.

With profound respect,
(Signed) Jas. O'Meara.

M. F. Govan to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Rome, Ga., Jany. 9, 1881.

Dear Sir,

When Gen. Johnston's card first came out, I wrote the enclosed and had it published in our local paper, Rome Courier, and also in the Louisville Courier-Journal.

Thinking it might be gratifying to you to see what an interest your friends take in you and how they defend you, I enclose you the piece, attached to it is also a card from Col. Thomas.

I had no idea you had so many friends here. Numbers of people have come to me, and taking me by the hand, thanked me for it, among them a number of ladies.

Wishing you and your family a happy New Year, and many returns of the same I am

Very truly your friend
M. F. Govan

W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lexington, Virginia,
Jany. 25th, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Harrison County, Mississippi,

My Dear and honoured Friend,

To Mrs. Davis and yourself I owe apology for not having sooner acknowledged your letter of 9th inst., with her own tender expression of affectionate concern, and her kind wishes to us for the New Year. And with apology I owe you both thanks from the heart, for the genuine sympathy experienced by you, —with my family and self, in the interruption of health, assigned me by Providence, Christmas day. Remarkably, I am now again clear, active and strong, almost as the British Prime Minister, who is just one day my Junior.[1]

[1] Gen. Pendleton was seventy-two years old when this was written; he was born Dec. 26, 1809, according to *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography;* Mr. Gladstone, to whom reference is made, was born Dec. 29, 1809.

The papers tell so decisively, My Friend, Hond. Confed. Presdt., that your 1st vol. is all in press,—and that the other is to follow so soon, that I can hardly doubt it. And if the 2nd is to conclude your production, and to appear, as said, within 90 days,—the health disturbance that delayed me will probably render too late the papers sent herewith, even if there be in them anything you may find directly or indirectly adapted to your purpose,—vindicating truth and right.

Should they not be wholly too late, just use any piece of my writing as you judge serviceable. Every word said by me, in the case, is with a consciousness of truth and justice, and under a sense of duty.

Although, as before expressed, my belief was, and is, your Memoirs would have exerted mightier influence for good,—if kept unpublished till after your frame have gone, "dust to dust," and your "spirit to God who gave it;"—still, as you have judged differently, I cordially waive my preference, and shall look eagerly for the Book, and trust it may prove, under the Divine blessing, a timely vindication of our Southern cause and men, and a salutary admonition against the imperialism and sectional tyranny, we rightly resisted, though it proved in vain.

Love to you each one from us all. God bless you,—now and forever.

Yr. true friend,
W. N. Pendleton.

endorsed:
Gen. W. N. Pendleton.

W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Early in 1861, when the threatening course of the U. S. Govt. in Washington, against the Southern States, made it necessary, in the estimation of the citizens of the latter, to defend their rights, even by force,—a sectional war became inevitable.

The officers and cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, Rockbridge County, Va., were, by the Govr. called for, toward State defence, and assigned various positions and duties, with that view. The afterward wonderful Commander, Genl. T. J. (*"Stonewall"*) Jackson, then Maj. and Military Officer, at the V. M. I. was promoted, and assigned command near Harper's Ferry.

The spirited young Virginians in Lexington, and around, of Rockbridge County, seeing war coming, desired to get ready for doing their part aright. And, unexpectedly to him, waited upon Rev. W. N. Pendleton, D.D. Rector of Grace Chh. P. E. and begged him to drill them, there being nobody else near who could. He had, previously to entering upon the Sacred work of the Christian Ministry, served a few years in the Artillery branch of the U. S. Army, as a graduate of the U. S. Milty. Acady. at West Point, in 1830: and was therefore not wholly ignorant of Military processes.—To comply with their request, as to drill, he, on careful consideration, deemed his duty. Not for a moment intending more.

When the Compy drill had continued a week or two, Col. Jackson sent from Harper's Ferry to the Rockbridge young men, to ask them to join him, as a Compy of Artillery, with a field battery,—there being three or four field-pieces that could be used at the V. M. I. The young men eagerly seized the opportunity, and immediately organized in due form,—electing Officers,—Capt. and Lieuts. Sergeant, and Corporal, &c. all without the knowledge of their Rev. drill-master.

Natural, as in one view, it was for them to ask him to be their Captain,—the petition to that purpose addressed to him was alike a surprise, a perplexity, and a grief, the plain general principle that Christ's Ministers ought to be men of peace,—he supposed would be so regarded by them, as to prevent their asking him to lead them. Not so, however. They urged the conditions as exceptional: and as, according to Bible principles and examples, laying a new and peculiar duty upon their Revd. Instructor. Devout thought led him to decide that duty did require compliance, for the crisis,—with understanding that thereafter he should be released. He would command them, until some one of themselves should be well qualified, through sufficient experience. Then he was to be exonerated, and with full approval return wholly to Gospel Ministrations.

This was, under Providence, remarkably changed. Rev. Dr. P. immediately on reaching the destination of the Rockbridge Battery, near Harper's Ferry, sent to inform his Diocesan, no great way thence, the faithful, wise and venerable Bishop Meade, of his convictions and course. Cheering to him indeed was the reply of that great and universally honoured man of God. "*If I were 20 years younger, I should probably be by your side.*" Not many days after Capt. Pendleton was enabled, with a portion of his Company and two guns, to render approved service, under Jackson, in the affair at "Harrisville" or "Falling

Waters,'' not far from Harper's Ferry,—where and when Genl. Patterson's invading force was, to its sudden surprise effectually beaten. Again, a few weeks later, in the memorable 1st Battle of Manassas, July 21st, 1861, it was ordered that Capt. P. and his battery should, under Stonewall Jackson's immediate eye, contribute to the wondrous victory, mainly achieved by that great Commander. This led to the Captain's being made at once without a desire or word in that direction on his part, Colonel; and charged with the responsibilities of ''Chief of Artillery'' to the defending Southern Army in Virginia.

These responsibilities the field-made Chief of Arty. judged it his solemn duty, under the extraordinary demands of the case, not to decline. Thus became he burdened with the arduous care of that complex arm, in and out of battle, during the nearly 4 years great and glorious struggle for their rights by Virginia and her Southern Sisters, overborne as in the end they were. And the charge which the Chief of Arty. had to bear, was doubly trying, from the utter deficiency in guns, and ammunitions and in appliances for providing them, in Virginia and the Southern States generally, when the war-cloud burst in fury!

A list is appended of the names of the Compy. first commanded by Capt. Pendleton, and of the occupations respectively of its members;—as furnishing a specimen of the character and qualities of the men, for the most part, who were moved by principle to do their best in defending their homes, their native Virginia, and her Southern Sisters. It will be seen too how many of them earned marked distinction.

Capt. W. N. Pendleton,	clergyman	Made and continued Chief of Arty Army in Virginia.
1st Lt. Jno. B. Brockenbrough,	lawyer	Made Major of another command; and disabled by wounds.
1st Lt. W. McLaughlin,	lawyer	Made Major also of another command; rendered good service to end.
1st Lt. W. T. Poague,	lawyer	Made Colonel; rendered admirable service to end.
Sergt. Jno. McD. Alexander,	farmer	Gallant and faithful.
Sergt. Jas. C. Davis,	lawyer	Made Lt. of eminent merit.
Sergt. Archie Graham, Jr.,	student of medicine	Captain, of brilliant courage and and conduct when war closed.
Sergt. Jas. L. Paxton,	plasterer	Capital.
Sergt. Frank Preston,	teacher	Severely wounded.
Corporal Wm. M. Brown,	teacher	
Corporal Wm. S. Strickler,	laborer	
Corporal Jno. W. Jordan, Jr.,	manager	
Corporal Saml. A. Smith, Jr.,	teacher	
Corporal Jno. F. Tompkins,	trader	
Corporal Jno. B. McCorkle,	teacher	

Private Jos. S. Agnes, cooper
Private Napn. B. Ayers, laborer
Private Saml. D. Anderson, laborer
Private Jno. R. Beard, carpenter
Private Wm. B. Beard, blacksmith
Private Saml. R. Bane, blacksmith
Private Willoughby N. Brockenbrough, student
Private Wm. N. Pumper, Jr. merchant's clerk
Private Jno. B. Craig, carpenter
Private A. Whitfield Coffee, hotel clerk
Private Jno. C. Conner, laborer
Private Jas. A. Conner, laborer
Private Robt. B. Conner, wagoner
Private Geo. Conner, wagoner
Private Danl. Curran, blacksm.'s appr.
Private Wm. G. Grosson, stone mason
Private Rich. G. Davis, miner
Private Mark Davis, harness maker
Private Robt. M. Dudley, laborer
Private Jno. Doran, baker
Private Jas. A. Ford, farmer
Private Henry Ford, miner
Private Jno. T. Gibbs, Jr., student
Private Jno. M. Gold, carpenter
Private Wm. C. Gordon, hotel clerk
Private Danl. A. McCampbell, lawyer
Private Wm. H. McCampbell, teacher
Private Wm. G. Montgomery, student
Private Geo. W. Morgan, student
Private David E. Moore, Jr., teacher
Private Danl. P. Roder, distiller
Private Jacob N. Rhodes, coppersmith
Private Jas. A. Silvey, laborer
Private Adam Smith, shoemaker
Private Jos. S. Smith, laborer
Private Jas. A. Strickler, laborer
Private Jno. A. Thompson, lawyer
Private Saml. A. Thompson, farmer
Private Dan J. Nevey, laborer
Jno. A. Wallace, plasterer
Private Saml. A. Wilson, farmer
Private Alex. Harris, farmer
Private Bowlein Harris, carpenter
Private Norborne S. Henry, merch.'s clerk
Private Geo. Hostetter, laborer
Private Ferdn. Hetterich, blacksmith
Private Lawson W. Johnston, farmer
Private Wm. F. Johnston, student
Private Jas. N. Lepard, distiller
Private Henry P. Lewis, farmer
Private John Leyburn, physician
Private Archd. G. Rayner, miller
Private Jas. H. Phillips, laborer
Private Frank O'Rourke, stone mason
Private Francis K. Nelson, student
Private Jno. G. McCluer, lawyer
Private Thos. Martin, laborer
Private Jno. D. Moore, distiller
Private Saml. R. Moore, Jr., farmer

A most distinguished soldier to the end; never promoted in Arty. wd. a little have accepted a captaincy of cavalry.

Private Jno. L. Massie, lawyer — Another great soldier; made 1st Lt. in regular service on Stonewall Jackson's appeal. Fell as adjt. to Col. Nelson Ar. Batn.

Officers	4
Sergeants	5
Corporals	6
Privates	63
Total	78

Baker	1	Farmers	9	Students	6
Blacksmiths	4	Harness maker	1	Teachers	6
Clergyman	1	Lawyers	8	Shoemaker	1
Coppersmith	1	Miller	1	Plasterers	2
Cooper	1	Miners	2	Student Medicine	1
Carpenters	5	Laborers	14	Trader	1
Distillers	3	Manager	1	Stonemasons	2
Clerks	4	Physician	1	Wagoners	2

Total, 78

As these men, a number of them, were killed or disabled, others, first rate, took their places. The company was full to the last and most efficient.

The following Report of the Compy. rendrd. June 16th 1861 indicates its character, &c.

This Company, (Rockbridge Artillery) proceeded under orders from Lexington to Staunton (36 mi.) by march, thence by R.R. to Strasburg, whence by march to Winchester, and thence by R.R. to Harpers Ferry May 15th. Since then it has been in active service, partly there, partly at Williamsport, in Berkeley Co., partly at Shepherdstown, Jefferson Co. and partly with the entire command under Genl. J. E. Johnston, after its removal with the Brigade under Col. Jackson from H. Ferry. It has thus had a large share of marching and other laborious duty. Meantime, however, it has been drilled with all the care and constancy practicable. It has suffered unusually little from sickness or casualities of any kind, has received a number of additions to its ranks, and is in an excellent state of discipline and efficiency.

Its comfortable uniform of grey, domestic cloth, supplied mainly by the liberality of Rockbridge County, and its outfit of under and fatigue clothing, of blankets, tents, knapsacks, and cooking utensils,—are in a good state of preservation.

The Public Property in possession of the Compy. consists of 4 brass cannon, 3.6 pdrs. &c. 1.12 pdr. Howitzer, with about 500 rounds of fixed ammunition and other requisite elements of equipment; 4 wagons and teams, impressed for the service of the State; two of them to convey ammunition, one for travelling Forge, and one for the baggage of the Compy;—4 four-horse teams, of which 2 are impressed for drawing the cannon; 10 horses and saddles for the officers and non-commissd. officers and 1 horse supernumerary. This property is all well guarded and preserved.

The moral tone of the Comy. is peculiarly high. It consists largely of young men of education, and contains many members exemplary for their piety. Its Captain is himself an experienced Christian Minister, who has prayer with the Compy. twice daily,—viz.—at Reveille and Tattoo;—and officiates in religious services on the Lord's day, when occasion can be made."

This continued to be the character of the Company, under Capts. Poague, McLaughlin, and Graham, to the end of the war. Some Northern papers, gotten hold of at the time, told how a shot (from a Whitworth by this battery) below Petersburg, the winter of 64.5, killed Genl. Grant's horse, and grazed himself in the tent of one of his sub-commanders. And that to escape subsequent well aimed missiles, visiting the encampment, he was induced to make off on a worthless spavined horse, the only one near—which elicited from him the witticism that, the 4 miles he had to go, that horse would make 40!

Some survivors of the Compy. are leading men in their com-

munities. And all remember their service in it with great satisfaction.

Immediately of Col. Pendleton's accepting the duties of Chief of Artillery, he was urged by the Commander-in-Chief at Manassas, the distinguished Genl. J. E. Johnston, to give himself to the getting up of an Artillery force of such power as Genl. Johnston thought would be essential toward meeting the enormous array against us.

The Artillery organizations found at Manassas after the battle, some of which had been enabled, like the Rockbridge battery, to render effective service in the positions assigned them, were,— The Batteries of Capt. J. D. Imboden, Va. and Capt. E. G. Alburtin, Va. which had been with Genls. Jackson and Johnston in the Valley, near Harpers Ferry, and had thence marched, under those commanders, with their other troops, rapidly to be in time to meet the invaders, under Genl. McDowell &c. &c and wonderfully scourge them, at Manassas, that 21st July 1861.

A Battery already at Manassas, under Capt. Arthur Rogers, Va.
" " " " " " Capt. Rielly, N. C.
" " " " " " Capt. Latham
" " " " " " Capt. Stonard, Va.
" " " " " " Capt. Kemper, Va.
" " " " " " Lieut. Cook, Va.
" " " " " " Capt. Cutts, Ga.
" " —a Battalion, known as the Washington Arty., commanded by Col. Walton. { under Capt. Squiers, La. / " Capt. Miller, La. / " Capt. Richardson, La. / " Capt. Eshleman, La.

To these were distributed the 28 superior guns captured,
" 34 caissons,
" 5 battery wagons,
" 6 battery forges,
" 24 horses,
" 34 sets harness, etc., etc.;
to complete or better their armament and equipment; a number of their own guns, etc. — inferior, and all surplus, being turned in, and cared for, towards providing additional batteries to be gotten up.

Toward getting up such additional Artillery force, on a scale considered adequate by the commandg. Genl. J. E. Johnston, the Chief of Artillery was, by Genl. J. directed to proceed immediately to Richmond; and get action to that effect, from the State and Confederate Governments. This being known of by Genl. Stonewall Jackson, he requested the Ch. of Arty., as a special friend, to spend in his—Stonewall J's tent, the night before the Ch. Arty. was to go to Richmond. It was done, as a valued privilege. Genl. Stonewall's object was,—to impress on his friends mind his own view,—that it might be conveyed to the Chief Authority in Richmond. It was that no moment should

be lost in waiting for better preparation. But, with the force at command, without waiting a day longer, to turn to fullest account the surprise and even panic at the North. He, Stonewall Jackson, was intimate with West Virginia, Maryland, and Penna. And he begged to be permitted to move, with his Brigade, a Battery or two, and such troops as he could gather on the way, secretly and rapidly to the upper Potomac. Genl. Johnston to carry on his important work of guarding the centre, and creating a great army, so as to occupy attention in Washington and elsewhere. Genl. Lee, meanwhile, to be notified, and quietly to move such force, as he might secretly withdraw from the troops confronting Rosencrantz in Tennessee, and to speed with them to meet Stonewall J. and lead the whole, with the unexpectedness and something of the effect of a volcanic irruption, into and through Western Pennsylvania, so as to threaten the enemy in its vitals; and overrun Washington, through Philadelphia &c. Stonewall pledged himself to achieve it within perhaps 2 weeks, if authorized! The Ch. of Arty. knew the man, and was sure no chimera deluded his sober judgment. The enterprise he believed by Stonewall practicable, with Genl. Lee to follow up forthwith and regulate the whole. When submitted first to Adjt. Genl. Cooper, in Richmond, the proposal recd. that officer's sanction. But by the Commander of all, ultimately responsible, Presdt. Davis,—it was not approved. But negative, as expecting too much, it was thought, from secrecy and suddenness, and from panic existing, and to be increased, at the north, and in its people and government. Whether this was the right view, or Stonewall Jackson's, can only now be speculated about. But had the wondrous Stonewall Captain been then known as later, by the Confederate States President,—his earnest plea and pledge would most probably not have been declined. And in that event, the subjection of the Anglo-Saxon stock in Virginia and her Southern Sisters, to the heaven-marked negro,—misled by New England and Co's politicians, might have been speedily rendered impossible!

Arrangements being made by the Ch. of Arty. with the Department in Richmond, for equipping a number of field batteries, his personal attention was thenceforward given to that object. And the enemy being tardy, after the stunning;—a considerable Southern Army was formed within reach of Richmond and for its defence, including an efficient artillery force, with other arms, in the fall of 1861, and winter of 1861-62.

With the early opening of the Campaign in 1862, the adjustment of the Artillery, with the Infantry, in two wings, and with

the Cavalry, was as nearly as papers preserved now show, as seen in the accompanying schedule. Batteries for the most part serving with brigades and division commanders—each—having an Artillery Field Officer to look after the group of Batteries with the brigades of his division and styled for the time his Chief of Arty. Certain Batallions of Arty. not thus attached, were also formed, generally with two field officers each, to look after them, in and out of battle, designated Reserve Artillery, to be used according to emergencies.

1st Corps

1862. Rt. Wing, early in season

Division	*Battery*
Gen. A. P. Hill's	Capt. Jordan's
	Capt. Pegram's, good
	Capt. Latham's, poor
	Capt. Crenshaw's, good
	Capt. McIntosh's, best
Gen. Magruder's	Capt. Richardson's, good
	Capt. Read's, good
	Capt. Ritter's, poor
	Capt. Young's, poor
	Capt. J. Page's, poor
Gen. Jones' Sub. Divin.	Capt. Brown's, fair
	Capt. Rosser's, excellent
Gen. McLaw's	Capt. Carlton's, fair
	Capt. Kemper's, good
	Capt. McCarthy's, fair
	Capt. Manly's, fair
Gen. Huger's	Capt. Huger's, fair
	Capt. Moorman's, fair
	Capt. Grimes', good
	Capt. Girardy's, fair
	Capt. Moseley's, fair
	Capt. Turner's, fair
Gen. Longstreet's	Capt. E. J. Anderson's, fair
	Capt. Cokes', fair
	Capt. Stribling's, fair
	Capt. Watson's, good
	Capt. Mason's, fair
	Capt. Marion's, good
	Capt. Dering's, good
	Capt. Rogers', fair
Gen. Whiting's	Capt. Hart's, good
	Capt. Moody's, good

1st Corps

Rt. Wing later in season;
Gen. Longstreet, permanent Comdr.

Division	*Battery*	
Gen. Anderson's 11 rifles, 9 of short range	Lewis'	Garnett's Battery
	Grundy's	
	Maurins'	
	Huger's	
Gen. McLaws' 7 rifles, 11 short range	Manly's	Cabell's Battery
	Carlton	
	McCarthy	
	Read's	
Gen. Pickett's 3 rifles, 4 napns. 9 short range	Dearing's	Dearing's Battery
	Macon's	
	Stribling	
Gen. Hood's 4 rifles 5 napns. 5 short range	Bachman's	Hervey's Battery
	Garden's	
	Rielly's	
Gen. Ransom's 6 rifles 6 short range	Branch's	Haskell's Battery
	French's	

Arty. Reserve

La. Washn. Arty 3 rifles 4 napns. 6 short range	Squiers'	Col. Walton Battn.
	Miller's	
	Richardson's	
	Eshleman's	
Alexander's Battn. 11 rifles 8 short range	Jordan's	Alexander's Battn.
	Rhett's	
	Moody's	
	Parker's	
	Eubank's	

	Capt. Bachman's, gd.	
	Capt. Reilly's, good	In all with right wing, or 1st Corps, 112 pieces.
	Capt. Andrews, good	viz. 45 rifles, 13 napoleons, and 54 short range
Gen. D. H. Hills	Capt. Braxton's, good	
	Capt. Balther's, good	
	Capt. Carter's, excellent	
	Capt. Bondurant's, good	
	Capt. Hardaway's, good	
	Capt. G. W. Nelson's, good	

Gen. Reserve

9 rifles	Lanes'	Cutts' Battn.
1 Napoleon	Ross's	
8 short range	Totterson's	
6 rifles	Kirkpatrick's	Nelson's Battr.
12 short range	Massie's	
	Milledge's	

altogether then with right wing, 148 pieces; viz. 60 rifles, 14 Napoleons, 74 short range

LEFT WING, OR 2D CORPS

Gen. Stonewall Jackson — Col. Crutchfield, his chief of Arty.

Division		*Battery*
Gen. D. H. Hills'	Jeff Davis Arty.	
9 rifles,	R. C. M. Page's	Carter's Battery
14 short range	Fry's	
	Hardaway's	
	Carter's	
Gen. A. P. Hills'	McIntosh's	
9 rifles	Braxton's	
8 Napoleons	Latham's	Walker's Battery
13 short range	Davison's	
	Crenshaw's	
	Johnson's	
	Pegram's	
Gen. J. R. Jones'	Balt. 1st Arty.	
12 rifles	Raine's	
3 Napoleons	Caskie's	Andrew's Battery
5 short range	Lusk's	
	Carpenter's	
	Wooding's	
Gen. Early's	Brown's	
10 rifles	Balthus'	
6 Napoleons	Durants'	H. P. Jones' Battery
6 short range	Carrington's	
	Latimer's	
	D'Aquins'	
Reserve,	Poagues'	Col. Browns' Battn. and Lt. Col. Coleman
10 rifles	Smith's	
1 Napoleon	Dance's	
13 short range	Watson	
	Hupp's	
	Brooke's	

In all with left wing, or 2d Corps, Gen. T. J. Jackson commanding — 123 pieces; viz. 52 rifles, 18 Napoleons and 52 short range.

Horse Artillery, with Cavalry,

Capt. Rosser's Battery,	2	rifles,	2	short	range
Capt. Chew's "	2	"	2	"	"
Capt. Pelham's ½ "	1	rifle	1	"	"
Capt. Hutter's ½ "			2	"	"

With the Artillery force thus armed and adjusted opened the Campaign of 1862. To get it up, equip, organize, arrange it, and see to its full efficiency, required much toil. And to supervise it all as carefully as possible, especially the reserve Battalions, in and out of battle, was a charge on the Army Chief of Artillery, perhaps, more than outweighing that on any Division Commander. In recognition of responsibilities so serious, this officer was, at an early day, given the commission of Brig. Genl. and associated intimately, first with Genl. J. E. Johnston as Commdg. Genl. in Va. and then, after his being wounded and succeeded by Genl. R. E. Lee, with the latter great commander, in Va. during all the remainder of the war.

In the great achievements of the Army in 1862, the Artillery had a proportionate share. Rarely failed any Officer or man well to perform duty, whatever the danger. And of course many fell, and many were maimed for life;—in the cause they were convinced was right. Never has heroism surpassed that of certain batteries this season, the Rockbridge Artillery, for instance, with Genl. Stonewall Jackson and his Corps in the Valley of Virginia. Room can be here taken to specify but two of the exemplary Officers of Artillery, of the numbers sacrificed in this campaign;—the gallant Pelham with the cavalry, killed;—and the admirable Lt. Col. Coleman, who, wounded, lingered in pain and died. Multitudes of true men, as privates, met like experience.

It may be confidentially stated, that without great efficiency in the Artillery, Banks &c. in the Valley, and McClellan with McDowell &c. to help him, could not have been so beaten and baffled as they were, with their immense forces in their "On to Richmond" that season; nor could the other great victories of that campaign have been gained, viz.: 1st Fredericksburg, &c.

Casualties in battle and wear and tear unavoidable in an arm so complex as artillery, with its men, horses, guns, carriages, ammunition, &c &c, could not but occasion changes, well nigh innumerable,—during a campaign, vigorous, extensive, and protracted, as was that of 1862. And to remedy mischief, repair losses, and keep Officers, men and all appliances up to full efficiency and ready for encounter with a foe so near, crowded

with resources, and relentless in purpose, called for vigour of mind and body, and in the Chief, especially responsible and fidelity to duty, by day and night, with which all are not endowed; and for the measure of which granted himself,—the then and onward Chief of Arty. was and is, he trusts, thankful.

Some of the changes alluded to will, without being specified, be noticed on comparing the names of Arty. Officers already given, with that of those in Chief position with the Army, as organized during 1863. That a Battalion of Artillery was organized for, and most efficiently commanded by the gallant Col. S. D. Lee during this season is one of the changes that has to be specified.

Mention has also to be made of the fact that, experience more than justified the plan from the first acted upon by the Chief of Arty. of organizing that arm as far as possible into Battalions, and caused it to be adopted throughout the Arty. service in Va.

The fall of the wondrous Stonewall commander, in the arms of victory, at Chancellorsville, on the night of May 2nd 1863, necessitated a considerable re-adjustment of the Army, for the great endeavour and achievements of the campaign to follow in that year, 1863.

The Schedule of batteries, battalions, and commanders given on the back of page 13 herewith, shows the particulars of Arty. organization, &c., during this great campaign. It is given in connection with the accompanying Copy of a communication by the Ch. of Arty. to his honoured Commander, Genl. Lee, in the fall of '63, after all the skillful movements following the disappointment in the Pennsylvania invasion, through failure at Gettysburg. That failure was occasioned mainly,—as the Chief of Arty. witnessed at the time, and testified in an address, delivered on the 2nd anniversary of Genl. Lee's death, and published by request,—by the non-arrival of Genl. Longstreet and his Corps,—till late P.M. of the critical 2nd July;—though that corps was the evening of the 1st but 4 miles off, hearing the battle-sounds of that evening! And its commander after halting his column at that distance, visited Genl. (Lee) in his bivouac on the field, and received instructions for attacking by sun-rise next morning. This Genl. Lee mentioned to his Ch. of Arty. a little later that night, in connection with instructions to the latter to be out for reconnaissance, and selecting arty. positions before sun-rise next day. The main facts are recorded in the official report of the Ch. of Arty. that season, preserved in MSS copy. The Schedule referred to shows how the Arty.

with the Va. Army was adjusted, after Genl. Jackson's death produced the organization of that army into 3 Corps.

The admirable Col. Crutchfield, Stonewall Jackson's Ch. of Arty. was severely wounded the same hour with his great Commander, and long disabled. Col. Long, theretofore Genl. Lee's Mil. Secty. was in consequence appointed Ch. of Arty. 2nd Corps, with the rank of Brigadier, Genl. Ewell being Commander of that corps. The other recommendations for promotion are shown tabulated in the copy of paper to Genl. Lee p. 13 following. With few exceptions they were approved and acted upon.

To recall all the casualties,—in the Arty. during this memorable campaign, is really at this date impracticable, because of non-preservation of many sub-reports. And to attempt to give even all the more distinguished officers killed or wounded, would require a laborious examination, not now in the writer's power. They may in part be inferred from names in the roll of 1862, not appearing in that of '63. Losses were heavy: and many fell, besides the "boy-hero," Maj. Latimer, and many were maimed for life.

Before proceeding farther with this statement of the Artillery organization and relations with the Army in Virginia, an account has to be introduced of that with the Army of the Tennessee, under Genl. J. E. Johnston, which the Genl. Ch. of Arty. in Va. was on the 3rd March '64 called from Hdqrs. at Orange Ct. House to Richmond, to be sent to Dalton, Ga., to inspect and confer about with Genl. Johnston.

The state of the Artillery found with that Army, the names and character of its Officers, &c &c.—by the Va. Ch. Arty. are shown in the accompanying papers marked A. B. C. &c.

Having accomplished the duty assigned, and rendered report thereof to the Adjt. Genl. in Richmond, the copy of which is one of the papers above mentioned,—the Va. Ch. Arty. was honoured by the President of the C. S. A. with a more delicate mission to the distinguished Commander of the Army of the Tennessee at Dalton,—the nature and results of which are shown in the copy of a memorandum, constituting another of the papers, —A. B. C. &c.; the memorandum itself being made at the time.

Hd. Qrs. Arty. Corps, Ar. N. Va. Nov 20th 1863
Winchester.

Genl. R. E. Lee, Commdg.

General,

In obedience to your instructions, I have carefully considered all the recommendations for promotion, in the Artillery service

with this army; availing myself of the matured counsels of Genl. Long, Chief of Arty. 2nd Corps, and Col. Walker, Chief of Arty. 3rd Corps, and of Genl. Stuart, for the batteries serving with the Cavalry. The result I have now the honour to report.

The legitimate armament of batteries actually in the field with this army, including those attached to the 1st Corps, and those with the cavalry, amounts to 276 guns.

At present there is a deficiency of guns in some of the batteries, owing to the fact that Napoleons have not been supplied in sufficient numbers to replace all the 6pndrs. and howitzers turned in to be recast, and the additional fact that casualties in action and the wear and tear of service have deprived us at this juncture of some pieces and teams, for the replacing of which arrangements are in progress. The existing incomplete number thus produced is 244.

As all the elements of our organization, companies, battalions, and corps groups are based upon the legitimate number expected to be restored as soon as practicable, it is believed to be the proper standard by which to adjust our legal proportion of Field Officers. This number entitled us, under the law, to 3 Brigadier Generals, 7 Colonels, 11 Lieut. Colonels, and 17 Majors. We now have on our rolls 2 Brig. Genls. 6 cols. 6 lieut. cols. and 17 majors,—viz.—W. N. Pendleton and A. S. Long, Brig. Genls. S. Crutchfield, J. B. Walton, J. T. Brown, H. C. Cabell, R. L. Walker and E. P. Alexander, Cols.—A. S. Cutts, R. S. Andrews, Thos. H. Carter, H. P. Jones, W. Nelson and Jno. J. Garnett, Lt. Cols.—Chas. Richardson, B. F. Eshleman, S. P. Hamilton, R. F. Beckham, Jos. Dearing, T. J. Page, W. J. Pegram, D. G. McIntosh, W. T. Poague, C. Braxton, R. A. Hardaway, J. B. Brockenbrough, Jno. Lane, F. Huger, Jno. C. Haskell, J. P. W. Read, Jas. Rielly,—Majors.

Of the Cols. Crutchfield is understood to be so far disabled for active field service, by the effects of a wound received at Chancellorsville, that it is due, equally to the service and to himself, that he be assigned to some position better adapted to his physical condition. His eminent merit and services deserve reward. Genl. Jackson desired him to be made Brig. Genl. of Arty. and to continue in his post of Chief of Arty. 2nd Corps. This, by Genl. Jackson's death, and his own protracted disability, seems now precluded. But it is hoped a congenial and useful position may be assigned him, in connection with the defences of Richmond, or with some other department of home defence.

Col. Walton is also a meritorious officer, for whom some other sphere of duty seems required, in justice to the service and to

himself. His junior, Col. Alexander, is believed to be better adapted to promote the efficiency of the Arty. with the 1st Corps, as its Chief, and he must therefore be recommended for promotion to that position. In this event, however, it is understood Col. Walton prefers duty elsewhere; Mobile being mentioned as the locality most agreeable to him. It is hoped the interests of the service may admit of his being thus accommodated.

Col. H. C. Cabell is another estimable Officer, whom it is best to transfer to another position. His worth as a gentleman, his patriotism as a citizen, and his gallantry as a soldier, deserve honourable mention;—but it is believed he could render better service in a command requiring less prompt activity than that he now holds. It is therefore respectfully recommended that he be transferred by exchange with Col. Lightfoot to command the Battn. of field Arty. at Richmond, now under charge of Lt. Col. Lightfoot, and that the latter be assigned to the command of the Battn. with this Army, of which Col. Cabell has had charge.

Of the Lt. Cols.—Andrews, a most gallant and distinguished officer, ought, in duty to the cause and to himself, to be relieved from field exposure, and employed in less trying service, that he may recover from the threatening consequences of a dangerous wound, received at Cedar Run, nearly 18 months ago. He is admirably adapted to usefulness in the Ordnance Dept., and it is hoped a position therein may be assigned him, with an additional grade. Were it really proper for him to remain in the field, seniority and merit would together place him first on the list of Lt. Cols. for promotion.

Lt. Col. Garnett may, with advantage to the service, be relieved of his command and assigned to other duty. He has proved less efficient in the field than was expected of so well trained and capable a soldier. It is believed he can be more useful on conscript service than in his present position. Such change for him is therefore respectfully recommended.

Of the Majors,—J. B. Brockenbrough, entitled to praise for extended and good service, is disabled, and will probably long so continue, by the lingering effects of a wound recd. at Fredericksburg last Decr. He ought to be relieved of responsible connection with this army, and assigned some post of comparatively light duty.

To fill the vacancies thus occurring, and others now existing, I respy. recommend, on the testimonials of other commanders, as well as on my own judgment, the following promotions, viz.:

Col. E. P. Alexander, to be Brig. Genl. & Chf. Arty. 1st Corps; Lt. Cols. T. H. Carter, H. P. Jones, and A. S. Cutts, to be Cols.

Majors Jas. Dearing, B. F. Eshleman, Frank Huger, C. M. Braxton, W. J. Pegram, D. G. McIntosh, W. T. Poague, R. F. Beckham, R. A. Hardaway and Chas. Richardson to be Lt. Cols. Captain W. E. Cutshaw, T. C. Jordan, M. B. Miller, R. M. Stribling, Chas. Raine, R. C. M. Page, David Watson, McGraw, M. Johnson, Ward, Maurin, Moorman, Chew and Breathed to be Majors. Our list of assignments will then stand,—

W. N. Pendleton, Brig. Gen. and Ch. of Arty.

1st Corps

E. P. Alexander, Brig. Gen. and Ch. of Arty.

Lt. Col. F. Huger, S. C.	Huger's Battalion
Maj. Jordan, Va.	
Lt. Col. Beckham, Va.	Beckham's Battalion
Maj. Read, Ga.	
Lt. Col. Eshleman, La.	Eshleman's Battalion
Maj. Miller, La.	
(Col. Jones, Va.)	
Lt. Col. Lightfoot, N. C.	Lightfoot's Battalion
Maj. Hamilton, Ga.	
Maj. Haskell, S. C.	Haskell's Battalion
Maj. Rielly, N. C.	

2d Corps

A. L. Long, Brig. Gen. and Ch. Art.

(Col. Carter, Va.)

Maj. R. C. M. Page, Va.	Page's Battalion
Maj. Moorman, Va.	
Maj. Cutshaw, Va.	Cutshaw's Battalion
Maj. Stribling, Va.	
Lt. Col. Braxton, Va.	Braxton's Battalion
Maj. Raine, Va.	
(Col. Brown, Va.)	
Lt. Col. Hardaway, Ala.	Hardaway's Battalion
Maj. Watson, Va.	
Lt. Col. Nelson, Va.	Nelson's Battalion
Maj. T. J. Page, Va.	

3d Corps

R. L. Walker, Col. and Ch. of Arty.

Lt. Col. Pegram,	Va.	Pegram's Battalion
Maj. McGraw,	Md.	" "
Lt. Col. McIntosh,	S. C.	McIntosh's "
Maj. Johnson,	Va.	" "
Lt. Col. Poague,	Va.	Poague's "
Maj. Ward,	Miss.	" "
(Col. Cutts, Ga.)		
Lt. Col. Richardson,	Va.	Richardson's Battalion
Maj. Maurin,	La.	" "
Col. Cutts,	Ga.	Cutts' "
Maj. Lane,	Ga.	" "
Lt. Col. Dearing,	Va.	Commanding arty. with the cavalry
Maj. Chew	Va.	
Maj. Breathed,	Va.	

The actual organization existing was:

With 1st Corps

Col. E. P. Alexander, Acty., Ch. Ar.

Capt. Manly,	Batty., N. C.	Col. Cabell's Battalion
Capt. Carlton,	" "	Col. Cabell's Battalion
Capt. McCarthy,	" "	Col. Cabell's Battalion
Capt. Fraser,	" "	Col. Cabell's Battalion
Capt. Rielly,	" "	Maj. Hervey's Battalion
Capt. Latham,	" "	Maj. Hervey's Battalion
Capt. Bachman,	" S. C.	Maj. Hervey's Battalion
Capt. Garden,	" "	Maj. Hervey's Battalion
Capt. Stribling,	" Va.	Maj. Dearing's Battalion
Capt. Macon's	" "	Maj. Dearing's Battalion
Capt. Caskie's	" "	Maj. Dearing's Battalion
Capt. Blount's	" "	Maj. Dearing's Battalion
Capt. French,	" "	Lt. Col. Andrews' Battalion

Capt. Branch,	Batty.,	Va.	Lt. Col. Andrews' Battalion
Capt. Jordan,	"	"	Lt. Col. Andrews' Battalion
Capt. Rhett,	"	S. C.	Lt. Col. Andrews' Battalion
Capt. Moody,	"	N. C.	Lt. Col. Andrews' Battalion
Capt. Squiers	"		Col. Walton's Washtn. Arty. Battn., La.
Capt. Richards'	"		Col. Walton's Washtn. Arty. Battn., La.
Capt. Miller,	"		Col. Walton's Washtn. Arty. Battn., La.
Capt. Eshleman's	"		Col. Walton's Washtn. Arty. Battn., La.

14 3 in. rifles, 14 10 pd. Parrotts
4 20 pds. Par. 40 Napoleons
5 24 pds. How. 6 12 pds. How.
83 guns, etc.

With 2d Corps,
Brig. Gen. A. L. Long, Ch. Art.

Capt. Raine,	Batty,	Md.	Lt. Col. Andrew's Battn.
Capt. Brown,	"	"	Lt. Col. Andrew's Battn.
Capt. Dement,	"	"	Lt. Col. Andrew's Battn.
Capt. Carpenter,	"	Va.	Lt. Col. Andrew's Battn.
Capt. G. G. Pendleton,	"	"	Lt. Col. Carter's Battn.
Capt. Fry,	"	"	Lt. Col. Carter's Battn.
Jeff Davis Arty.	"	"	Lt. Col. Carter's Battn.
Capt. Ch. Carter,	"	"	Lt. Col. Carter's Battn.
Capt. Carrington,	"	"	Lt. Col. H. P. Jones' Battn.
Capt. Gorber,	"	"	Lt. Col. H. P. Jones' Battn.
Capt. Thompson,	"	"	Lt. Col. H. P. Jones' Battn.
Capt. Tanner,	"	"	Lt. Col. H. P. Jones' Battn.
Capt. Green,	"	"	Lt. Col. H. P. Jones' Battn.
Capt. A. Grahan, Rockbridge Art.			Col. J. T. Brown Battn.
Capt. Smith,	"	"	Col. J. T. Brown Battn.
Capt. Watson,	"	"	Col. J. T. Brown Battn.
Capt. Dance,	"	"	Col. J. T. Brown Battn.
Capt. Hupp,	"	"	Col. J. T. Brown Battn.
Capt. Brooke,	"	"	Col. J. T. Brown Battn.
Capt. Kirkpatrick,	"	"	Lt. Col. Nelson's Battn.
Capt. J. T. Massie,	"	"	Lt. Col. Nelson's Battn.
Capt. Huckstep,	"	"	Lt. Col. Nelson's Battn.

6 20 pds. Par. 16 20 pds. Par.
29 3 in. rifles 30 Napoleons
2 12 pds. How.
83 guns, etc.

With 3d Corps
Col. R. S. Walker,

Capt. Rice.	Va.	Maj. McIntosh's Battn.
Capt. Hurt,	"	Maj. McIntosh's Battn.
Capt. Johnson,	"	Maj. McIntosh's Battn.
Capt. Lusk,	"	Maj. McIntosh's Battn.
Capt. Lewis,	"	Lt. Col. Garnett's Battn.
Capt. Grundy's,	"	Lt. Col. Garnett's Battn.
Capt. Maurin's	La.	Lt. Col. Garnett's Battn.
Capt. Moore's,	Va.	Lt. Col. Garnett's Battn.
Capt. Ward's	"	Maj. Poague's Battn.
Capt. Wyatt's,	Md.	Maj. Poague's Battn.
Capt. Penick,	Va.	Maj. Poague's Battn.
Capt. Donald's,	"	Maj. Poague's Battn.
Capt. McGraw's,	Md.	Maj. Pegram's Battn.
Capt. Davidson,	Va.	Maj. Pegram's Battn.
Capt. Crenshaw,	"	Maj. Pegram's Battn.
Capt. Mayie,	"	Maj. Pegram's Battn.
Capt. H. M. Ross,	Ga.	Lt. Col. Cutts' Battn.
Capt. G. M. Patterson,	"	Lt. Col. Cutts' Battn.

Capt. J. T. Wingfield,	Ga.	Lt. Col. Cutts' Battn.
Capt. Lane,	"	Lt. Col. Cutts' Battn.
2 Whit.		2.20 pd. Par.
3 3 in. Navy Par.		18 3 in. rifles
1 12 pd. How.		28 Napoleons

78 guns, etc.

With Cavalry,	
Capt. Thomson's Batty.	Maj. Chew
Capt. Hart's "	Maj. Chew
Capt. McGregor's "	Maj. Breathed
Capt. Shoemaker's "	Maj. Breathed
Capt. Johnson's "	Maj. Breathed

In this Schedule will be noticed 2 Cols. less and 1 lt. Col. and 3 majors more than the literal legal ratio;—an exchange deemed allowable,—as 2 cols. are, on the numerical scale of the law, more than equivalent to a Col. and 3 Majors;—and these are needed, as the Schedule shows, for the best organization. Genl. Long wishes his Battallions grouped as seen, under Cols. Carter and Brown. I concur with him in deeming it a good arrangement, and have provided similarly for the Reserve Batt. 1st and 3rd Corps, under Col. Jones and Cutts, as indicated.

The best men are believed to be herein presented in each case. At the same time the fairest distribution practicable is made of promotions, in the Corps respectively, and among the several States. From the 1st Corps, including a Brig. Genl. there are 7 promotions; from the 2nd 8; from the 3rd 9; and from the Horse Artillery 4; These promotions are much needed. And it is believed they will greatly benefit the Arty. service. Encouragement to this arm has not been, as it should be, commensurate with that in the others. Even with the recommendations now submitted, the no. of arty. field officers will be only about ¾ of those belonging to 3 Brigades of cavalry, or infantry, having anything like the no. of men, companies, &c. constituting the Artillery.

I have the honour to be, General,

Respy. yr. obdt. servt.

W. N. Pendleton,

Brig. Genl. & Chf. of Arty. Ar. N. Va.

Genl. R. E. Lee
Commdg.

The Campaign of 1864, in Virginia, opened with active movements on May 4th. The Artillery as then distributed is shown in the table below.

Brig. Gen. W. N. Pendleton, Gen. Chief of Arty.

With 1st Corps, Genl. Longstreet
Brig. Gen. E. P. Alexander, Chief

Battalion	*Battery*	*Guns*
	Smith's	4
Lt. Col. Huger's,	Moody's	5
	Woolfolk's	4
Maj. Jordan,	Parker's	4
	Taylor's	4
	Ficklin's	4
		25
Maj. J. C. Haskell,	Garden's	4
	Flanner's	4
	Ramsey's	6
	Lamkins (not yet equipped)	..
		14
Col. H. C. Cabell,	Manley's	4
Maj. Hamilton,	McCarthy's	4
Maj. Gibbs,	Calloway's	3
	Carlton's	4
		15
Horse Arty. with Cavalry.		
Maj. Chew,	Thompson's	4
Maj. Breathed,	Johnson's	4
	Shoemaker's	4
	McGregor's	4
	Hart's	4
		20

With 2nd Corps, Gen. Ewell
Brig. Gen. A. S. Long, Chief

Battalion	*Battery*	*Guns*
Lt. Col. Hardaway,	Dance's	4
	Smith's	4
Maj. Watson,	Griffins'	4
	Graham, Rokbg.	4
	Jones	4
		20
Lt. Col. Wm. Nelson,	Kirkpatrick's	5
	Milledge's	4
	Massey's	4
		13
Lt. Col. Braxton,	Cooper's	4
Maj. Moorman,	Carpenter's	4
	Hardwick's	4
		12
Maj. Cutshaw's	Carrington's	4
Maj. Stribling,	Garber's	4
	Farmer's	4
		12
Maj. R. C. M. Page's,	Fry's	4
	Carter's	4
	Reese's	4
	Page's	4
		16

With 3d Corps, Gen. A. P. Hills
Col. R. Lindsay Walker, Chief

Battalion	*Battery*	*Guns*
Lt. Col. Poague,	Richard's	4
Maj. Ward,	Williams'	4
	Wyatt's	2
	Utterback's	2
		12
Lt. Col. McIntosh,	Donald's	1
Maj. Johnson,	Hunt's	2
	Price's	4
	Clutterer's	4
		11
Lt. Col. Pegram,	Mayre's	4
	Ellett's	2
Maj. McGraw,	Brander's	3
	Zimmerman's	3
	Cayce's	4
		16
Col. Cutts,	Ross'	5
Maj. Lane,	Patterson's	4
	Wingfield's	4
		13

Lt. Col. Richardson,	Penick's	3
Maj. Miller,	Landry's	4
	Grundy's	3
	Moore's	4
		14

With Gen. Beauregard's Corps, Ga., Va., and N. C.
Col. H. P. Jones, Chief

Maj. Read,	Marshall's	4
	Macon's	5
	Sullivan's	4
	Dickerson's	4
		17
Lt. Col. Moseley,	Young's	4
	Miller's	4
	Slater's	4
	Cumming's	3
		15
Maj. Coit,	Wright's	5
	Pegram's	4
	Kelly's	3
	Bradford's	3
		15
Maj. Boggs,	Sturdivant's	2
	Martin's	4
		6

With Maj. Gen. Breckenridge's, W. Va.
Lt. Col. King, batty. rept. lost
Maj. McLaughlin, 4 battys. 14

In all 75 batteries, 19 battalions, 307 guns

The Officers generally of tried character and large experience; in fact, really veterans. And the men in large measure well tried, under danger and hardship.

Horses also in fair condition, and accustomed to service, guns generally superior; many having been captured.

The concluding remarks of the Genl. Ch. of Arty. in Va. in his report at the close of that great campaign of 1864 may best express how the services, merit, and value of this essential arm, with its heroic officers and men, in the grand struggle of Southern defenders, again that year, against assailants more than 4 times their number, and animated by the spirit of destruction,

The brave officers and men of this branch of our Army have, almost without exception, exemplified the very highest virtues of Christian soldiers, battling for their faith, their honour, and their homes. To mention all who have thus admirably done their duty would be well nigh to repeat the rolls of our Battalions and Companies. The Genl. Ch. Arty. can only designate those Chief Commanders whose position has necessarily rendered their services most conspicuous. And refer to their reports, and those

of their sub-commanders, for fuller details. Genl. Long, until disabled by sickness, managed his command (Arty. 2nd Corps) with characteristic judgment and efficiency. And Col. Carter, who then succeeded him, the gallant and efficient Col. Brown having fallen in the Wilderness, earned, as usual, high encomiums for the care, sagacity and skill, as well as ready boldness with which he handled the command; as also did Lt. Col. Nelson, during the brief but important interval, in which the command devolved upon him. Genl. Alexander, ever active, full of resource, energetic and enterprising, conducted his command, Arty. 1st Corps, at all times with skill and success; and in the interval of his absence, through a wound requiring attention his place was well supplied, on one part of his line, by Col. Cabell,—on another by Lt. Col. Huger. Col. Walker, zealous, bold and vigorous, directed his force, Arty. 3rd Corps, with efficiency, throughout the campaign; and was aided in his responsible charge, by the judicious cooperation of Col. Cutts. And Col. Jones, first as. Chf. of Arty. to Genl. Beauregard Dept. Ga. Va. & N. C. and subsequently of Genl. Andersons Corps, earned high commendation by diligent, intelligent, and successful performance of his arduous trust, on a portion of the line most exposed and harrassed during all the latter months of the campaign.

These officers speak in high terms of their subordinates, and of the men in their respective commands, and describe instances, more than a few, of extraordinary good conduct, and admirable achievement. Their reports and those of Battr. Commanders, are herewith submitted.

Of the members of the Genl. Ch. of Arty's Staff, Capt. D. D. Pendleton, A. A. Genl. Arty., Capt. J. E. Cooke, Inspr. Horse Arty., Maj. Jno. G. Barnwell, Ch. Ordnc. Arty., Maj. John Page, Ch. Qr. M. Arty. Dr. Jno. Graham, Ch. Surgeon Arty., Capt. E. P. Dandridge, Inspr. Genl. Arty., Lieut. G. W. Peterkin, and Acty. Lt. Chs. Hatcher, aide de camps and mounted attendants as Couriers, Robt. Jones and Coupland R. Page,—it is due that honorable mention be made. Under all trials, and amid all dangers, they have admirably performed their generally laborious and very often most perilous duties.

In conclusion, the Genl. Ch. of Arty. is enabled to report that our artillery remains at the close of this arduous campaign, in a condition of most encouraging efficiency. And that with reasonable effort, toward supporting it with a few guns, and with horses to replace those killed and others overworn, it will be in full strength for service expected in the spring of 1865. It may

be confidently relied upon to accomplish, by the Divine blessing, during the next season, as it has so well done through the last, its entire share in the defence of our country.

signed respy. W. N. Pendleton, Brig. Gen. & Ch. of Arty.

The Report above quoted of the Arty. service in Va. during the great campaign of 1864, reached indeed into the winter of 1865, its date being as late as Feby. 28th 1865 owing to the continuance of operating about Petersburg that winter and the ceaseless demand for repelling attacks, interfering with completing reports.

Preparations all the while went on toward readiness for fighting and moving early in the spring. But, interruption came, not exactly anticipated by the Genl. Ch. of Arty., in a way which may perhaps be best described in a copy here of the last report rendered to Genl. Lee by the Genl. Ch. of Arty. of artillery operations, up to the sad necessity of Apr. 10th 1865 at Appomattox, Ct. H.

Copy. Hd. Qrs. Arty. Corps. Ar. N. Va. Apl. 10th, 1865.

Genl. I have the honour to submit the following report of the operations of the Arty. under my command, from Apr. 1st to this date.

Owing to demonstrations of the enemy, on the right of our lines near Petersburg, on the morning of the 1st Apl. I ordered 7 guns of Poague's Battalion, which had been held in reserve near Howletts, to march to Peterbg. and on the night of the 1st by direction of the Commdg. Genl., I ordered the remainder of the Battn. down. At the same time ordered the guns which had arrived during the day to proceed on the right, so as to be out of sight from the town, by dawn. Those guns were used with good effect, near Mr. Turnbull's house, Genl. Lee's Hd. Qrs., on the mg. of the 2nd, when the enemy had unexpectedly massed a heavy force against that portion of our line, and succeeded in breaking it; and then sweeping down toward the city, captured a number of men and guns along the line. While the guns mentioned were well contesting the ground, and holding the enemy in check, Lt. Col. Poague arrived with the remainder of his guns, and rendered admirable service, in retarding the heavy advance of the enemy until such troops as remained could be withdrawn into the interior lines. Three pieces with Maj. Brander, were placed on the U side of the Appomattox, so as to annoy the left flank of the enemy, and prevent him from crossing. On the line and to the right of the Cox road were placed 4 pieces of the Horse Arty. under Lt. Col. Chew and Maj. Breathed. The

enemy had by this time, 12 M., fully established his line from Ft. Gregg to the Appomattox. In the fighting attendant upon these operations, various batteries of the 3rd Corps were captured. The conduct of officers and men was worthy of all praise. And that of the drivers and supernumeraries of the Arty. who had been by now Brig. Genl. Walker armed with muskets, deserves especial mention. Those in Fort Gregg fought until literally crushed by numbers, and scarcely a man survived.

In the meantime, the firing on Col. Jones' front E of the city, had been severe. During the night of the 1st, the fire from mortars and guns was incessant. And the men were very much exposed during the 2nd. I saw Col. Jones on the line about 3 P.M. and found his pieces so disposed as effectually to prevent any attempt of the enemy to improve the advantage already gained at the river salient.

I was at battery 45, during the day, and directed its guns against columns of the enemy moving down the valley toward the Weldon R. R. The officers in charge of this part of the line, deeming an attack imminent, I ordered 2 pieces of Arty. to strengthen the position.

In obedience to directions from the Commdg. Genl. I ordered the withdrawal of all the guns, at 8 P.M. This was successfully accomplished. And although the difficulties on Col. Jones' line were very great, he succeeded in withdrawing all but about 10, which were mostly without horses, and not intended to be removed. Several mortars were also brought off. Every piece abandoned was first disabled. After making all necessary arrangements about this movement, and seeing all the guns safely across the river, about 2 A.M. of the 3rd, I moved on by the Hickory road, marching all night.

The march on the 3rd was fatiguing and very slow, on account of the immense no. of carriages with the Army. At night I bivouac'd on the road side about 9 miles from Goodes Bridge. Amelia Ct. H. I reached on the mg. of the 4th and immediately made arrangements for reducing the Arty. with the troops to a proportionate quantity and properly to dispose of the surplus. These arrangements being effected, Genl. Walker on the 5th moved to the right and W of the line of march of the Army having in charge all the Arty. not needed with the troops. Ninety five caissons, mostly loaded, which had early in the winter been sent from Petersburg to the rear, were here destroyed.

Moving on past Amelia Springs, by 10 next morning, 6th, we reached Rice's Station, on the S.S.R.R. Our troops here went

into line and I chose positions for guns, commanding the Burksville road, and sweeping the ground to its left. On the line there was heavy skirmishing during the evening, but no attack by the enemy.

The enemy's cavalry, meanwhile, having attacked our wagon train, about 2 miles back on the road, I, happening to be with the Commdg. Genl. when he received notice of it, was requested by him to see what could be done to prevent any farther loss in that quarter. On the way I met a few wearied men of Harris' brigade, and taking of them some 20 volunteers, proceeded with them to the road where the train had been attacked. While attempting to reserve some of the property most valuable, I discovered a line of the enemy in a thick pine wood and supposing it to be but a small body, I arranged to attack, with one of Genl. Cooke's regiments which had just reported to me, because of a message sent to the Commdg. Genl. The regiment was unable to hold its ground, and fell back some ½ mile on the same road, until reinforced by 2 regiments of cavalry. They then again moved forward, but after regaining the former advanced position, the infantry was recalled by Genl. Cooke, and the cavalry by my direction fell back with some few prisoners they had secured. The enemy meantime had fired our train to prevent our saving anything. The enemy now seemed disposed to quiet, and nothing apparently remaining to be accomplished by the small force with me, I directed it slowly to withdraw towards our main body near the station, and returned myself in that direction. Not long after the enemy made a sudden rush, and succeeded in running over a portion of our small cavalry force and threatening the unprotected rear of our line. Our Cavalry regiments however speedily rallied, charged in turn, and inflicted severe punishment on their greatly outnumbering assailants. Shortly after nightfall our guns were withdrawn, and we moved on the Farmville road, reaching Farmville early on the mg. of the 7th.

As we were leaving Farmville by the bridges there crossing the Appomattox, the enemy pressed close after our rear guard, and guns were placed in position, and used to good purpose on the heights U of the river. Guns were again used with effect a mile or two farther on, when Genl. Gordon pressed back the enemy's line from near the road along which all our wagons were passing, so as to allow these to get well under way. This position was held all day. And it was not until midnight that the column moved on the road towards Buckingham Ct. H. In spite of the terrible roads quite a long march was effected. And the evening of the

8th saw the head of our column near Appomattox Ct. H. I pushed on in person to communicate with Genl. Walker. And found him with his command parked about 2 mi. beyond the Ct. H. on the road to Appomattox Station S.S.R.R. While I was with him an attack wholly unexpected was made on his defenceless camp. To avert immediate disaster from this assault demanded all our energies. It was, however, at once effectually repelled by the aid of the two gallant Arty. companies of Capts. Walker and Dickerson, under command of the former, which being at the time unequipped, were armed with muskets, as a guard. They met the enemys' sharpshooters in a brushwood near and enabled a no. of Genl. Walker's pieces to play with effect while his train was withdrawn. After a sharp skirmish this attack seemed remedied, and I started back, having recd. by courier a note requesting my presence with the Commdg. Genl. When I had reached a point a few hundred yds. from the Ct. H. the enemy's cavalry, which had under cover of dusk gained the road, came rushing along, firing on all in the road, and I only escaped bullet or capture, by leaping my horse over the fence and skirting along that road, hidden by the thicket close to the fence, towards our advancing column, until I reached a point beyond where the enemy's cavalry ventured.

While these operations were in progress there was much noise of engines upon the S.S.R.R. From this, and from the enemy's having used Arty. in the skirmish just described, I became satisfied that the attacking force, at first judged small, was a large and increasing body. And the inference became inevitable that Genl. Walker and his guns must be, if they had not already been captured. These facts and inferences were reported to the Commdg. Genl. on my reaching his Hd.Qrs. about 1 A.M. of the 9th. Movements at daylight confirmed all that had been thus inferred. The enemy was found in heavy force on our front, and dispositions were promptly made for a fierce encounter. The Arty. with alacrity participated with cavalry and infantry in a spirited attack upon the enemy's advancing columns, and promptly succeeded in arresting their progress. Two guns were captured from the enemy, and a number of prisoners taken. But in spite of all this, the conviction had been reached by a great majority of the best officers and men, that our Army, in its extremely reduced state, could not be extricated from its perilous condition, surrounded by the immense forces of the enemy and without subsistence for men or animals,—without frightful bloodshed, and to scarcely any possible purpose,—as its remnant, if escaping, must be too much enfeebled for efficient service.

In view of these convictions, known in part by him, and of all the facts before his own mind, the Commdg. Genl. before the battle had raged extensively, made arrangements for arresting hostilities. And accordingly truce was established, and articles of surrender having been agreed upon by the respective Commanders in Chief, the Arty. was withdrawn, in common with other troops; and has all been since in due form turned over to the enemy. I have the honour to be, respy. yr. obt. servt.

signed W. N. Pendleton
Brig. Genl. & Ch. of Arty.

Of 250 field-pieces belonging to the Army on the lines near Richmond and Petersburg, only 61 remained, and 13 caissons.

As the Genl. Ch. of Arty. was one of three officers appointed by Genl. Lee to arrange the particulars of surrender, and sign the terms agreed upon,—a copy of that document, made from one taken at the time, is here given.

Appomattox Ct. H. Va. Apl. 10th, 1865.

Agreement entered into this day in regard to the surrender of the Army of Nn. Va. to the United States Authorities.

1st. The troops shall march by brigades or detachments to some designated point, stack their arms, deposit their flags, sabres, pistols, etc., and from thence march to their homes under charge of their officers, superintended by their respective corps or division Commanders; officers retaining their side arms, and the authorized number of private horses.

2nd. All public horses, and public property of all kinds, to be turned over to the Staff Officers designated by the United States Authorities.

3rd. Such transportation as may be agreed upon, as necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of Officers, will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over at the end of the trip to the nearest United States Quarter Master, receipts being taken for the same.

4th. Couriers and mounted men of the Artillery and Cavalry whose horses are their own private property will be allowed to retain them.

5th. The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that Army on the 8th inst., the date of the commencement of negotiations for surrender—except such bodies of Cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender,—and except also such

pieces of Artillery as were more than twenty (20) miles from Appomattox Ct. H. at the time of surrender on the 9th inst.

signed) JOHN GIBBON
Maj. Genl. Vols.
signed) CHAS. GRIFFIN,
Brevt. Maj. Genl. U. S. Vols.
signed) W. MERRITT,
Brvt. Maj. Genl.

(sgd) J. LONGSTREET
Lt. Genl.
(signed) J. B. GORDON
Maj. Genl.
(signed) W. N. PENDLETON
Brig. Genl. Ch. of Arty.

These signatures suggest a remark respectg. the less than justice done by the Confederate Govt. to the Artillery Service, in allowing no command therein to be reckoned worth more than the grade of Brigadier. The Genl. Ch. of Arty.,—without regard to anything personal, ought, for the good of the service, to have been titled, as he was in authority &c Maj. Genl.

TABULAR REPORT ARTILLERY,
ARMY OF TENNESSEE
March, 1864
"A"

CORPS	BATTALION	BATTERY	WHENCE	DATE	REMARKS
	Hoxton's	McCants'	Fla.	Apr. 2,'63	Capt. res. good; guns poor,horses tolerable.
	Maj., Apr. 6,'63	Turner's	Miss.	May 2,'63	1st Lt. Smith; res. good; Capt. failed; horses tolerable.
Gen. Hardee's		Phelans'	Ala.	Jan., '62	Passed ex. Bp., Mch. 16, '64.
		1st Lieut.		Mar., '64	Horses fair.
	Hotchkiss'	Swett's	Miss.	May 9,'61	1st Lt. Shannon; conspicuous; horses fair.
	Maj.. May 3, '63	Semple's	Ala.	May 7,'62	1st Lt. Goldwhaite; conspicuous; horses fair
Smith, Chief		Key's	Ark.	Oct. 22,'63	2d Lt. Marshall; conspicuous; horses fair.
Maj.,Aug. 26,'62	Martin's	Bledsoe's	Mo.	June 11,'61	Condition gen'ly good.
	Maj.,Aug. 29, '63	Ferguson's	S. C.	Dec., '61	Condition gen'ly good.
		Howell's	Ga.	Aug., '63	Condition gen'ly good.
	Palmer's	Corput's	Ga.	July 2,'62	Condition gen'ly good.
	Maj., Oct. 13, '63	Rowan's	Ga. & Md	June 3,'63	Awaiting horses at Kingston.
		Marshall's	Tenn.	Jan. 6,'64	Condition gen'ly good.
	Courtenay's	Douglass'	Texas	May, '62	Armament poor, otherwise good.
Gen. Hood's	Maj., Oct. 13, '62	Garrity's	Ala.	Jan. 1,'63	Armament poor, otherwise good.
		Dent's	Ala.	June 1,'63	Harness poor, otherwise good.
Beckham, Chief	Eldridge	Stanford's	Miss.	May 17,'61	Good; Capt. recommended.
Col. Mar. 1, '64	Maj. Jan. 14, '63	Oliver's	Ala.	Feb. 26,'62	Good; horses fair.
		Fenner's	N. O.	Apr. 15,'62	Good; horses fair.
Bondurant	Cobb's	Gracy's	Ky.	Sept., '61	Good; horses fair.
Lt. Col.	Capt. Sept., '61	Slocumb's	N. O	May 26,'61	Good; guns and carriages poor.
		Mebane's	Tenn.	May 28,'61	Fair.
		Lumsden's	Ala.	Nov. 29,'61	Pretty good; horse Arty. 4 3 in. rifles.
	Robertson's	Barrett's	Mo.	Apr. 1,'62	Pretty good.

TABULAR REPORT ARTILLERY—*Continued*

Corps	Battalion	Battery	Whence	Date	Remarks
Reserve	Maj., June 29,'63	Hay's	Ga.	Apr. 1,'62	Pretty good.
		Anderson's	Ga.	Apr. 1,'62	Pretty good.
Hallonquist		Jeffries'	Va.	June 26,'61	Good; horses not so good.
Commanding	Williams'	Kolb's	Ala.	Feb. 9,'61	Good; horses not so good.
Lt. Col.	Maj., Dec., '62	Darden's	Miss.	Apr. 3,'61	Good; horses not so good.
Apr. 2, '62	Waddell's	Emory's	Ala.	May 6,'61	Very good; not worn down.
	Maj., Apr., '63	Bellaway's	Ala.	May 15,'61	Very good; not worn down.

Many officers have considerable experience and ought to do good service. With changes indicated, armament will be:

Hardee's Corps, 34 Nap. 12 How. 2 6 pd.
Hood's Corps, 20 Nap. 8 How. 8 rifles
Reserve 11 Nap. 16 rifles
Horse art., 7 How., 2 6 pd., 4 3 rifles.

in all, 124 guns.

B.

Form of order suggested for Arty. Service, Army of Tennessee.

Hd. Qrs. Army Tenn.

Genl. Orders No. ———

Towards securing alike the efficiency of the Artillery, and its thorough co-operation with other arms, it will in this Army be regulated as follows:—

I. As a distinct arm of service, with its own proper organization, it will be administered through the Gen. Chf. of Arty., who represents for this arm the Commdg. Genl. All reports, requisitions, &c. will be made through him. On the field he will also have a general supervision of the Arty. service, and special command wherever the commanding general may direct. He will be assisted in his duties by an appropriate Staff.

II. The Battalions, to consist of three batteries each, will be grouped in three commands, each of which will have two Commanders, a Senior and Junior, and a Staff consisting of a Qr.M, a Commissary, and an Adjutant, and as a surgeon the Senior Medical Officer serving with the command. Two of these Commands will serve respectively with the two Army Corps, and will consist of as many battalions as there are divisions in the Corps. The third will constitute a general Reserve, not to remain in the rear for service remotely contingent, but to be always, and ready, for the most active operations on any part of the front as exigency may require.

III. The Arty. Commands operating with the Army Corps will also, at any time, make to the Corps Commanders such reports as they may require, and receive from them such orders, not conflicting with the views of the Commanding Genl., as they may deem necessary. This will especially be the case on the march, and in action.

IV. Battalions marching or operating with certain divisions, will draw rations from the trains of these divisions. The Reserve, or any Arty. not thus attached, must have its own supply wagons, or draw from the general train.

V. Besides the general Reserve Ordnance train for the Army, the Arty. Ordnance will be collected in three trains,—one for each command, each to have its own Ordnance Officer, and its own Qr.M. The movements of these trains to be regulated by the Chief of Ordnance, and in special cases by the corps and Arty. Commanders.

VI. There shall be with the Genl. chief of Arty. and Ordnance Officer, as chief of Ordnance for the Arty. through whom, under the Chf. of Arty. the Artillery Ordnance service will be conducted; and with each of the several Sub Commanders also an Ordnance Officer having charge of the ordnance service for that command.

C.

March 21, 1864.

To Genl. Johnston respecting Arty. Army of Tennessee.
By Brig. Genl. Pendleton.

Hd. Qrs. Ar. Tenn. March 21st, 1864.

General,

Having under instructions from Richmond visited this Army, for the purpose of inspecting its Artillery, conferring with yourself in relation thereto, and presenting such views towards its full efficiency as my experience may suggest, and having devoted to the facts ten days careful examination and reflection, I have now the honour to submit for your consideration the results to which my judgment is brought.

These are systematically presented in the tabular report (A) and in the Memorandum of an order respectfully suggested (B).

Besides these synopses, a few brief statements in addition may also be useful and therefore proper.

I. The transportation for your Artillery is, I think, in a better

than average condition. The wagons for the most part strong, and the animals quite serviceable.

II. With arrival of better guns expected soon, the armament will be much improved and quite efficient, if not all that might be desired.

III. The horses, as is generally the case in our Arty. service at the end of winter, owing to several depressing causes, are for the most part comparatively thin. But they have been in the main obviously cared for, are in promisingly good condition and being enured to hard service, with the additions indicated, and expected at an early day,—the chf.qr.m. assures me, may be relied upon, I think, for efficient performance, however early it may be demanded.

IV. The officers,—so far as brief acquaintance and limited inquiry authorize me to judge,—are earnest, capable, experienced, and generally efficient; and the organization already arranged, with certain additions indicated, may be expected to secure its full effectiveness. My own preference would have been for battalions of four batteries, authorizing two field officers each. But as they had been already formed with three batteries, it appears best to retain them in that form, and adapt the other elements of organization to that feature.

V. The promotions, or assignments needed, ought to appear to me to be made as soon as practicable. Incompleteness in provision for command may be a serious hindrance to thorough efficiency. It has not been practicable for me to acquire the exact personal knowledge to justify any special recommendation. Major Courtenay is well recommended, as are Majors Williams, Hoxton and Robertson. Capt. Cobb is especially commended also, as are Capts. Stanford, Slocum, Darden, Dent, Lumsden, Garrity and Barrett. There may besides be others equally deserving. The General Chief of Arty. will on arriving find this a point deserving his early attention.

VI. In conclusion, my belief is decided that your Artillery thus adjusted, and well commanded will prove greatly efficient, and will powerfully contribute to the great victory which this Army is, by the blessing of Providence, destined, I trust, to achieve at no distant day.

I have the honour to be, General,
Respty. yr. Obedt. Servt.
W. N. Pendleton,
Brig. Gen. Arty, C. S. A.

Gen. J. E. Johnston)
Commanding,)

Replies to inquiries on certain points, in letter of Dec. 1st, 1880, W. N. Pendleton.

1st. "A summary statement of our losses, in heavy guns, by the retreat of the Army of the Potomac, and that of the Peninsula"?
Ans. Those heavy guns, with which were armed the Fort at York, and certain points, I infer, about Norfolk, in the spring of 1862, were never under my supervision or controul. My office as Chief of Artillery was, certainly during the first year, understood to apply only to that in the field. No report therefore was ever made to me of the "Siege Guns"—with Magruder's force on the Peninsula,—nor of those associated with Huger's force, at Norfolk. Nor even indeed of those at Drewry's Bluff:—if there were such there; as I take for granted there were.

The Northern writer Swinton, in his history of their "Army of the Potomac," mentions, p. 107, "Some three score and ten siege guns"—found by McClellan's men, in the Confed. Fort at York, on May 4th 62; it having been evacuated the preceding night, and the line withdrawn from of which it was the protection on our left. Whether Magruder had siege guns, in any of the redoubts along his front, and on his right, I was not informed. His own Reports, if you have access to them, will show. In fact my services were not called for there until the withdrawal from the Peninsula was in progress.

Genl. Huger left Norfolk on 10th May and immediately thereafter Com. Tatnall had to blow up the Merrimac. Whether these measures were "improvident waste of the little material of war we had,"—or were among the unavoidable sacrifices, under the circumstances to be made, I could not wisely judge, without knowing more than I did then or do now, of previous special conditions. You have, I hope, information from other sources.
2nd. "A sketch of the battle of Gettysburg"?
Ans. With two sketches,—I venture to trouble you. One is in a copy of my Rept. of that campaign, as Chief of Artillery. It is strictly confined to Artillery operations. And only incidentally mentioned the "delay" of the 2nd day, which interfered with our vigour, and gave the enemy time to be all up and protected by earth works. Read that first.

The other occurs in an Address on Genl. Lee, delivered by me, under request, in 1873. The relations of that extended MSS are mentioned on the introductory page. I have undergone the labour of copying my old rough draft Address and sending the whole to you, because it contains my free account of the fatal 2nd days delay at Gettysburg,—as personally known to my-

self;—and only in part intimated in the Report, not more being proper then, but intimated, by mention of my sending message to hasten Genl. L. and mention of that delay; and also because there are some other things in the long MSS which you may find suitable toward bringing before you here and there a fact &c for your purpose.

Besides giving you the trouble of reading, or having read to you, those two MSS., let me request that, after you have gotten from them every thing, if any, you can turn to account, having the same transcribed, you be so kind as to have the two MSS. remailed to me. They may be valued &c. by my family. Keep them just as long as you desire.

3rd. "The condition and possibilities of affairs at Dalton, when visited by you" (myself)?

Ans. My Report concerning the Artillery at Dalton, when sent thither to inspect it, March 64, and as far as seemed necessary reorganize it, shows that I believed it would soon have efficient service to render. And also, that officered and adjusted as I both recommend and aided in having at once accomplished for it, my conviction was, that arm of that Army would be of very telling power.

And, although on account of its distinguished Commander's expressed wish for more troops, and unwillingness to move against his largely outnumbering antagonists, without reinforcements,—my second visit there was made directly after, under instructions, to represent the impossibility of increasing that army, because of over-matching power every where, and to urge energetic action by that army,—as one essential element, in that season's protection of the sacred Southern cause;—no such appeals were of avail. And I had to leave, virtually acquiescing in Genl. J's idea that the enemy was too strong for him. Still, as before, and then, and since, my conviction was decided,—that, disparity was not greater there than Genl. J. had several times successfully encountered; and that his awaiting defensive plan,—not perhaps to be wisely or safely interfered with, his judgment and disposition being as they were,—would not, I was very sure,—have been acted upon;—exigencies being as they were, by a Stonewall Jackson or one or two others of our greatest Soldiers.

Without at all detracting from my friend Genl. J. E. Johnston's especial characteristics, as a Soldier and Commander, entitled to honour, and who will live in history,—I must in justice express here my belief that there were "possibilities" with the army at Dalton,—which were not fully tested. And

that had his traits been of the quick, aggressive, avalanche character, so often triumphant, in our struggle, as in others, he would most probably have, out of the "possibilities at Dalton" wrought great realities.

To Jefferson Davis.) W.N.P.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Albemarle Co. (Va.) Jany. 26th 1881.

Dear Davis,

The unwillingness to respond to applications for information, experienced by you, has probably been greater against mine, which were necessary by the destruction of my records, under my successor. I indicated my plan of a general outline, which would show that all of Johnston's allegations were absolutely incompatible, and that the Govt. had every reason to approve instead of correcting. That the attacks of Beauregard, and Johnston initiated those of the press, and of congress. That the examinations of the committee, instituted on the general policy, and on repeated special occasions, especially those on the wheat and milling questions; undertaken to condemn, invariably resulted in approval, and that the report of the last special committee of both houses resulted in the declaration on the floor, that I had exhibited a grasp of my duties, a comprehensive appreciation of resources and obstacles, with an intelligent and wise foresight and energy, which had not been found in any other dept.—except perhaps one other.

I have a letter written to me while in prison by the Chairman Baldwin, who made those remarks, and he challenged any dissent from any member of the committee. Miles replied that they wanted an officer who harmonised with his superiors. My superiors had even approved and all the secretaries of War had shown it.

You wanted me to respond to Johnston wherein he arraigned the Govt. for tolerating my proceedings, notwithstanding the remonstrances of himself and Bgd. Before I can get my papers ready, I must get the data respecting the cattle supply from Texas, the various supplied for Corinth, pastured in St. Landry La., and which were swam over the Miss. after we lost command of the River. My chief man is living—G. W. White—Howard is dead. A friend is trying to get the details from W.

Meanwhile I *affirm,* and will *show,* that every one of Johnston's charges are misstatements and inventions, and that Bgd's are equally without foundation.

You were charged with blindly appointing a favourite incompetent, but you remember that Genl. Griffith was to have been the Commissary Genl., but delayed and I opened the office with that understanding. Griffith afterwards objected and was killed at 7 pines; I had to go on. I will now briefly satisfy you respecting the charges of Jtn. beginning with the statement that the surrounding country abounded with flour and beef, and I forbade Col. Lee from purchasing—in the interest of economy, and saving, from the use of the enemy the supplies of exposed districts. Lee received no such order. I have his complaint to you saying that I gave him no orders, only that I wished him to examine the proceedings of Capt. Fowle which he did and approved. Fowle was ordered not to make purchases at the rates he had been buying ($5.60 and 6.00) when wheat was worth 70c—to refer the prices to me before he bought, —to get corn meal to the utmost extent, and that when he could not supply enough flour in this way, to make requisitions on Rhd., where *was in store* much flour of the *old* crop bought before I got there and without my knowledge.

Va. had prohibited the exportation of flour, many speculators had flour on hand, and wished to save themselves. Fowle had asked me to sanction a purchase of 600 bbls. at $6. I refused, he then wrote that he had already made the bargain, I annulled it. He was part owner of it. 2nd. Genl. J. states that flour passed his depot one week to come back the next at an enhanced expense—not true, never occurred, referred to hereafter. 3rd. that there was an abundance of flour in the region where the army was located—not true, Fauquier and Loudon were largely grazing lands; the labour always scarce there, was lessened by Beauregard's calling for negroes to work on his field lines, the wheat crop was largely in stack of the crop of 1861 in July and August.

Genl J. says that at the battle of Manassas they had but two days supply; if so it was because Bgd had neglected his communications; all the requisitions for flour were in depot at Rhd. and 130 odd cars had been detained for weeks before at Fredericksburg with cannon unloaded and at Manassas used as storehouses, and at Strasbourg unloaded, having neglected Genl. Lee's rule of requiring the army to assist in unloading its stores and returning cars promptly.

Johnston states that the deficiency continued till the 10th

August due to his similar neglect. On the 22 July Lee, backed by Johnston's letter to the Adjt. Genl., said they were without supplies, owing to the "Commissary Genl." not having filled requisitions. Major Claiborne reported that he had filled all made on him. On the 24th Lee wrote that "the supplies had not come owing to the RRds being overtaxed". He should have looked into it, and would have discovered that Genl. J. had neglected his communications. Daniel's letters to you I have, complaining that troops as well as supplies that should have been at Manassas—would have been, but for this neglect. 4th. that the supplies of exposed districts were not saved,—not true. I had an agent in Clarke Co. who bought all that people would sell at suitable prices, graded by wheat put at $1 less transportation to the usual market of that district; this agent had other agents elsewhere in the valley by direction, and Blair was ordered to assist in buying at similar rules. After I had broken up Fowle's arrangement for paying the whole 5th quarters for butchering, and arranged with Borst to do it for *half*, and to sell his half of the hides oil and tallow to Govt. at prescribed rates Lee still obstructed, and when Noland was sent to buy and supply and save all surplus, Lee still opposed. Noland and his agents got sheep cattle hogs everywhere in Clarke Frederick Fauquier and Loudon, and after Loudon was nearly empty, Johnston ordered Noland and his agents to get no more from Loudon, because Orr D. H. Hill's commissary wanted to set up an independent action. So Johnston *did know* that I was getting cattle from at least one of the counties he specified as having been neglected. I have the documents to prove it.

Lee and Fowle did buy flour at prices exceeding what I had prescribed and sent to the War Dept. a comparison of prices with what was sent from Rich. at higher rates. I replied showing that by the rules of inspection, his prices were from 1.50 to 1.75 too much and that what I had sent had been bought not by me, but was in store when we arrived and was by inspection rules worth $2 more than theirs. Johnston probably never saw this; knew nothing about the matter, and they had concluded that I must have bought this flour, brought it to Rd., and then reshipped it. I had also arranged to send from the country tributary to Fredericksburg about 1000 bbls. per week, from *exposed regions* to Manassas. Noland was sent from Rh. to attend to the removal of the cured meat at Thoroughfare Gap, Johnston was in the cars returning from a visit to Rhd. N. spoke of his business and Johnston told him he thought there would be no difficulty of transportation. N. had the meat placed

in piles corresponding to the cars of a train, the trains passed empty and would not take a pound,—3 trains. The location was good, to get stock from the valley and disproves Johnston's assertion that I neglected to save what the enemy might have got; it was safe, for if he was beaten no where was safer.

He tries to make out that his retreat or move was due to your hurrying him; see page 105; he quotes his letter of Mch. 3rd to prove it, but omits to say that you answered that letter on the 6th, that you were fully aware of the difficulties from the state of the roads that the enemy could not move either, therefore he (J) could take time to save his ammunition and stores —not needed when in motion—that having thus disembarrassed himself, he might then have no occasion to move whilst the roads were such as to "involve sufferings and losses." However he says that 15 days were quite long enough to subordinate the operations of an army to the protection of commissary stores exposed against the wishes and remonstrances of the General, p. 104.

Johnston charges unnecessary and immense accumulations of supplies at Manassas in excess of 15 days. Blair had been purchasing by his agents, and it was Cole's business to communicate to the parties who shipped to him in Jany. to stop, when he had an excess, and it was outside of me that this object was to be effected, yet I know my nature and practise and had he sent me the alleged telegrams of the 16th and 29th Jany. I should have extended them to the sources of the excess, but I deny ever having received such, nor can I find any one who remembers them, but fortunately I have two letters from Cole in January one before the 16th the other after and before the 29th, neither making the smallest allusion to excess, but expressing his satisfaction that the army was well supplied and satisfied, and that they did not like hand bread, but did not say one word of having too much. Cole was in the habit of visiting Rhd. on business with the Depot Commissary and returning without seeing me. He understood the proper place to do his business at. His communicating with me about that excess would have been as rational as if Genl. A. S. Johnston's commissary had acted in a similar round about way. Genl. Johnston might well say, as he does, that "the southern people judged him by their hearts instead of their minds"—if they credit such trash.

He writes "In spite of the accumulation at Manassas everything would have been saved but for the establishment of the meat packery of the Confederate armies on that frontier."

He did not give an atom of aid except the encouraging answer

to Noland about there being no difficulty as to moving the meat at Thoroughfare, so that his order to destroy it, as well as at Manassas was avowedly needless. He is incoherent—not even good at excuses. After going to Miss., A. G. Banks, once connected with the Examiner, wrote to me from Johnston's headquarters twice as his commissary. I refused to recognise him —that Major Moore was commissary of that army and Johnston had to drop the attempt; when ordered to Dalton, Army of Tennessee, he applied to have Moore go with him. Genl. Cooper referred to me; I opposed it; he said he wanted him forseeing the probability of deficient supplies. He writes to Seddon that my new system of sectionalising the whole country to get from every point supplies for distribution did not work well, for Walker of Ala. had several times had to call on Moore, who supplied him—not true. Wr., as was proper, responded to Moore's calls, and once wanted some of M's cattle, which Moore was willing to give, but did not do it. It is evident from Johnston that he must have had something to say on those matters. I knew Major M's excellence, and that Johnston at Dalton would depend on the new system, for I knew he would certainly fall back. Major Moore had been at Corinth, and when Col. Lee had made a contract with a man to butcher beef and also to furnish some at his own valuation Major Moore protested and offered to do his own butchering, which Lee would not permit.[1] By that "new system" Walker of Ala. constantly shipped to Atlanta and Johnston if he had no more men than he states, received and used up 15,000 to 18,000 rations per day more than he was entitled to.

He attacks the "Commissary Genl." from one end of the book to the other; he knew that 99/100 men will attribute all he says to me, and that his statement that the "C. Genl." took $1200 of the $30,000 which he prevented you from abstracting, would apply falsely to Col. Northrop. I hope to show that you would have failed in your duty if you had not sustained me. Bgd and Johnston caused the fall of the South. When I can finish I will try and publish,—you can rely on the above.

Yours L. B. Northrop.

P.S.

In reference to the wheat question, which was twice fully examined and approved of by Congress: In 1861 it had fallen to 68 and 70 per bushell, business men were afraid to buy. Peace was thought not improbable but doubtful, farmers who

[1] I broke up that at Corinth as well as at Manassas.

could determined to wait and I raised the price to $1 in order to induce thrashing otherwise little would have been brought to mills.

Next year I hired a mill in Rhd. and bought wheat instead of flour, and authorised similar operations elsewhere to stop speculations in flour; every sort of opposition and criticism by millers and the press followed. In a few localities where farmers would not sell, I sent flour from Rhd; this was effective, a newspaper charged bringing wheat to Rhd and sending flour back; this was in 1863.

Johnston perhaps picked up this and attributed it to his army when at Manassas 18 months before.

I put off the speculation in flour from 1861 to 1863 and 4. From the beginning to the end my efforts to *introduce* supplies from outside were constant. Lee's army was latterly chiefly supported in bacon, thus through over 30 points in Va. several heavy operations in N. C. and finally a large arrangement of 6 steamers from Bo. was instituted, only one arrived, Grant broke it up.

I am lamed and weak, and have to get up and in ice and snow feed my stock; I have no room to write in, keep my papers in my trunk, and have just scribbled off this off hand to enable you to establish whatever you want. I am going to follow up Bgd and expose his folly in attacks unfounded against the commissary Dept. I never had a difference with either of these men but they selected the Commissary Dept. because as it depended on money transportation and the holding of territory —none under my controll—weakness in any of these factors would be first reflected in my Dept.

In July 1861 I wrote to Sec. Walker, that I was compelled to return commodities bought in N. O. and Nashville for want of money to meet promises. I wrote to Fowle that I chose to graze on want in respect to Rice and sugar which were not essential, because parties would not receive Treasury bonds, which the Sec. of War and of Treasury declared must be made use of. In this way I forced the use of more than all other Depts. combined. Baldwin's committee made a thorough investigation and it was on these grounds that their conclusions were formed.

Postscript. The location at Thoroughfare Gap had buildings and water for packing meat and the surplus of (as Johnston says 2 millions—17000 it was) makes him a witness that in excess of what his army used "immense" stores were got from exposed districts, and that he knew it, but malice blinded him,

his whole treatment of that matter is a curious specimen of incoherent quibbling.

endorsed:
L. B. Northrop; ansd. 1st Febr. 1881.

Jefferson Davis to S. A. Jackson.[1]

(The original letter now in possession of Herbert M. Martin, Danville, Virginia.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss. 31 Jan'y, 1881.

S. A. Jackson, Esq.

My dear Sir:

Yours of the 16th inst. has been received. The cordial terms in which you speak of my deceased son are very grateful to me. He ever manifested a warm regard for his Brethren of the Kappa Sigma Fraternity, and its badge was the most valued ornament he wore. I thank you for the honor you offer me as enrollment as an honorary member in your society, it is doubly dear to me as connecting me with those whom my son so affectionately regarded.

Very truly and
Sincerely yours,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.
1st Feb. 1881.

My dear Northrop:—

I was happy to receive your letter of the 26th ult. and sorry that you should, like myself, have encountered reluctance to respond by those who could give us details to vindicate a cause, as much theirs as ours. I find that particularly the case with those who were very furious when you and I were moderate. They are like those fretful horses that expend their fire before starting. I have in writing twice referred to you in terms which were just therefore complimentary. "I dare say if we had had more electioneering talent, or had tried to conciliate the selfish, rather than rigidly to perform our duty we might have gained approval where we met criticism, but now when old and broken in fortune, we should have been without that which to such as you are is worth more than all else. The consciousness of rectitude.

I remember that you did not want to be Commissary General, and I still think it was good for the country that you did not have your own way. General Early in his narrative notices the injury the army sustained in the destruction of the cured meat at Thoroughfare Gap, and like myself, he could not see why the railroads if properly employed could not have removed all the public property which was destroyed.

Johnston disingenuously seeks to make it appear that his retreat from Centreville was the result of my instructions, though he had long before pointed out the hazard of his position and the necessity for his falling back and to my urgent demand that he should save our heavy guns which had been sent to him from the works around Richmond, he plead the almost impossible conditions of the roads, and though I told him while the roads were in that condition he could not be attacked, and in the meantime need only to mobilize his army, he was in full retreat before I knew he was going to start. I remember the facts generally in regard to supplying provisions to the army of the Potomac, but am glad that you are in the way of getting the proofs to silence the slanderous statements made against you.

I wrote to Archer Anderson about that "Treasury Agent" but he recollects nothing about it. I have written to others to find out whether there was any such Treasury Agent or any such transactions so related. I have great doubt in regard to both. Cole is a swift witness. He gave Johnston a certificate that it was impossible I should have telegraphed him at the Rappahannock, and another that there was no public stores lost at Yorktown. I have the original of the telegram and proof of stores burned on the wharf at Yorktown. Johnston made earnest and personal applications for A. D. Banks to be put on his staff. I did not know him, but knew there was no vacancy in the Adjt. Genl.'s Department, and so he was put in the Subsistence, after which I learned that he was a newspaper correspondent. People seem to like humbugs, and to find pleasure in being cheated.

Mrs. Davis joins me in most affection regards to you and yours. May the Lord have you in his holy keeping is the earnest prayer of

Your friend,

(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

P. S. Have you a good likeness of yourself? If not, will you have one taken and send it to D. Appleton & Co., No. 1 Bond St., New York. I want to have it engraved and put in my book.

J.D.

E. Barksdale to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Jackson (Miss.) Feby. 2nd, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My Dear Friend,

The bill to retire Gen. Grant (he is already "retired") with the rank and pay of General of the Army is exciting considerable interest. I have opposed it because I think it wrong in principle, and for the report that there is no just cause why an exception to the rule of our government should be made in favor of Gen. Grant.

I am sure that the subject has not escaped your attention, and now, as often before with reference to other matters, I take the liberty to turn to you and to ask your opinion of the measure.

If your engagements permit you to reply I will not expose you to the assaults of the Northern press, by publishing your letter but will hold it as confidential.

With kind remembrance to Mrs. Davis, and best wishes for health and happiness, I remain,

ever yours,

E. Barksdale.

endorsed:

E. Barksdale; about bill to retire Grant; ansd. 7th Feb. '81.

L. W. Wise[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

Catawba, Roanoke Co.,
Virginia. Feb. 5th 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir:

Perhaps you will recollect me as the son of the late Mrs. Margaret Wise who lived in Washington city prior to the late war and as a nephew of the late Ex Gov. H. A. Wise of this state. I was also at Fortress Monroe just after the war having

[1] Lewis Warrington Wise, son of the Hon. Tully Robinson and Margaret Pettis Wise, was born Nov. 4, 1844. He was Sergeant-Major in Wise's Brigade 46th. Regiment to the end of the War, after which he settled in Roanoke County, Va., where he died, April 25, 1917.

gone there to recover some furniture and other articles belonging to my Aunt, and which some of the Federal officers had in possession, and you will remember that I saw you and Mrs. Davis at the time. I merely mention these facts to recall to your mind that I once knew you.

I have seen in the Richmond "Dispatch" that you are writing a book on the late war and in company with all good confederates am anxious to see a book that shall be a thorough defence of our cause, written by one who has both the ability and information necessary to make it thorough in every respect. But no matter how well posted a writer may be on any subject there may some times be called to his mind facts that may either have not come under his notice at all, or if so may have escaped his attention. What I allude to is that I have before me a slip cut some years ago from a Northern newspaper giving on the authority of a "statement issued by the war department" at Washington the total number of soldiers furnished the Union army "from April 15th 1861 to the close of the war" and the number is put down at two million six hundred and seventy eight thousand nine hundred and sixty seven. (2,678,967)

Now the census of 1860 which I have examined and which was completed only a few months prior to the breaking out of the war, shows that the *entire white male* population between the military ages of 18 and 45, of the eleven states that actually went into the war was less than *one million* (1,000,000) but of course a very large proportion of those were exempt on account of physical disability and other causes such as ministers of the gospel, physicians &c, so that the South could not have had in the war from first to last more than six or seven hundred thousand men, or about *one fourth* of the number employed by the North, to say nothing of the other advantages which the North had in the shape of its *Navy* and the greatly superior equipment of its land forces. Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri did it is true furnish some troops to us besides those we received from the eleven states I have alluded to, but you know that they were not many, and probably did not offset the Union element of East Tennessee and Northwest Virginia that had to be deducted from our less than a Million men that were in the eleven states that engaged actively in the war.

I hope you will not consider it presumptuous in me in thus calling these facts to your attention, but that you will ever consider me truly

Yours respectfully,
(Signed) L. W. Wise.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus (Va.) Feby. 6th 1881.

My dear friend,

I have yours of the 1st and observe the indications of your accuracy of memory abideing with you. You write of having written to Archer Anderson about that "Treasury Agent" Johnston names him—a Fredericksburg name. You have great doubts of the truth of the transaction or of the existence of the Treasury agent.

Foolish and incoherent as Johnston has proved himself he would not have ventured to invent the whole of such a narration. Judge Barton of Fredericksburg has great aversion to Johnston, and thought that his deserts could only be administered by a court martial and a fusilade. If you write to ask his aid for information respecting Herndon the prospect is not unfavourable. Your letter would be more likely to secure his deligence than mine would.

I remember that there was a man of that name in Richmond during the latter part of the war from Fredericksburg, and then seemed to me connected with some money matters.

Thank you for the "earnest prayer" in my behalf. Given Free-will, God's Providence and attention to prayer, is a logical sequence, or he abdicates sovereignty and chaos follows.

During the 4 years in Rhd I had but one interview with Baldwin; it was in my office and was ended by my telling him that he could not get from me what he wanted. He wrote while I was in prison that I had been "the worst used man in the confederacy." Capt. Jesse Bean would have injected "except one" which I would apply to you.

I had never before realised how nearly credible is the presbyterian atrocity of "total depravity." The scoundrelism of the politician, the selfishness of the military, and the meanness of the "Pestilent throng" which our institutions bring into relief, made me dislike american people generally—even the better educated and better bred, in Charleston and Rhd fell as low in becoming followers of such Charlatans as Beauregard and Johnston. Sincerely I contemn the American people,—though liking good people everywhere. Furnishing my portrait makes me concurrent in presenting myself to their notice. It will not add any force to your book, so there is no reason for my doing what is not agreeable, when merely personal. Your propo-

sition is very friendly, and the vast circulation awaiting your book in Europe as well as in this country, would cause many Americans to profit by it, to gratify their vanity. My nature is not american.

I am as God sees me, and I try not to care what man thinks. I never was more contented, and never will be fully contented, until thoroughly, indifferent to human respect—an aim not freely attainable I know. Mark I do not believe in "human depravity." A baby's face is innocent, therefore good; when reason and self will arise, the consciousness of merit and demerit of right and wrong appear as parts of its being, proving the existence of the Supreme Being—the necessity and certainty of his abiding aid, and of the relation existing, and that it is to be kept up by prayer, meditation; therefore that it will be judiciously responded to.

Here comes in the difficulty of comprehending the relation between finite and Infinite but this is extrinsic to the above—which depends on our consciousness of existence—so is no ground of doubt.

Therefore I have for years been praying for you every *night*, —there is no chance for doing so in the morning, as I have to be up first to see to my stock. But "full are the Heavens and Earth of the majesty of his Glory" and eyes supply for lips, in devotion to the Supreme Majesty in the morning. You will think I am on stilts. Theoretically I am, and practically would I gladly be, then only will I be free. My wife sends love to you and Mrs. Davis in which I join. Adios.

Yours ever,

endorsed: Northrop. L. B. Northrop.

Poultney Bigelow[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

Free Trade—Peace—Goodwill
(GOLDEN CLUB)
Among Nations

Hon. Jefferson Davis Esq.,
Dear Sir:

As far as the weather will permit human time tables to be reliable, I expect to reach Mobile on Saturday at 4 in the morn-

[1] Bigelow, Poultney (1855-), an author, was born in New York, September 10, 1855, graduated from Yale college in 1879, from the Columbia Law School in 1882, acquired an intimate knowledge of Germany

ing, and in case the mail brings me good news, to leave by the afternoon train and reach Beauvoir somewhere in the neighborhood of 6½ P.M. of the same day.

I am sorry to learn from the railroad schedule that the morning train passes your place without stopping as I had intended to arrive that way, before having my attention called to the fact.

I trust that by the time I have finished my visit to Northern Alabama, Tennessee, the floods will have subsided sufficiently to allow me free passage to the Mississippi.

I am,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) POULTNEY BIGELOW.

Huntsville, Ala.
Feb. 9th 1881.

P.S. Will you kindly inform me which is the best hotel in the neighborhood at which I can spend the night. I shall get your letter at the

Battle House—Mobile,

P.B.

W. T. Walthall to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

At Home; 10 Feb. 1881.

My dear Sir:

Immediately after answering your inquiry relative to Mrs. Bragg's papers, on Tuesday, I had to leave home, returned late at night very unwell, and have had no opportunity until now to reply to your second note of 6th inst.

With regard to the presumed origin of the statements made in the extract from the "New York letter," I have no evidence that would warrant any positive assertion in a form intended

and court circles in Berlin while his father was minister to that country, and subsequently traveled extensively in the East, in China, South and East Coast of Africa, East and West Indies, and Australia. He has made canoe voyages on the principal waters of the world, has practised law in New York, has lectured at the University of Boston on Colonial Administration and History; has served as correspondent of the London Times, and of late years has lectured before different American educational institutions on Modern German History and International Relations. He has published The German Emperor and His Eastern Neighbors (1892), History of the German Struggle for Liberty (1896-1905), and several other books.

for the public eye, but the internal evidence is such that I have no hesitation in saying that, in the reference to it in my private note to you, the office of D. Appleton & Co. was in my mind as the source. The reasons for this were so obvious that I supposed they would occur to you as readily as to me—though I did not regard it as a matter of any importance, and referred to it only incidentally.

With regard to the statement that I had been employed as "amanuensis," if you will be so kind as to read that part of my letter again, I think you will find there was no feeling of the sort which you have inferred, either expressed or implied. Certainly, nothing could have been further from my intention than to intimate that there would have been anything *degrading,* or derogatory to me in any wise, in acting as your amanuensis. I would not have hesitated to occupy such a relation if circumstances had required it, toward persons of far less distinction than yourself. I do not think, Mr. President, after the experience of the last ten or fifteen years, it ought to be necessary to say that I would have considered it, not a reproach, but an honor, to act as your "amanuensis," or "private secretary," or in any of the like positions which the newspapers have attributed to me. During the period when I was honored with your confidence, I always esteemed it a privilege to discharge any such offices, whenever you desired it, often volunteered to do so, and regretted only that you did not call upon me oftener.

My objection to the statement of the letter-writer was not on the ground that there was anything degrading or objectionable in the office assigned me, but simply that it was *not true,* and represented me as having failed in duties which had never been required of me. I objected, more especially, to the intimation conveyed to the reader—although not distinctly so expressed—*that the Appletons had employed* me to act as your amanuensis. The truth is that, until last February, when Mr. Derby was here, the Appletons knew me only as a contracting party—subject of course to your approval and presumably acting under your authority. *They* had nothing to do with the relations between you and me, or the duties which you might assign me, or whether you might think proper to assign me any, or not; and these things were no concern of the public.

As regards the performance of, or failure to perform, the duties really assigned me, I can only say that my performance could not be more unsatisfactory to any one than to myself, and regret that I do not dispute *your* right to censure or complain of it, though I do not admit that of anyone else. I am

not conscious of any wilful neglect or remissness—though I am conscious of many mistakes or errors,—and the question of competency or incompetency is one which it would not become me to discuss, and on which I have nothing to say. In fact, Mr. President, I was entirely frank and sincere in saying that, if there is any *blame* to be borne by anybody, I am the one to bear it. To this I may add that the consequences have fallen upon me more heavily and crushingly than upon any one else, and I have not complained.

With regard to the misunderstanding about the progress which had been made, I certainly never intended to make a false impression. In saying that the first volume was *virtually ready,* I did not mean that it had been finally written out, ready for the press. In that case, it would have been read to you, or submitted to you for inspection. My meaning was, that the material was all prepared, the references looked up, and that all that remained was to make a fair and legible transcript, which I thought would be an easy and mainly a mere mechanical task. In this latter particular, I confess that I was much mistaken, as experience proved, but it was not a wilful mistake. I have never deceived you; and never suppressed anything that concerned your interests, unless it was from a desire to spare you unnecessary annoyance.

I am sorry to learn that the "Biographical Preface," which was prepared with much labor and care, has been discarded. In case of making any reply to the attack of the "New York letter," I shall make no allusion to it, nor to anything else of a confidential character, unless by saying that they are matters which do not concern the public.

With regard to the copies which I had made for you from Gen. Bragg's papers, I cannot recollect or enumerate them in detail, but can call to mind a few of them. Among these were a letter from Gen. Bragg to Gen. Joseph E. Johnston with regard to a proposed plan of campaign into Tennessee; several papers concerning Gen. Bragg's visit to Gen. Johnston in 1864; a number of letters, orders, telegrams, &c., relative to operations near Richmond and about Drewry's Bluff in May 1864—including despatches to and from Generals Beauregard, Whiting, and others; (I think you had copies of *everything* relating to these events;) some papers relative to Wilmington and Fort Fisher; &c. &c.

If anything in this hurried letter is obscure or unsatisfactory in making my meaning understood—as some things in the last seem to have been,—please regard it with a kindly confidence as

to the intent, rather than with any critical consideration of imperfections in expressing it. There are some things on which I would like to speak more fully, and may perhaps try to do so some other time, if agreeable to you, and if time and opportunity permit, but can now only ask pardon for having already drawn so largely upon your attention and indulgence.

Very respectfully and truly yours

His Excellency, (Signed) W. T. WALTHALL.
Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir.

Minor Meriwether to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Memphis, 15 Feby. 1881.

President Jefferson Davis,
Dear Sir:

We have looked with profound interest for your forthcoming work, and are glad to know it is now in press. I enclose what purports to be a brief outline of the work. This omits all reference to the protective tarif as one of the inciting causes of the war between the states—a cause which has always seemed to me to lie at the foundation of the centralism which has overthrown republican government in the United States, and I had hoped to see it discussed in your work. It seems to me to have had as much or more to do with bringing on the war than slavery. The Yankees with a thousand tongued lieing press, libeled, blackened and villified us as a race of heartless slave drivers and slave catchers, waging a war for the perpetuation of slavery. The south was voiceless in the struggle, and the world was arrayed against us because it believed these lies. The Yankee press has never ceased to repeat the cruel falsehood and the press and speakers of the south have given color to it by treating the defense of slavery as the chief cause of the war. Now I am sure that the great majority of the officers and soldiers of the confederate army and the people of the Confederate States, fought for state sovereignty and the right of local self government, and slavery was a mere incident, for which they would not have gone to war, had not there been another, and a greater principle at the foundation—that of the freedom and sovereignty of their States, which were no longer safe in a union with people who envied and hated us; and yet hate us with a devilish hate intensified by time.

Mrs. M. joins me in kindest regards for yourself and Mrs. Davis, and wishes for long life, prosperity and great happiness for you both. Yours truly,

(Signed) MINOR MERIWETHER.

Horace Edwin Hayden to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Wilkesbarre, Pa. March 15th, 1881

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Bouvier, Miss.

Hon. and Dear Sir,

In January 1880 I mailed to your address a copy of my pamphlet in answer to the charge of Lossing and others that the Confederate States Govt. authorized the use of Explosive and poisoned balls.

I especially desired to have *your* opinion of the way in which I disposed of the charges, as you, in a higher sense than any other person, represent the holy cause for which we struggled.

Your silence has led me to fear that my pamphlet never reached you. If it did I beg you will still let me have your views of its contents. And if it did not reach you, it will afford me very great pleasure to send you another copy.

Earnestly praying God to spare you, and to fill you with His continued blessing, I am with the most profound respect,

Very sincerely,
Your most Obedient Servant,
HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

endorsed: Revd. Hayden, pamphlet about explosive shells, received and ansd. 9th April '81.

Napoleon Hill[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Memphis, Tenn. Mch. 24, 1881

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Miss. City, La.

Dr. Sir,

I had some conversation today with Commodore I. N. Brown C. S. A., who successfully telescoped the U.S. Fleet at Vicks-

[1] Senior member of the firm of Hill, Fontaine & Co., wholesale grocers and cotton factors of Memphis, Tenn.

burg, Miss. with the Ram "Arkansas," landing under the C. S. Battery in safety. If you think it advisable, he will, upon note from you, write up a graphic account of this remarkable effort, which shed so much lustre upon the fame of our arms and rendered more chivalric the recollections of the cause so dear to us all.

Should you approve the suggestion, write him to my care.

Yours Truly,
NAPOLEON HILL.

endorsed:
Napoleon Hill; about J. N. Brown; the Ram Arkansas; wrote 30th March '81.

Isaac N. Brown to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Kanawha, Coahoma Co. Missi.
April 10th 1881. (Glendale P.O.)

His Excellency Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Missi.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 30th ult. forwarded by our friend Napoleon Hill has been received. On behalf of the brave men who served with me on the "Arkansas" I thank you for the notice taken of us in your History, and I enclose statement of some facts connected with the equipment and subsequent service of the vessel.

It will be for your superior judgment to decide whether justice to the actors and to the truth of History requires the addition in our favor which you so kindly suggest your willingness to make in the Book which I trust is to be read as long as the love of liberty and the English language exists. Perhaps I ought now to stop, but I wish to say that justice has not yet been done to the incident in question by more than one side of those engaged in the late Civil War—the side that suffered from the Arkansas. Semmes does not mention us. The author of the Lost Cause does worse than pass us in silence, and on the other occasional ephemera of the day no correct or ennobling relation has met my eye. I have been too little satisfied with the result of my individual efforts in the period which must ever occupy so much of our thoughts to trust myself in print with regard to them. But it is a consolation to me to know that I quit a high position gained by twenty seven years of honourable service in the then

first Navy of the Universe from a conviction of duty—a duty which I tried to perform to the end.

I am with respect and with wishes for the continuance of good health of your Excellency, Very truly yours,

ISAAC N. BROWN.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Missi.
April 15th 1881.

Genl M. J. Wright,
Dear Sir,

Will you have the goodness to find for me the number of men paroled at the surrender of Vicksburg. It has been variously stated sometimes being more than Pemberton had at the beginning of the siege. If you can find the number as officially reported by Pemberton you would much oblige me by sending it to Judge W. J. Tenney, No 1 Bond street New York City *as soon as practicable* as a blank has been left in a proof now in press, and it waits to receive the correct number.

(In Mrs. Davis' handwriting. No signature)

W. T. Walthall to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

At Home, 25 April, 1881.

My Dear Sir:

Your message by my boys was received to-day.

The papers in my possession obtained under your instructions or relating to the Memoirs were all turned over to you. I have, however, had much private correspondence—some of it occasioned by my reply to Wilson in 1878, and containing the letters to which I presume you refer. I will have copies made of them —or of such parts of them as are relevant to the subject—as soon as my daughter's many other duties will permit her to do the work. She is already engaged on it, but liable to much interruption.

Yours very truly,

W. T. WALTHALL.

H. E.
Jefferson Davis.

W. T. Walthall to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

At Home: 30 April, 1881

Dear Mr. President:

Having been absent from home for several days, I did not receive your note until last night. In the mean time the most important of the papers had been copied—all of them by Fanny, except one by Arthur. I send them to you, as they may possibly be of use at some other time.

Fanny tells me that she endeavored to copy them literally, without correcting any mistakes; but in the case of Gen. Dibrell's letters they were written so *illiterately* that she has unconsciously or unintentionally corrected a few of the mistakes.

In comparing them, I have not thought it necesary to restore these.

Very truly yours,
W. T. WALTHALL.

His Excellency,
Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir

Jefferson Davis to W. T. Walthall.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 2nd May 1881.

Maj. W. T. Walthall,
Dear Sir,

I have received yours of the 30th ult., and am surprised to learn that the letters for which I had made much search had been retained by you.

After the receipt of your letter of the 25th ult., any doubt which could have previously existed as to your having sent the letters from the officers commandg. the cavly. at the Savannah river, was removed.

You wrote "the papers in my possession obtained under your instructions or relating to the memoirs were all turned over to you." After the receipt of that letter another exhaustive search was instituted. I was embarrassed for the want of some in-

formation which I remembered those letters contained and at last thought I might be able to fix a date from some criticisms which had been made on your article in reply to Wilson, and therefore sent the message to you requesting the privilege of looking at those letters of criticism or complaint if you had preserved them. When your reply to the message was received, informing me that you would have copies made from your "private correspondence" for me, I wrote to you to prevent a labor which would not serve my purpose. It did not occur to me that you would designate such a paper as that of Genl. Ferguson, private correspondence, or that you would suppose it had been prepared with any other view than to aid in the work on which I was engaged, and in which you were known to be assisting me. It is however from that paper you send an extract. Though as you have been informed my MSS. has been sent off, and the motive which prompted the search for those letters no longer exists, it would have been and is yet preferable to me to have the originals of these and all papers "relating to the memoirs."

Yours &c &c

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

William M. Browne[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Athens, Georgia, May 2nd, 1881

Mr. President:

There are ear marks about the enclosed which incline me to believe that Mr. S.[2] inspired it wholly or in part. I have heard him describe his reception by Grant in almost the same words as those of the article. Such is history—such is justice. How did the Vice-President of the Confederate States have a right

[1] Browne, William M., a soldier, was born in England but became a naturalized American citizen previous to 1861, and for some time edited a daily newspaper at Washington, D. C. He espoused the cause of secession, was appointed aide-de-camp on the staff of President Davis with rank of colonel of cavalry; and was commissioned brigadier-general in December, 1864. At the close of hostilities he engaged in agriculture near Athens, Ga., and edited and published a periodical called "The Farm and Home". About 1870 he was appointed professor of history and political economy in the University of Georgia and he held this chair until his death, at Macon, in 1884.

[2] Alexander H. Stephens.

to address the Senate? When were you scared by Mr. S. or any one else? I am disgusted and sick.

I hope that you and yours are well. It is a long time since I heard from you.

With affectionate regards to Mrs. Davis,

Most respectfully and faithfully,
Your friend,
Wm. M. Browne.

Robert Ould to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, Va. May 9th 1881.

My dear Sir,

Yours of the 6th inst. just received. I recollect very well the occasion of Mr. Blair's visit. I brought him from "Varina" to your house and saw him several times during his stay in Richmond. He was very friendly and communicative in his conversations with me. At no time did he utter one word about the lukewarmness of our people or of their leaders to our cause, or of any hostility towards yourself on the part of members of Congress or anybody else. He did talk to me very unreservedly and with great earnestness about the propriety at once of making terms of peace with the Federal government, he believing that we could then obtain advantageous terms, and that our resources were so feeble that we could not successfully resist the Federal armies. He laid special stress upon the latter fact. But he did not say anything about any pressure for peace from members of our Congress. He almost exclusively spoke from the standpoint of a professed friend who was disturbed by the fear that in the event of our continued resistance, we would be ground to powder. He always spoke in terms of great affection for you and never intimated that he had found in Richmond any indications of hostility to you personally or indisposition to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor. A good many years have elapsed since that occasion, but this is my recollection and I don't think I am mistaken.

You can use this letter in any way you may think proper.

I send with this the Sutton letters. Have you heard again from him?

Yours truly,
Ro: Ould.

C. E. Pickett[1] *to Jefferson Davis.*

(From Confederate Museum.)

Commercial Hotel,
San Francisco, June 7th 1881

Jefferson Davis,
Ex-Prest. S.C.
My Dear Sir:

I desire to supplement my letter of the 30th Ult. In the pamphlet sent you with it I suggest, on the first page of the Address, a plural Executive. Such plan (but not by electing the Presidents in independent Sections) was proposed in the Constitutional Convention. Mr. Calhoun, in his last great speech, delivered in 1850, first suggested a plural sectional presidency—naming two. I would have five, including one to represent Mexico which, under such system, would consent to become a member of the Confederation. That the South will adhere to its autonomical aspirations and traditions I have full belief. There is too much antagonism between the peoples South and North to permit a harmonious consolidation or much longer continuance of the Government under the existing form.

Permit me here to relevantly remark that I am stronger than ever opposed to the large influx of foreigners and their too ready citizenation. Especially, coming in such numbers, as now, are they rendering us more and more heterogeneous, and sapping our republican institutions (See a work of Count Gobineau on this question) You should take no steps to encourage any settling in the South. Enough will do this without such effort. I would warn you against admitting two classes—the Irish, I mean the mass of Catholic Irish, and the Chinese. Your best immigrants—such as will more readily assimilate with you and make good citizens, are the English, Scotch, French and friendly Americans from the North. With these preliminary remarks I come to the subject-matter of my other letter.

Doctor Gwin who, as you are aware, left Mississippi with a much stained reputation and has added many deeper stains to it since his arrival in California, has, for a number of years, been the chief political agent of the Central Pacific Railway Company to render the Democratic party of this State sub-

[1] Charles E. Pickett, went to California by land in 1846; was in San Francisco in 1847; man of eccentricity and brilliance known as Philosopher Pickett; writer of many pamphlets; died in California about 1881.

servient to the general railway dynasty schemes, as was so clearly shown by his double-dealing manouvers at Washington during the winter of 1876-7, when certain leading Democrats gave him to understand that he had better leave that city, which he suddenly did, returning to California just on the eve of the inauguration of Hayes. Whilst professing great love for his native Section and the old principles of his party, he will readily prove treacherous to both, at the behests of the railway magnates who employ and liberally pay him. Though aged he is still vigorous and will, doubtless, be put forward by the railway Company to manipulate matters in the Southern States. Possibly, knowing how obnoxious he is in such quarter, he will not venture there in person but advise with the Company (which has great faith in his astute and jesuitical counsellings) as to the Janus-faced agents to be relied upon to further any undue selfish and unfair operations that may be contemplated there.

As evidence of the still vindictive spirit entertained towards Southerners of high character and sound principles, by influential Republicans here, a conspiracy has been, for sometime, on foot, among a portion of the Regents, to oust the popular, talented and high-toned President of the State University (LeConte) and several able Professors—its very best—simply because they are of Southern birth and sound Democrats. It is prompted, in fact, by the New England and Virginia Schools—antithetic in politics, religion, morality and social relations; the Revd. Doctor Stebbins from Boston, who succeeded, Starr King as pastor of the Unitarian Church, in San Francisco, being at the head of this conspiracy clique and chief instigator of such movement.

I learn through the papers that the great railroad monopolist, Gould, has secured all the routes west of the Miss. river, running south from St. Louis, including the Texas Pacific and several shorter roads in Texas, and sought to obtain the line running from San Antonio to New Orleans. This is the road the Central and Southern Pacific Company of Cal. designs to connect with. Of course, for commercial, as well as political reasons, it is your policy to keep these great operators antagonised—favoring, however, the California Company should it rapport itself, properly, with the interests and political aspirations of your people.

Very Respecty. Your Obt. Svt.
(Signed) C. E. Pickett.

P.S. I have recently read your remarks made at the unveiling of the statue of "Stonewall" Jackson. They could not have been

more appropriate. Jackson was a hero of lofty type; but is there not a loftier civic heroism which may some day be accorded to yourself?

C.E.P.

Dabney H. Maury to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Knoxville, Tenn.: June 11, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir,

I have sent you this morning's issue of the Knoxville Tribune containing a commentary on Gen. Sherman evoked by your scathing impalement of him; and his reply.

I hope it will meet your approbation and give you pleasure.

On all sides I hear of the great success of your book and I am glad to know it will go far and wide and last for our vindication as long as the war between the States shall be remembered.

With high respect, your friend,

DABNEY H. MAURY.

endorsed:

Genl. D. H. Maury enclosing slip on Sherman; ansd. 25 June.

A. W. Cowper to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Darien, Georgia,
23d June, 1881.

Mr. Jefferson Davis,

Your Excellency:

Criticisms of you and your works have appeared in the New York Herald from Longstreet and Mahone.

Gen. Mahone seems to be under the impression that Richmond could not have been evacuated towards close of the war and the Cause of the Confederacy triumph. He is mistaken, it could and should have been evacuated in the winter of 1865. About 11 A.M., the 13th of February 1865, I was on the road, three miles from Gen. Lee's Headquarters. I was told "The Cause of the South is desperate, if Lee gives up Richmond and falls on Sherman he will destroy him and the South will be saved." Riding slowly on towards Gen. Lee's I reasoned if I

deliver the message Gen. Lee will do as he is told, the South will be saved, the blacks remain as slaves, We, proved intollerant vain and wicked will enjoy our lives and lose our soul; I preferred the salvation of my soul to earthly Glory, did not deliver my message, and returning to camp told Gen. Evan's Couriers with whom I messed of what had occurred. They advised me to communicate with J. B. Gordon, our Corps Commander, I did not do so and since then have paid for my folly. The South, however is today as much a people and a nation to itself as tho' separated from the Northern states by the Cordon of five. It is however a burning shame that a true and loyal man like yourself should be disfranchised because of the short comings of others.

I look upon you as the highest type of American intelligence and manhood.

Very respectfully.
(Signed) A. W. Cowper.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. C. E. Davol.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir Miss — 26th June 1881.
Mrs C. E. Davol

My Dear Madam.

I have the honor to accept your complimentary invitation to stand as sponsor for your son Rupert in person if practicable, or otherwise by proxy.

After reading your letter it seems to me appropriate that he should have for his middle name that of his distinguished Great Grand father, that thus might be pepetuated his relationship to a soldier of France, Gener David—

I am very thankful to you for your kind regard and hope I shall have the opportunity here after to pay my respects to you & to cultivate an acquaintance with my Godson.

The Revrd Dr Leacock to whom you allude is our next door neighborhood, but he is at present in the City.

I would be glad indeed if you were resident in our neighborhood. It is very quiet consisting of a few isolated homes, Beauvoir being merely a Railroad Station the name of which was derived from my residence. The Sea air salt bathing and salubrity of the coast is about all it has to recommend it, the land being very poor, and the people all in reduced circumstances.

If you have not thought of any one as proxy for me I would suggest my kinsman E. H. Farrar Esqr. whose office is No. 9 Carondlet Street & his residence is 536 Royal Street. I do not write to him lest you should prefer some one of your own choosing, but will do so if you wish it.

When you write to your brave Brother please present to him the best wishes of his Confederate Associate

Respectfully and
Truly yours
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Beauvoir Missi
June 26th 1881—

To the Officiating Clergyman.

I reverently assume the responsibility of Sponsor in baptism for the son of Mrs C. E. Davol who is to be presented to you, and request that my name may be included in the record of the ceremony. Respectfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Findley S. Collins.[1]

(From Chicago Inter Ocean, Dec. 16, 1889.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss., 5th July, 1881.

Mr. Findley S. Collins. Dear Sir: I have received yours, and thank you for the kind expressions it contained.

The evil influences to which you refer as causing the bitterness felt toward the Southern men, it may fairly be expected, will give way before the sober sense of the people if they shall, like yourself, detect the sordid motive for which stimulants are administered.

I will not, like the telegram you cite in regard to the attempted assassination of the President, say I am thankful the assassin was not a Southern man, but I regret that he is an American. The crime, black enough in itself, has a deeper dye from the mercenary motive which seemed to have prompted it.

I sincerely trust the President may recover, and that the startling event will arouse the people to the consideration of a remedy for the demoralization which a wild hunt after office is creating. Very truly yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

[1] Correspondent of the Inter Ocean at Seymour, Ind.

Jefferson Davis to Master R. D. F. Davol.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir Harrison Co. Miss.
18th July 1881.

Master R. D. F. Davol.

My Dear Godson.

I have received your very welcome letter of the 15th & am glad that you like your cup, and hope it will be a convenience to you in your approaching journey.

We have a prospect now of cooler weather which with occasional showers also indicated, should render your Railroad travel less oppressive to your Mother than such weather as we have recently had. My recollections of Huntsville are very pleasant both as to its society & climate & I trust you will all find it an agreeable change from New Orleans at least until the cool weather of Autumn. When you return to N. Orleans it will be my pleasure to pay my respects to your Mother & to receive from you an account of your travels.

Thanks for the handsome pair of gloves you sent me.

Please present my respectful regard to your Mother and believe me

Affectionately your friend
JEFFERSON DAVIS

P. S. Your God mother salutes you affectionately
VARINA DAVIS.